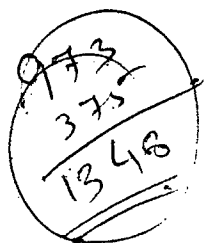
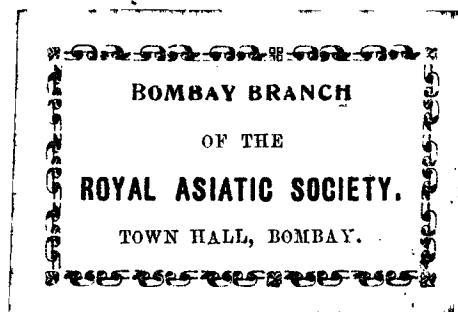


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MEMORIAL



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HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO
THE PRESENT DAY.

BY
PROFESSOR H. GRAETZ.

Specially Revised for this English Edition by the Author.

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1270—1328 C.E.

THE secret science of the Kabbala, which hitherto had assumed a modest deportment and had been of harmless character, began to foment discord in Ben-Adret's time, to ensnare the intelligence and lead astray the weak. What it lacked in intrinsic truth and power of conviction, it endeavoured to supply by pure presumption. It had already spread from Gerona, its original seat, and from North Spain, over Segovia to South Spain, as far as the Castilian capital, Toledo, a community which had before strenuously opposed the immolation of free thought. In the city of Toledo the Kabbala won the adherence, among others, of one man who, by his noble birth, his princely state, his high position, his wealth and learning, gave it great weight. This man, whose influence is even now not fully recog-

nised, was Todros ben Joseph Halevi, of the noble Toledan family of Abulafia (born 1234, died after 1304). He was a nephew of that Meir Abulafia, who had posed as so obstinate an adversary of Maimuni, and of rationalistic thought. Todros Abulafia took as a model his uncle, who in his old age had laid his hands on his head and blessed him. When he grew up he applied himself to the Talmud and secret lore; he had however received a Western polish, for he obtained an honourable position at the Court of Sancho IV., and was in special favour with the wise queen, Maria de Molina, as a physician and financier. By the Jews he was esteemed and venerated as their prince (Nasi). When the king and queen of Spain held a meeting in Bayonne with the king of France, Philip le Bel, to settle their mutual hostilities (1290), Todros Abulafia was in the train of the former, and received on this occasion the most flattering homage from the Jews of South France. Todros, like his uncle, was a determined opponent of philosophy and its devotees. He had no words bitter enough against the would-be wise people who hold everything, which appears incompatible with logic, as incredible and impossible. Even Maimuni, whom he otherwise highly respected, he censured for undervaluing the importance of the sacrifices so greatly as to explain them merely as a concession to the heathen propensities of the people, and the offering of incense as an expedient for purifying the air. He waged vehement warfare against the philosophy which denies the existence of evil spirits, which to him was identical with doubting the existence of angels. Having been initiated into the secret science by one of the earliest Kabbalists, perhaps by Jacob of Segovia, who formed a school of his own, Todros valued it as divine wisdom, to uncover whose veil to laymen was fraught with danger. The recognition of the secret doctrine by a person of so high a

position and renown could not but produce some effect. His sons, Levi and Joseph, likewise plunged headlong into its study. Two of the four Kabbalists of his time, who carried the Kabbala further and subjected their souls to it, ranged themselves under the banner of Todros Abulafia, and dedicated their compositions to him. These four Kabbalists of the first rank, who succeeded in establishing new theories with more or less success, were Isaac Ibn Latif, Abraham Abulafia, Joseph Jikatilla, and Moses de Leon, all Spaniards. They obscured the mental light, with which men of intellect, from Saadiah to Maimuni, had illumined Judaism, with clouds of bewildering confusion, and they substituted in the place of a refined religious belief, fantastic and even blasphemous chimeras. The overshadowing of Judaism in the following centuries is to a large extent their work. They led astray both their own times and posterity through designed or unintentional imposition, and the injuries which they inflicted on Judaism are to be felt even up to the present day.

The least blameable of these four was Isaac ben Abraham Ibn Latif or Allatif (born about 1220, died about 1290). He no doubt owed his origin to the south of Spain, for he was acquainted with Arabic. Nothing is known of his history beyond the fact that he stood in connection with Todros Abulafia, to whom he dedicated one of his works. His writings, as has been said by one who came after him, "stand with one foot on philosophy and with the other on the Kabbala." But Allatif only toyed with philosophical formulæ, their contents do not seem to have become known to him. He was not of a thoughtful nature, and did not enrich the Kabbala, although he attempted to give himself the appearance of following original methods, and of avoiding the usual Kabbalistic expressions. Allatif started with the thought that a philosophical view

of Judaism was not the "right road to the sanctuary," and that it was, therefore, needful to seek a higher conception, but instead of making the way clear he concealed it by empty allusions and unmeaning phrases. Allatif laid yet more weight than his predecessors on the close connection between the spiritual and material worlds—between God and His creation. For the God-head is in all and all is in it. In soul-inspiring prayers the human spirit is raised to the world-spirit (Sechel-ha-Poel) to which it is united "in a kiss," and, together with the Divinity, it draws down blessings on the sublunar world. But it is not every mortal who is capable of such spiritual and efficacious prayer, therefore the prophets, as the most perfect men, were obliged to pray for the people, for they alone knew the power of prayer. The unfolding and revelation of the Deity in the world of spirits, spheres and bodies, was explained by Isaac Allatif in mathematical formulæ. Isaac Allatif must, however, be considered as a clear thinker when compared with his enthusiastic contemporary, Abraham Abulafia, who endeavoured to establish a new order of things by Kabbalistic sophisms.

Abraham ben Samuel Abulafia (born 1240, in Saragossa, died 1291) was an eccentric personage, full of fixed ideas, and fond of adventures. Endowed with a lively mind and with more than a moderate amount of knowledge, he renounced the ways of common sense in order to throw himself into the arms of enthusiasm. His whole life from his entry into manhood was a succession of adventures. His father, who had instructed him in the Bible and Talmud, died when his son was a youth of eighteen, and two years later Abraham undertook a journey of adventure (as he relates) in order to discover the mythical river Sabbation or Sambation and to become acquainted with the supposed Israelite tribes dwelling on its banks, no doubt with

a Messianic purpose. His mind was in a constant tumult. He wrestled for clearness, but fell ever deeper into mazes and illusions. One thing, however, became evident to him, that the philosophy with which he had much occupied himself had no certainty, and therefore offered no satisfaction to the religious mind thirsting after truth. Even the trite Kabbala with its doctrine about the Sefirot did not satisfy his soul, since both only nursed the pride of knowledge. He, a Kabbalist, criticised the unsoundness of the mystical theory so severely and correctly that it is surprising that he should have accepted still more insane notions. Abraham Abulafia sought after something higher, for prophetic inspiration, which by itself might open the fountain of truth, without traversing the laborious path of systematic application.

At length Abulafia believed that he had found what his soul was yearning for; and that through divine inspiration he had come upon a higher Kabbala, in relation to which the lower mystical doctrine and philosophy were only handmaids. This Kabbala alone offered the means of coming into spiritual communion with the Godhead, and of obtaining prophetic insight. This means was far from new, but the firm conviction of its effectiveness and his application of it are peculiar to Abulafia. To decompose the words of Holy Writ, and especially of the all-hallowed name of God, to use these letters as independent notions (Notaricon), or to transpose the component parts of a word in all possible permutations, so as to form certain words from them (Tsiruf), or finally to employ the letters as numbers (Gematria), these were the means of securing communion with the spirit-world. But this alone was not sufficient. He who desires to render himself worthy of a prophetic revelation, must adopt an ascetic mode of living, must remove himself from the turmoil of the world,

shut himself up in a quiet chamber, deliver his soul from earthly cares, clothe himself in white garments, wrap himself up with Talith and Phylacteries, and devoutly prepare his soul, as if it were to appear in communion with the Deity. Besides, he must express the letters of God's name in longer or shorter pauses with modulations of the voice, or write them down in a certain order, at the same time making energetic movements, writhing and bending forward till the mind becomes dazed, and the heart is filled with a glow. Then the body will be surprised by sleep and a sensation will arise, as if the soul were released from the body. In this condition, if it become lasting through practice, the divine grace is poured out into the human soul, its union with which it seals with a kiss, and the prophetic revelation follows quite naturally. This means of working himself up into a state of ecstasy Abulafia certainly practised, and thereby excited his heated fancy to over-tension. He considered his Kabbala to be prophetic inspiration, by means of which he alone could penetrate into the secrets of the Torah. For the plain sense of the words and the simple practice of the religious precepts were merely for the uninitiated, like milk for children. Experts, on the other hand, find the higher wisdom in the numerical import of the letters and in the manifold transpositions of the words.

In this way he laid down his Kabbala, in antithesis to the superficial or baser Kabbala, which occupied itself with the Sefirot, and, as he glibly said, erected a sort of Decem-unity instead of the Christian Trinity. He lectured on his Kabbala in Barcelona, Burgos, and Medina-Celi. So much was the general intelligence disturbed, that this half-insane enthusiast found old and young to listen to him. Two of his disciples, Joseph Jikatilla, and Samuel, alleged to be a prophet, both of Medina-

Celi, proclaimed themselves to be prophets and workers of miracles. Abulafia appears, nevertheless, to have aroused opposition in Spain, or at least not to have found any real sympathy; he left his native country for a second time, betaking himself once more to Italy, where he reckoned upon stronger support. In Urbino for the first time he produced prophetic writings, and alleged that God had spoken with him. At last he came to the mad idea of desiring to convert the Pope to Judaism (Sabbath-eve, 1281). The attempt, however, cost him dear. He was arrested two days later in Rome, languished twenty-eight days in prison, and escaped the stake only through the circumstance that God, as he expressed it, had caused a double mouth (or tongue?) to grow in him. Possibly he pretended to the Pope that he also taught the doctrine of the Trinity. After this event he was allowed to walk about Rome in freedom. From thence Abulafia proceeded to the Island of Sicily, and in Messina he met with a favourable reception; gaining there six adherents. Thence he finally emerged with the notion that he was not only a prophet but the Messiah, and set forth his claims in writing (November, 1284). God had revealed to him His secrets, and had announced to him the end of the exile and the beginning of the Messianic redemption. The gracious event was to take place in the year 1290. Mysticism henceforth became the ground on which Messianic fancies throve.

Through his strictly moral deportment, his ascetic life, and his revelations veiled in obscure formulæ, perhaps also through his winning personality and boldness, Abraham Abulafia found in Sicily many who believed in him, and began to make preparations for returning to the Holy Land. But the intelligent part of the Sicilian congregation now thought it proper to put a stop to his proceedings. They accordingly addressed themselves to Solomon

ben Adret, to obtain information from him respecting Abraham Abulafia. The Rabbi of Barcelona, who was acquainted with Abulafia's earlier career, sent an earnest letter to the community of Palermo, in which he severely condemned the self-constituted Messiah as an illiterate and dangerous man. Naturally, Abulafia did not allow this attack to remain unanswered, but proceeded to defend himself from this denunciation. In a letter he justified his prophetic Kabbala, and hurled back Ben-Adret's invectives upon him in language so undignified that many thought the letter not genuine.

But his abusive retort was of no avail, for other congregations and Rabbis, who may have feared that a persecution might be the consequence of his fantastic doctrines, also expressed themselves against Abulafia. He was harassed so much in Sicily that he had to leave the island and settle in the tiny isle of Comino, near Malta (about 1288). Here he continued his mystical writings, and continued to assert that he would bring deliverance to Israel. Persecution had in the meantime embittered him. He levelled charges against his brethren in faith, who in their stubbornness would not listen to him, saying: "Whilst the Christians believe in my words, the Jews eschew them, and absolutely refuse to know anything of the calculation of God's name, but prefer the calculation of their money." Of those who exclusively occupied themselves with the Talmud, Abulafia said that they were seized by an incurable illness; and that they were far inferior to those skilled in the higher Kabbala. Abraham Abulafia composed at least twenty-two so-called prophetic works, according to others twenty-six, which, although the product of a diseased brain, were nevertheless used by the later Kabbalists. What at last became of the prophetic and Messianic enthusiast and adventurer was not known.

His extravagant conduct, however, did not fail to produce evil consequences, even in his own time, and was as infectious as an epidemic. About the same time there arose in Spain two enthusiasts, of whom one was probably Abraham Abulafia's disciple. One of them made his appearance in the small town Ayllon (near Segovia), the other in the large congregation of Avila. Both proclaimed themselves to be prophets, and announced in mystic language the advent of the Messianic kingdom. Both found followers. The adherents of the prophet of Avila related of him, that in his youth he had been ignorant, and could neither read nor write; that an angel, who appeared to him in his sleeping, and sometimes also in his waking moments, instantaneously endowed him, through higher inspiration, with the power of writing a comprehensive work, full of mystical ideas, and in addition also a diffusive commentary (without which at that time no fairly respectable book could be conceived). When the people of Avila and remote congregations heard of this they wondered greatly. The story excited extraordinary interest, and the representatives of the congregation of Avila consulted Solomon ben Adret, the last commanding authority of that time, as to whether they should accept this new prophecy.

The Rabbi of Barcelona, who, although himself a partial follower of the secret science, nevertheless subscribed only to the Biblical and Talmudical miracles, replied to this request as follows: He would have considered the affair of the Prophet of Avila as an arrant fraud, even if he had not been convinced and confirmed in his idea by trustworthy people. The man could not possibly be a prophet, for he lacked the principal condition which, among others, the Talmud lays down as essential to prophecy, for outside Palestine, prophecy is altogether impossible. Moreover, the age was not

suitable for prophetic revelation, and, lastly, the prophetic spirit could not rest upon a perfectly ignorant person. It was incredible that a man should go to bed an idiot and get up a prophet. The story required the most painstaking and impartial investigation.

Still, in spite of the warning of the most honoured Rabbi of the time, the prophet of Avila pursued his course, and fixed the last day of the fourth month (1295) as the beginning of the Messianic redemption. The easily influenced and ignorant multitude made preparations for its coming, fasted, spent money lavishly in alms, in view of the approaching Messianic kingdom, to render themselves worthy to partake of its bliss. On the appointed day, the deluded people, dressed as on the Day of Atonement, hastened to the synagogues, and waited there to hear the trumpet-blasts announcing the Messianic advent. But neither the expected Messiah showed himself nor was there any sign of him. Instead of this they noticed on their garments small crosses, for which they were totally unprepared, and which partly sobered and partly terrified them. It is possible that some unbelievers in the congregation had fastened the crosses secretly on their garments, either to practise a joke upon their credulous brethren, or to point out to what end Messianic charlatanry was destined to lead them, and thus cure them of their delusion. Some of the impostor's followers are said to have gone over to Christianity in consequence of this incident; others to have been plunged into grief because they could not explain the presence of the crosses. What became of the prophets or of the beguiled deceivers of Ayllon and Avila is not related. Like Abraham Abulafia they were lost sight of, and have importance only as excrescences of a diseased state. It is possible that another disciple of Abulafia, Joseph

Jikatilla, who was likewise looked upon as a performer of miracles, and had his dwelling not far from Ayllon, played a part in the mad or deceitful pranks of the prophets of Ayllon and Avila. Joseph ben Abraham Jikatilla (born in Medina-Celi, died in Penjafiel, after 1305), heard, at the age of twenty years, an exposition of the bewildering secret doctrine of Abulafia, and whilst the latter still remained in Spain, composed a Kabbalistic book of his own, in which he exhibits the same confusion of ideas as his master. He also occupied himself with the mysticism of letters and numbers, and with the transposition of letters. Joseph Jikatilla's writings are in reality only an echo of Abraham Abulafia's fancies; the same frenzy is apparent in both. But far more influential and more pernicious than these three Kabbalists, Allatif, Abulafia, and Jikatilla, was Moses de Leon, whose ascendancy was felt both by his contemporaries and posterity. Moses de Leon, although a contemporary and fellow-specialist, unmasked his performances, succeeded in introducing into Jewish literature and thought a book which gave the Kabbala a firm foundation and wide extension—to be brief, which placed the crown on its head. Moses ben Shem Tob de Leon (born in Leon about 1250, died in Arevalo, 1305) was a man with whom one can be in doubt only whether he was a designing or a pious impostor, but his intention was certainly to deceive and lead astray, and in this respect he appears much baser than Abulafia, who at all events was sincere and naïve in his madness. A half-learned man, who had mastered neither the Talmud nor any other subject thoroughly, he possessed one power, however, to use deftly the little that he knew, to write easily and fluently, to discover a connection between the most remote things and verses of Scripture that lay piled up in the chamber of his memory, and to couple them together

with playful wit. Even the Kabbala was not present to him as a system; he merely knew its forms and technical terms and employed them in a skilful manner.

Of careless prodigality, Moses de Leon expended everything that he had without reflecting what would remain for the morrow; he made use of the Kabbala which had come into fashion, that he might appear in this domain, and procure for himself a rich source of revenue. At the same time he led a wandering life, lived a long time in Guadalaxara, then in Viverro, in Valladolid, and finally in Avila. At first he published his intellectual productions under his own name (about 1285). His genuine writings however were not sufficiently noticed, and had brought him in but little fame and money. Moses de Leon then hit upon a much more effective means for opening hearts and purses wider. He commenced the composition of books under feigned but honoured names. For if he would put the doctrines of the Kabbala, at least those which were known already, into the mouth of an older highly venerated authority—an imposing name from the dazzling past, and of course with the requisite light and shade and outward marks of antiquity—would not such a composition be eagerly swallowed? Would he not be richly rewarded if he hinted that he was in possession of so costly a treasure? Moses de Leon knew well the credulity of those who devoted themselves with more or less earnestness to the study of the Kabbala; how they eagerly sought for every word which they were led to think originated from ancient times. For since the secret science had been promulgated and striven for recognition, doctrines which sounded Kabbalistic were fathered upon old and illustrious names and thus found acceptance. But Moses de Leon did his work much more cleverly than most forgers. He found the most likely

author for the secret doctrine, against whom there could be little or no objection, in the person of the Tanaite Simon bar Jochaï, who is said to have spent thirteen years in a cave—solitary and buried in profound reflection—whom the old mystics already represented as communicating revelations. Simon bar Jochaï was assuredly the right authority for the Kabbala. But he must not write or speak Hebrew, for in this language the Kabbalists would have recognised the echo of their own voices. He must express himself in Chaldee, in a half obscure language, peculiarly fit for secrets, and sounding as if from another world. And thus there came into the world a book, the book Zohar (brilliancy), which for many centuries was held by Jews as a heavenly revelation, and was regarded and is even now partially regarded by Christians as an old tradition. Certainly it is but seldom that so notorious a forgery has so thoroughly succeeded. Moses de Leon, however, well knew how to produce a full effect on credulous readers. He made Simon bar Jochaï appear in splendour and glorious radiance in the book Zohar, and impart his revelation to a circle of select pupils (sometimes twelve, sometimes six), “scholars who shine there with heaven’s light.” “When they assembled to compose the Zohar, permission was granted to the prophet Elijah, all the members of the celestial conclave, all angels, spirits, and higher souls to act in sympathy with them, and the ten spiritual substances (Sefirot) were charged with the duty of revealing to them deeply hidden secrets, which were reserved for the time of the Messiah.” Or to put it in another form: Simon bar Jochaï summoned his followers to a great council, and heard the flapping of the wings of the celestial bodies, who likewise assembled to listen to the disclosure of mysteries which till then had remained unknown even to the angels. The Zohar glorifies its author excessively. It calls

him the holy light, who stands higher even than the greatest prophet himself, Moses, "the faithful shepherd." "I swear by the holy heavens and the holy earth," the Zohar makes Simon bar Jochai exclaim, "that I behold now what no other mortal, since Moses ascended Sinai for the second time, has beheld, aye, even more than he. Moses knew not that his countenance shone; I, however, know that my countenance shines." On account of God's love to the writer of the Zohar, his generation have merited the revelation of truths till then hidden. As long as he who illumines everything lives, the sources of the world are opened and all secrets are disclosed. "Woe to the wicked, when Simon bar Jochai will leave him." He is almost deified in the Zohar. His disciples once broke out into an ecstatic praise that he had mounted the degrees to heavenly wisdom, which none of his predecessors had done; and of him it is written in Scripture, "All men are to appear before the Lord, *i.e.*, before Simon bar Jochai." These sentences of extravagant glorification, and self-deification (which betray the forger), are not inserted without design. They were to have met the objection, how the Kabbala, which had been so long unknown, and kept secret by the prudent Kabbalists—for they hesitated to impart any of it in writing—how this mysterious wisdom could all at once come to light and be revealed to everyone's knowledge. The Zohar frequently uses the following excuse: As the time in which Simon bar Jochai lived was especially meritorious and rich in grace, and as the Messianic period was near, the veil which had concealed the book so long could now be drawn aside.

There are certainly very few compositions which have exercised so much influence as the Zohar, or which can be compared to it in regard to the remarkable nature of its contents and form. It is

a book without beginning or end, of which it is unknown whether it once formed part of a whole, whether the extant portions originally belonged to it or were added later, or whether at an earlier period more of it was in existence. It consists of three principal parts, with appendices and explanatory comments. The absence of form in this farago makes it possible that certain portions were interpolated by a later hand. It is so easy and tempting to imitate its wild though sonorous style. Thus the forgery was counter-forged. It is not positively certain whether the Zohar is to be regarded as a running commentary to the Pentateuch, or as a theological manual, or lastly as a collection of Kabbalistic sermons. And its contents are just as remarkably confused and chaotic as its form and external dress. The Zohar with its appendages in no wise develops Kabbalistic system like Azriel, neither does it unfold any ideas like Abraham Abulafia, but in a manner plays with the Kabbalistic forms as with counters, with the En-Sof, with the number of the Sefirot, with points and strokes, with vowels, accents, with the names of God and the transposition of their letters, as well as with the Biblical verses and Agadic sayings, casts them about in eternal repetitions, and in this manner produces the utmost absurdity. Occasionally it gives a faint suggestion of an idea, but before one can perceive it, it evaporates in feverish fancies, or dissolves in childish silliness.

The underlying principle of the Zohar (if indeed we may speak of principles in reference to this book) is that the historical narratives and legislative religious precepts of the Bible were never intended to be understood in a plain simple sense, but that they contain some higher, more mysterious import. "Is it conceivable," the Zohar makes one of Simon bar Jochai's circle exclaim, "that God had no holier matters to communicate than these common things

about Esau and Hagar, Laban and Jacob, Balaam's ass, Balak's jealousy of Israel, and Zimri's lewdness? Does a collection of such tales, taken in their ordinary sense, deserve the name of Torah? And can it be said of such a revelation that it utters the pure truth? If that is all which the Torah contains," remarks Simon bar Jochaï (or Moses de Leon), "we could produce in our time a book as good as this, aye, perhaps, even better. No, no! the higher, mystical sense of the Torah is its true one. The Biblical narratives resemble a beautiful dress, which enraptures fools so much, that they do not look beneath it. This robe, however, covers a body, *i.e.*, the precepts of the Law, and this again a soul, the higher soul. Woe to the guilty, who assert that the Torah contains only simple stories, and therefore look only upon the dress. Blessed are the righteous, who seek the real sense of the Law. The jar is not the wine, and so also the stories do not make up the Torah." Thus the secret lore of Moses de Leon naturally has free play to pervert everything and anything, and give it the seal of sublimity, and in this manner to promulgate a false doctrine, which is not only absurd, but sometimes even appears blasphemous and immoral. All laws of the Torah are to be considered as parts and constituents of a higher world; they resolve themselves into the mysteries of the masculine and feminine principle (positive and negative). Only when both parts meet together does the higher unity arise. Consequently whenever anyone transgresses one of the laws, he obscures the brilliant image of the higher world.

It is almost impossible to give a representation of the abuse which the Zohar, or Moses de Leon, practises in the interpretation of Holy Writ, and how he twists the sense of the words. In the verse, "Raise your eyes to heaven, and see who

has created this," a profound mystery is supposed to reside, which the prophet Elijah discovered in the celestial school, and revealed to Simon bar Jochaï ; namely, that God had been unknown and obscure before the creation of the world, in a manner existing, and still not existing ; He was the "Who" (the unknown subject). The creation belongs to His self-revelation. It was only after the creation that He proclaimed Himself as God.

The Zohar is particularly concerned with that side of man which remains an eternal riddle to man himself, with the soul, its origin and end. Like the older Kabbalists, the Zohar also supposed the pre-existence of the souls in the brilliant world of the Sefirot. They are there wrapped up in a spiritual robe, and entranced in the contemplation of God's light. When the souls desire to enter this world they assume an earthly garment, the body ; but as soon as they are to leave the earth, the angel of death divests them of this earthly garment. If a soul lived piously and morally here below, it receives its former heavenly robe, and can once more enjoy the blissful ecstasy of being in God's presence ; if not, that is if the soul has departed from the world impenitent, it wanders about naked and ashamed till it is purified in hell. The nakedness of the soul, paradise and hell—depicted in fantastic, baroque, and terrible images—are themes for which the Zohar often and gladly makes digressions. Another pleasant task it undertakes is to describe what happens to the soul during sleep. The night-side of life, sin, impurity in small and great things, are likewise favourite subjects for discussion in the Zohar, to which it frequently reverts, presenting them in the greatest variety of guises and repetitions. One of the older Kabbalists arrived at the notion that to the higher world, the world of light, of holiness, and of angels, there was a sharp antithesis—a world of

darkness, of unholiness, of Satan, in short the principle of original sin. This original sin was likewise developed into ten degrees (Sefirot) at the creation of the world. In spite of their opposite character, the two worlds are of one origin, forming opposite poles, and are in relation to one another as the right side is to the left. Accordingly evil is called in the language of the Kabbalists the left or the other side. The Kabbalists also gave another representation of the Satanic empire. On the border of the world of light, the world of darkness is situated, and encompasses it as the shell surrounds the kernel of the fruit. Hence the Zohar metaphorically designates original sin, with its ten degrees, as shell (Kelifa). This side is the favourite topic of the Zohar; for here it can develop its peculiar exposition of the Scriptures. The ten Sefirot of the left side, or the Satanic kingdom, are enumerated and denominated by names which savour of barbarism. The names sound like the princes of the demons in the book of Enoch, and are perhaps borrowed thence: Samael or Samiel, Azael, Angiel, Sariel, Kartiel. The Zohar identifies all blasphemers and wicked people with the evil principle of the 'shells' (Kelifot)—the first serpent, Cain, Esau, Pharaoh, then also Esau's empire, Rome, and the civil and spiritual power of Christendom in the Middle Ages, which rested on violence and injustice. Israel and the righteous people, on the other hand, belong to the world of light consisting of the right Sefirot. "He who goes after the left side (sin) and defiles his actions, draws upon himself the impure spirits; they attach themselves to him, nor do they ever leave him." The laws of the Torah have no other object than to effect and cherish the union of the souls with the world of Light. Every transgression of them brings the souls to the world of darkness, of evil spirits, and of impurity. The Zohar coarsely

represents the inner connection of the souls (whether with light or darkness) under the image of wedded union, as it generally asserts the masculine and feminine principle in the higher world; even in reference to the Deity. As long as Israel lives in exile, the divine unity is deficient and wanting; God will become one only in those days when the Mistress (Matronita) will espouse the King.

Moses de Leon would have left a gap, if he had not spoken of the Messianic period—the key-note of the Kabbala—and determined its date. The sudden revelation of the doctrine so long held secret specially rests on the assumption that the time of the Messiah is near. But here the forger betrays himself. Instead of indicating a period or a year for the appearance of the Messiah which corresponded to the age of Simon bar Jochai (in the second century), the Zohar, with its casuistical playing with letters and numbers, demonstrated that it would happen in the beginning of the fourteenth century, therefore in the lifetime of the author. "When the sixtieth or the sixty-sixth year will pass the threshold of the sixth thousand, the Messiah will show himself;" but some time will still be expended before all nations will be conquered and Israel be gathered together. The Messiah will first be summoned to appear on earth from his secret abode in Paradise, "the bird's nest," where he has been dwelling in bliss since the beginning of the world. A bloody conflict will then break out in the world. Edom and Ishmael (Christian and Mahometan nations) will vehemently contend with one another, and eventually both will be annihilated by a third mightier conquering people. Signs and miracles will pre-
sage the time, and the resurrection of the dead, as well as the general diffusion of the Kabbalistic knowledge of God, will constitute the end of the world. Moses de Leon intended to

arouse in the minds of his contemporaries the hope that they would yet behold the time of the Messiah with their own eyes. He was perhaps as much a victim to Messianic enthusiasm as Abraham Abulafia. Deeply as the Zohar is concerned with interpreting the established Rabbinical Judaism by the light of its own principles, and by a mystical explanation to give every custom, however trivial, a special signification and higher import, it still criticises and carps at the Talmud and its method, though in an obscure, equivocal manner and with the most innocent air in the world. Moreover it represents the study of the Kabbala as of much higher importance than the study of the Talmud, and even of the Bible. The Kabbala has the power of soaring, and is able to follow the flight of the Deity in His inscrutable guidance of things; the Talmud on the other hand, and its adherents, have clipped wings, and cannot elevate themselves to higher knowledge. The Zohar compares the Mishna (Talmud) with a low slave woman, the Kabbala, on the other hand, with a powerful mistress. The former has to do with inferior matters, with "clean and unclean," with "permitted and prohibited" with "what is and is not fit to be used." As long as this woman rules with her "now pure and at another time impure blood," the union of the Father with the Matrona (God with Israel) cannot take place. In the Messianic period, on the other hand, when the higher knowledge will awake and gain the ascendancy, the Kabbala will once more assert its dominion over the slave-woman (Talmud), as in the time of the lawgiver Moses. The Zohar lastly compares the study of the Talmud with working at a rugged, unproductive rock which when it is struck gives out scanty drops of water, and around which fresh disputes and discussions arise. The Kabbala, on the other hand, is like a spring flowing abundantly,

to which only a word needs be spoken, to cause it to pour out its refreshing and vivifying contents.

When the Zohar or the Midrash of Simon bar Jochaï was published, it aroused the greatest wonder among the Kabbalists. They seized upon it with avidity. Moses de Leon received vast multitudes of orders to send copies of it. The question, from whence all at once came so comprehensive a work of an old teacher of the Mishna, not a trace of which was known till then, was thus answered: Nachmani had hunted it up in Palestine, had sent it to his son in Catalonia, through a whirlwind it was carried to Aragon or Alicante (Valencia), where it fell into the hands of Moses de Leon, who alone possessed the original document. The repute of the newly discovered Kabbalistic treasure soon spread throughout the whole of Spain. The School of Abulafia at once gave the Zohar the tribute of their acknowledgment, and considered it as indisputably genuine. Moses de Leon's wildest hopes were more than realised. There were, of course, Kabbalists who doubted the origin of the Zohar from Simon bar Jochaï and his school, but none the less did they pay homage to the book as to a pure source for the Kabbalistic theories. When the Kabbalist Isaac of Acco, who had escaped the massacre that ensued upon the capture of that city, arrived in Spain, and obtained an insight into the Zohar, he was staggered, and became all the more desirous of coming to the root of the question whether this alleged ancient Palestinian work was really genuine. He had been born and educated in the Holy Land, and had associated with Nachmani's pupils, and yet had never heard a syllable about it. Having met Moses de Leon in Valladolid the latter took a solemn oath that he had in his house at Avila an old copy of the book from the hand of Simon bar Jochaï, and pledged himself to submit it to Isaac of Acco

for examination. In the meantime Mosés de Leon became ill on his journey home, and died in Arevalo (1305). Consequently the veil around the mystery of the origin of the Zohar was wrapped still closer. Two influential men of Avila, David Rafan and Joseph de Avila, had indeed discovered the simple truth from Moses de Leon's wife and daughter. Moses de Leon had never possessed the original copy, but had evolved it out of his own inner consciousness, and had written it with his own hand. His wife frankly related that she had often asked her husband why he published the productions of his own intellect under a strange name, and that he had answered her that the Zohar would not thus have brought him in any money, but when assigned to Simon bar Jochai it had been a lucrative source of income to him.

Thus wife and daughter, without being aware of the full gravity of their assuredly indisputable testimony, unmasked Moses de Leon as a forger. Nevertheless, the Zohar met with the unqualified applause of the Kabbalists, because it supplied a want which would have had to be provided in one way or another. The Kabbalistic doctrine, which had already gained so much weight, was hitherto without any firm basis; it had no other authority than the very doubtful one of Isaac the Blind. Now the dignified figure of a teacher of the Mishna in communion with departed spirits and celestial hosts and angels confirmed the truths which had not only been doubted by many at the time, but had been absolutely ridiculed. Should they not then cling to it and defend it? What Moses de Leon puts in the mouth of Simon bar Jochai, "that many will range themselves round the book Zohar, when it will be known, and nourish their minds with it at the end of days," actually happened soon after his death. If the Zohar did not bring the Kabbalists anything essentially new, it nevertheless

exhibited to them what they did know in so peculiar a form and language, that they were wonder-struck at it. Everything was contrived for effect, for illusion, and for fascination. The long discussions which Simon bar Jochai holds with his circle or with the "faithful shepherd," have dramatic power, especially the scene where, in the premonition of his speedy dissolution on earth, he imparts once more what he so had often proclaimed. Full of effect, and, for minds easily accessible to faith, of transporting and overwhelming influence, are the often well-timed exclamations in the Zohar: Woe, woe to those who believe, or do not believe, or fail to respect, this and that. Sometimes short prayers are interspersed, which, being elevated and imaginative, are peculiarly fitted to fill the soul with mysterious awe. Even the characteristic terms introduced instead of the usual Kabbalistic forms are calculated to arouse the interest on account of their double sense. The author designated God and the higher spiritual substances (Sefirot) collectively or in their single parts and effects, as father, mother, earliest man, bride, matron, the white head, the large and the small face, the mirror, the higher heaven, the higher earth, lily, apple-garden, and so on. The pious were gained over to the side of the Zohar, as it attributes to every religious custom and every practice a higher import, a higher signification, and a mysterious effect.

Thus there sprung up in the bosom of Judaism a new register-book for religion, that placed the Kabbala, which a century before was still unknown, on the same level as the Bible and Talmud, and in a manner on a still higher level. The Zohar from one point of view undoubtedly produced good, in so far as it made a certain stand against the legal dry-as-dust manner of the study of the Talmud, stimulated the imagination and the feelings, and cultivated a disposition that restrained the

importunities of the reasoning faculty. But the ills which it has brought on Judaism outweigh the good by far. The Zohar confirmed and propagated a gloomy superstition, and strengthened in people's minds the belief in the kingdom of Satan, in evil spirits and ghosts.

Through its constant use of coarse expressions, often even verging on the sensual, in contradistinction to the chaste, purified, Jewish literary style, the Zohar sowed the seeds of unclean desires, and later on produced a sect who laid aside all regard for decency. Finally, the Zohar blunted the sense for the simple and true, and created a visionary world, in which the souls of those who zealously occupied themselves with it were lulled into a sort of half-sleep, and lost the faculty of distinguishing between right and wrong. Its unrestrained practice of interpreting the Holy Writ in a preposterous manner was adopted by the Kabbalists and others who were infected with this mannerism, to pervert the verses and words of the Holy Book, and to make the Bible the ground for the most wonderful, insane notions. Moreover, the Zohar contains utterances which seem favourable to the Christian dogma of the Trinity of the Godhead. If the mystics distorted the beautiful images of Holy Writ for the sake of practising their mad sport and stupefying all sense for truth, at least they were scarcely more guilty in this respect than the so-called philosophers of the time. Maimuni's attempt to bring Judaism and its religious literature into consonance with reason, to give unpalatable verses of the Bible a philosophical, or at least a tolerable sense, and place religious precepts on the basis of an intelligible, acceptable purpose, encouraged half-learned men to explain everything and anything in the same way. Hence the allegorising of the customs, the Scriptures, the Agada, and the rites, was carried to an immoderate and

incredible extreme. These mock philosophers divested the stories of the Creation and of the patriarchs of their historical character, and interpreted them as philosophical common-places, in which they sported as much with Aristotelian and Maimunist terms as the Zohar did with Kabbalistic terms. Abraham and Sarah, for example, denote to the Allegorists matter and form of things, Pharaoh vicious desires, Egypt the body, the land of Goshen the heart, Moses the divine spirit, and the Urim and Tumim, which the High Priest used to wear on his breast in the Temple, were only the astrolabe of the astronomers, with which they calculated day and hour, length and breadth. If there had been at that time any Jewish thinkers of the first rank, they would have put a stop to this childish proceeding, whether Kabbalistic or pseudo-philosophical, by some severe admonition. But the age of Ben Adret happened to be poor in great intellects. Even the two chief representatives of the philosophy of that time, Shem-Tob Falquera and Isaac Albalag, did not reach mediocrity, and were also tainted with the current errors.

There were however at that period certain men of bolder spirit, who from philosophical premises drew conclusions endangering the stability of Judaism. As their predecessors, the Alexandrine Allegorists, from erroneous interpretation of the Scriptures were led to disregard the ceremonies of Judaism, so many intelligent and consistent thinkers were induced to abandon their faith about this time. If the ceremonies are intended simply to awaken certain religious, philosophical, or moral feelings, it is sufficient to call up these thoughts, to be penetrated by them, to have one's mind constantly occupied by them, while the practice of the religious precepts is superfluous. Several members of this school denied Moses' prophetic character, accepting him only as an ordinary law-giver,

such as other nations had, and thus rejected the divinity of the Torah. Thus the pseudo-philosophers opened the question of the authority of Judaism afresh, and thereby provoked a counter-action which injured the spirit of free inquiry.

The chief authority of this allegorical school was a man of vast erudition, but full of crochets, who, without desiring it, occasioned violent conflicts. This was Levi ben Abraham ben Chayim, of Villefranche, not far from Perpignan (born about 1240, died after 1315). Coming from a respectable family of scholars, he was deeply read in the Talmud; but, above all, he was attracted by Maimuni's philosophy and Ibn Ezra's astrology, and he was a warm adherent of the belief of the latter in the influence of the stars over human destiny. Being more of a volatile than a solid mind, Levi ben Chayim had no perfect conception of Maimuni's aims. To him Judaism resolved itself into mere philosophical platitudes, which, preposterous and childish as they sound to us, were, strange to say, regarded by the people of that time as profound wisdom. Ben Chayim was the disseminator of that superficial science which satisfies itself with formulæ instead of thoughts. He composed two chief works, one in verse the other in prose, a kind of encyclopædia, in which he applied the theory derived from Maimuni to all branches of knowledge. In these books he interpreted the historical narratives in the Bible by philosophical flourishes, explained the standing still of the sun on the occasion of Joshua's victory as a natural occurrence, and generally maintained any exposition which depended for its strength on word-twisting. Levi ben Chayim himself denounced the allegorists as heretics, and desired to preserve intact the historical character of the Biblical narratives as much as possible. He tried like his prototype Ibn-Ezra to keep secret his deepest convictions, so that not

even his friends could fathom his ideas. This Judaism, disfigured by absurd philosophical interpretations, was not only privately taught, but was preached in the synagogues.

The home of this pseudo-philosophy was the not insignificant congregation of Perpignan, the capital of the province of Roussillon, which belonged to the kingdom of Aragon. Although the Jews had no enviable lot and were compelled to live in the most miserable part of the town, that assigned to lepers, they nevertheless preserved a taste for science and free inquiry, and eagerly awaited the new theories which were taught by the exponents and followers of Maimuni's philosophy. Here the poor Levi of Villefranche had found a place of refuge at the house of a rich and influential man, Don Samuel Sulami or Sen Escalita, whose piety, learning and liberality were praised beyond measure by his contemporaries. "From Perpignan to Marseilles there is not another, who can be compared with Samuel Sulami in knowledge of the Law, benevolence, piety and humility. He gives charity in secret, his house is open to every traveller; and he is indefatigable in getting books for his collection." He corresponded on learned topics with Ben Adret, and had besides an interest in the philosophical interpretation of the Bible and Agada. Even the Rabbi of Perpignan was a friend of free-thought and a determined enemy of the unreflecting faith which accepts everything without question, and was a strenuous opponent of unreasonable orthodoxy. This was Don Vidal Menachem ben Solomon Meiri (born Elul 1249, died about 1306), little celebrated in his own time, but none the less of great importance. He was not a person of commanding influence, but an interesting phenomenon. He possessed what nearly all his contemporaries sorely lacked, moderation and tact. These qualities are also characteristic of Meiri's diction. Nearly all

the Jewish authors of Spain and Provence wrote their prose and verse in an overcharged, bombastic style, as if they wanted to exhaust the whole literary thesaurus of the Bible for the purpose of expressing a meagre idea. The much admired model of this time, the moral poet Yedaya Bedaresi, writes with such diffusive prolixity in saying the poorest and most ordinary things, that one has to peruse whole pages of his apologies, reflections, and miscellaneous writings, before coming across a tolerable idea. The meditative style which was much in vogue favoured this verbose method of saying nothing.

Don Vidal Meïri forms a glorious exception to this practice, his style being terse and clear. In his commentaries to the tractates of the Talmud which relate to ceremonial duties, he proceeds throughout in a methodical manner, advances from the general to the particular, disposes everything luminously, and seeks to give the reader information and not to confuse him. Of a similar character is Meïri's exposition of the Holy Writ. The philosophers and mystics always endeavoured to find some higher meaning in it, the simple explanation being too prosaic for them, and accordingly they overwhelmed the Bible with their superabundant nonsense. Not so Meïri. He certainly assumed that there are many commands and narratives in the Bible which point to something higher than the literal meaning, but the majority of them must, he maintained, be taken quite literally.

Meïri was naturally dissatisfied with the extravagant mannerisms of the Allegorists, but it did not therefore enter his mind to reject the good together with the bad, to interdict learning because of its abuse. These proceedings however were not regarded quite so calmly by certain bigots, dwelling in the city which had produced the

obscurantist Solomon of Montpellier, the proscriber of Maimuni and his compositions, who had occasioned so much dissension and evil. Although these pseudo-philosophical excrescences were not more dangerous than the follies of the Kabbalists, the watchers of Zion nevertheless overlooked the latter and waged energetic warfare with the former, so that the philosophers obtained more weight than they would otherwise have enjoyed. The bigots of Montpellier well-nigh kindled the fire of discord in Jacob. The first instigator of this ill-timed zeal belonged to that class of men who mark off the province of faith according to an exact rule, and denounce every movement and opinion which transgresses their limit as heresy, desire to have it rooted out with anathemas and scourges, and where possible with fire and sword. This is a class of men in whom fanatical zeal cannot be separated from a kind of egoism. To this category belonged Abba-Mari ben Moses, of Montpellier, with his high-sounding name of Don Astruc En-Duran de Lünel. Of a respectable family, and of great influence in the capital of Languedoc, Abba-Mari was certainly not without culture, and he also had great veneration for Maimuni and his compositions; but he had once for all attached himself to the Jewish creed as laid down by Nachmani, and was accordingly excited when any one ventured to consider it from the point of view of another system. Thus he by no means viewed with disfavour the multitude of miraculous tales; on the contrary the more that occurred in any book, the better he liked it. The assertions of philosophy and science, which denied the possibility of these miracles, in no way disturbed him. In the choice between Moses and Aristotle, or between the authorities of the Talmud and the upholders of philosophy, he was not for a moment doubtful to whom to give the

preference. To be sure this narrow-minded point of view might be justifiable; but Abba-Mari wanted to thrust his opinion upon every one else, and to persecute all who thought otherwise. Not only did he hold in abomination the allegorical exegesis which was publicly preached, but he reprobated the study of all profane literature as the cause of this excess. He regretted that the scourge could no more be brought into requisition, in order to end the proceedings of those who filled their minds with such learning as endangered religion.

Abba-Mari, however, did not possess sufficient authority to proceed against Levi of Villefranche and his school. Consequently he addressed himself to the most influential Rabbi of the time, Ben Adret of Barcelona, and formulated against them a charge that through their perversities they would accomplish the dissolution of Judaism if a restraint were not put upon them. He importuned Ben Adret to exercise his great influence against it. The Rabbi naturally found the circumstance deplorable that "strangers had penetrated into the gates of Zion." He exhorted Abba-Mari to organise a party which should dispel this extravagant fancy; but positively refused his support, as he did not like to interfere in the affairs of foreign congregations. Other bigots, however, took up the cause, and hurried it to a crisis, among them Don Bonafoux Vidal, of Barcelona, and his brother, Don Crescas Vidal, who had moved to Perpignan, both highly respected and learned, but as intolerant as Abba-Mari. Don Crescas made a proposition, which met with much applause. The study of science, and generally the reading of profane literature, was to be prohibited to the Jewish youth till his thirtieth year. Only men of mature age, "who had already filled their minds with the Bible and Talmud, were to be allowed to warm themselves by the foreign fire of

philosophy and the natural sciences." Although Ben Adret did not feel disposed to take measures against the study of science, he nevertheless considered it his duty to persecute the provoker of so much animosity. He took umbrage at the pious Samuel Sulami for granting this heretic shelter in his house, and thus giving him an opportunity of spreading his pernicious views. He harassed Samuel Sulami so unmercifully, and subjected his conscience to such torment, that the man, not very remarkable for strength of character, became shaken in his previous convictions. Consequently when a daughter of his died, he believed that it was a punishment for his sinfulness, and renounced his hospitality to Levi. Many members of the congregation of Perpignan, however, bitterly resented the suspicion of heresy that was cast upon Levi, and as they knew Ben Adret to be a man of stainless character, vented their dissatisfaction on the instigator Abba-Mari, to whom they imputed sordid ulterior designs and personal motives.

Abba-Mari and his allies, who felt themselves helpless without powerful support, laboured without intermission to inflame the zeal of the Barcelona Rabbinate, that it might forbid free inquiry and the study of science. At the same time they promised the co-operation of the whole congregation of Montpellier, which being the chief one in South France, would draw other communities after it. Ben Adret and his college, imagining from the exaggerated description of Abba-Mari that Judaism was in the greatest danger, were at last determined to take up the matter, but desired first to sound the congregation of Montpellier as to their feeling on the subject, and for this purpose sent two letters to be read before the members, in the hope that they might feel disposed to adopt their principles. But the very reverse of the expectations happened. As soon as the plan in regard to the

treatment of science became known, a decided opposition was raised against it among the most important men of the congregation.

There was at that time in Montpellier a man, who through family, position, wealth, and knowledge, was held in high estimation by his people, and who had imbibed a love for the sciences with his mother's milk. Jacob ben Machir Tibbon, known in Christian circles as Don Profiat, or Profatius (born about 1236, died after 1312), was descended on one side from the celebrated Meshullam of Lunel, who was the first to promote a fresher spirit in South France, and on the other side he was related to the Tibbonides. From his birth he learnt to look upon Judaism and science as twin sisters, dwelling together in the utmost harmony. Like all educated Jews of his time, he was well grounded in Jewish literature, the Bible, and Talmud, practised medicine as his profession, but devoted himself with particular zeal to mathematics and astronomy. His accurate observation of the deviation of the earth's axis was taken by later master astronomers as the basis of their investigations. As he had also acquired a knowledge of the Arabic language, he was able to translate useful scientific works from that language into Hebrew. His wealth of knowledge was not employed by him as a means for gratifying his vanity or ambition, but he regarded it in its proper estimation as an ornament of man, enabling him to arrive at self-knowledge. Jacob Tibbon maintained that in the happy time of the Jewish people science had its home in their midst, but exile and suffering had banished it, and its former exponents had now to become students in order to learn the results arrived at by foreign nations. In his scientific labours Jacob ben Machir had a very noble end in view. He aimed at elevating his co-religionists in the eyes of the Christian world,

and silencing the sneers of their enemies, who pointed the finger of scorn at them, saying that they were destitute of all knowledge.

This man was now asked to assist in banishing science from the Jewish world. If Abba-Mari wished to carry out in Montpellier his scheme of holding the Jewish youth aloof from the study of the sciences, he was necessarily bound to take Jacob ben Machir into consideration. For he was held in high esteem by his congregation on account of his many excellent traits and merits, and had the greatest influence with the members whose judgment would decide the question. Indeed Abba-Mari disclosed to him the project, supported by the Barcelona Rabbinate, against the study of the profane sciences, and reckoned upon Jacob's co-operation. With the most vehement decisiveness Profiat not only refused his participation, but pointed out to him the sad consequences of so far-reaching a step, and importuned him to discontinue the public reading of Ben Adret's letter. Abba-Mari and his ally Todros of Beaucaire nevertheless persisted in their determination, and summoned the members of their congregations to an important conference in the Synagogue on a Sabbath (Elul-August, 1304). But it was immediately apparent that the zealots had deceived themselves or had been too confident in their assertions; for the Jews of Montpellier were agreed as one man in admitting the importance of science. A portion of the congregation even abstained from taking part in the deliberations, and Jacob ben Machir raised an emphatic protest against the proposed enslaving of the intellect. A violent discussion ensued, and the meeting dispersed without coming to a resolution. Soon one party ranged itself round the most distinguished representative of science, Jacob Machir, consisting partly of advocates of science, of friends, adherents and

of parasites of the highly esteemed leader. The Obscurantists and the simple-minded attached themselves to Abba-Mari, so that the congregation became a prey to division and conflict. Each party endeavoured to gain supporters, both within and without the community.

It had now become a point of honour for Abba-Mari to bring the affair to a conclusion conformable to his own views, for his defeat had exposed his true position to Ben Adret and the Barcelona congregation. After the unfavourable issue of the first deliberation in the synagogue he hardly ventured even to answer the man whom he had assured of a unanimous adoption of his proposal. He therefore worked very energetically in collecting at least twenty-five signatures of members of congregations, to give Ben Adret a proof that he did not stand alone in his extreme views.

But it was also a point of honour for Jacob Tibbon not to allow the interdiction of science to come into force. For he and the Tibbonides believed that the attacks were directed chiefly against their highly-venerated ancestors, Samuel Ibn Tibbon and Jacob Anatoli, because the latter's book of sermons (Malmed) had been the first to explain away biblical tales and religious laws, and at that time was used in certain quarters for Sabbath devotions. Ben Adret, at Abba-Mari's instigation, treated Anatoli, the favourite of the Tibbonides, with scorn. Of Samuel Ibn Tibbon, the translator and propagator of Maimuni's theories, the austere bigots had not a good word to say. Judah ben Moses, his great-grandson, consequently became the soul of what may be called the Tibbonide party, which agitated against Abba-Mari's plan. In order to bring over to their side those who stood aloof, the Tibbonides gave out that the adversaries of science once more had in view the denunciation of Maimuni and his

compositions as heretical, and that Abba-Mari wanted to take up the position of Solomon of Montpellier. This was a very happy party manœuvre; it won over even those who had shown indifference to the burning topic of the day, for they now thought themselves in duty bound to take up arms on behalf of Maimuni's honour. The Tibbonide party, thus strengthened, sent a trenchant and pointed letter to Ben Adret and the Barcelonians, to ask them to re-consider their decision. It is true they were not able to offer any convincing reasons for the admission of science into the Jewish curriculum; but the arguments which they set forth in its favour were considered satisfactory in an age which was generally so superficial in argument. They appealed to King Solomon's wisdom "from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop on the wall," which they said referred to nothing else than natural science. From the Talmud also there were adduced reasons for the study of science. They would not admit the validity of the reply that it was not intended to interdict research generally, but only to prohibit immature young men from its pursuit. That was purely an evasion of the main point at issue. For a man who did not make himself familiar with science before his thirtieth year was permanently incapable of engaging in its study, and in advanced age could never retrieve the loss. The Tibbonides, moreover, protested that they were branded as heretics, because they paid homage to the profane sciences next to the Torah. They did not recognise the superiority of any one in piety and orthodoxy. Lastly the Tibbonides exhorted Ben Adret and his college to bury the hatchet of denunciation and discord. The spirited and defiant tone assumed by Jacob ben Machir and his contingent greatly provoked the Barcelonians. The tension became still more strained. Bitter and caustic letters flew

hither and thither. Both sides laboured to gain new adherents in the other congregations, and to draw over the waverers. The communities of Argentière, Aix, Avignon and Lunel were persuaded by the example of their representative to declare in favour of Abba-Mari and his followers. In Perpignan the chief seat of the so much-assailed enlightenment, a relative of Abba-Mari agitated in his favour. The latter was particularly desirous of securing the assistance of a man who by reason of his noble birth and highly honourable position had a powerful voice in Perpignan and elsewhere. This was Kalonymos ben Todros of Narbonne, who was thought to be a descendant of the house of King David. Kalonymos did not at first appear inclined to take part in the proscription of science; but Abba-Mari from the one side and Ben Adret from the other assailed him with such pertinacity that at length he promised his support and co-operation. As in the meantime the Tibbonide party had also gained new adherents, Ben Adret himself shrank from pushing the controversy to extremities, and decided not to issue the decree of excommunication till at least twenty congregations had declared themselves unequivocally in favour of it.

Whilst in South France and Spain the balance was inclining now to one side, now to the other, in the dispute about the admission of scientific studies into Jewish circles, the German communities were passing through a series of the most deplorable events, which drove to Spain a man who struck the first blow for the excommunication and proscription of all free inquiry. He was of high morality, rare disinterestedness, of pure aspiration and sincere piety, he possessed the most complete Talmudical learning, but was filled with the fanatical hate of his countrymen against profane knowledge. The immigration of Asheri or Asher from Germany

to Spain inaugurates an unhappy period for the Spanish and Provençal Jews in regard to their efforts for the progress of culture.

Asher ben Yechiel (born about 1250, died 1327) of the Rhine district, sprang from ancestors who centred their whole world in the Talmud. A pupil of the celebrated Meir of Rothenburg, Asher acquired the acute Tossafist method, composed Tossafist works, but had a finer taste for system and order than this school. After the death of his master, whose corpse the unprincipled Emperor Adolph of Nassau refused to give up for burial without remuneration, Asheri was reckoned among the most influential Rabbinical authorities of Germany. A paroxysm of hatred against the Jews once more broke out in his time, which far exceeded the one during the Crusades; it robbed thousands of innocent men of their lives, or sentenced them to a lot far worse than death. A civil war, raged at that time in Germany, between Adolph of Nassau and Albrecht of Austria, in consequence of the contentions for the empty glitter of the German crown. This promised impunity for audacious attacks on the Jews, who were proscribed by the Church and society, and an opportunity was easily found. A report was spread that the Jews of the little town of Röttingen (in Franconia) had desecrated a sacramental wafer and pounded it in a mortar, and from this, blood is said to have flowed. A nobleman of the place, named Rindfleisch, took up the host alleged to have been desecrated, declared that he had received a mission from heaven to root out the accursed race of Jews from the earth, and gathered the credulous and besotted mob around him to assist in his bloody intentions. He and his troop first of all handed over the Jews of Röttingen to the flames (7th Iyar—20th April, 1298). From this place the rabble of slaughterers, under Rindfleisch's

leadership, travelled from town to town, always swelling their numbers with others of their description, and destroyed all the Jews who fell into their hands, even if they had become converted to Christianity. Rindfleisch, impelled by an insolent spirit and spurious enthusiasm, forced the inhabitants of various towns to ill-treat their Jewish fellow-citizens brutally. The great community of Würzburg was completely blotted out (12th. Ab—24th July). In Nuremberg the Jews had at first fled for refuge into the fortress, but being attacked there also, they took to arms, and though assisted by certain humane Christians, were of course overpowered at last, and all butchered (22nd Ab—1st August). Asheri's relative and fellow-student, Mordecai ben Hillel, who had written a very important compilation, fell about the same time, together with his wife and five children as martyrs. Many parents, who, lest their children from fear of death should not remain firm to their faith, threw them with their own hands into the flames, and plunged in after them. In Bavaria the congregations of Ratisbon and Augsburg were massacred to a man. In the first city, where they had right of citizenship from time immemorial, the mayor protected them with great zeal. In Augsburg also the mayor and council defended them against the destroyers, Rindfleisch and his horde.

This bloody persecution spread from Franconia to Bavaria, swept away more than a hundred and forty congregations and more than 100,000 Jews, and lasted nearly half-a-year. The Jews of Germany all trembled, and prepared themselves for destruction. This would certainly have happened, if the civil war in Germany had not come to an end through the death of the Emperor Adolph, and the election of Albrecht. The second Habsburger energetically restored the country to a state of peace, brought to book the perpetrators

of the outrages on the Jews, and imposed fines on the towns which had participated in them, on the ground that he had suffered losses in his purse through the immolation of his body-slaves and their goods. The majority of the Jews who had been baptised through fear again returned to Judaism, a circumstance which appears to have been connived at by the Emperor and the representatives of the Church. The after-throes of this massacre were bitter enough. The wives of those who had perished, could not authenticate the death of their husbands through Jewish witnesses, as no men remained alive who were competent to give the necessary testimony. They could only appeal to the statement of baptised Jews, whose evidence was considered by many Rabbis, according to the Talmudical marriage laws, to be invalid. Asheri, however, was sensible enough to unbend from this strictness, and allowed the widows to marry again on the evidence of Jews, who had previously been baptised, but afterwards returned to Judaism.

Asheri did not feel very secure in Germany after this bloody massacre, or perhaps he was threatened with danger on the part of the Emperor Albrecht. It was said that the Emperor demanded of him the sum of money which the Jews were bound to pay as ransom for the imprisoned Meir of Rothenburg, for whom Asheri had become security. He accordingly left Germany (summer of 1303), and travelled from one country to another with his wife, his eight sons and grandsons, and was everywhere treated with the utmost respect, especially in Montpellier, where his reputation had preceded him before the outbreak of the controversy. He finally settled in Toledo, the largest city of Spain (Jan. 1305). With joy the highly illustrious German Rabbi was installed by the Toledo congregation in the vacant Rabbinate. With Asheri, however, there entered

into the Spanish capital the dismal spirit of over-piety, so hostile to knowledge.

Asheri made no concealment of his antipathy towards profane culture. He could not conceive how even pious Jews in South France and Spain could occupy themselves with anything else than the Talmud. With the utmost scorn he discountenanced the very aspiration of the Spanish and Provençal Jews, on which they prided themselves. He thanked his Creator that He had protected him from the baneful influence of science. He did not give the South Frenchmen and Spaniards credit for thoroughness even in knowledge of the Talmud, and maintained that the German and North French Jews alone possessed an inherited wisdom through tradition from the time of the destruction of the Temple. A man like this, incapable of appreciating the sciences, and harbouring an enmity to everything which was not in the Talmud, was bound to exercise an influence prejudicial to knowledge. Relatively to him Solomon ben Adret himself appeared more or less of a freethinker. Abba-Mari forthwith availed himself of the power of the man, from whom he expected so much effectual support for his party. He requested him to express his views on the pending question. Asheri, of course, gave Abba-Mari his unqualified approval, but was of opinion that he did not go far enough, for the evil would not be eradicated by the plan of allowing the pursuit of the sciences only at a ripe age. The poison of heresy had spread too far, everyone was infected by it, and the pious were open to the reproach, that they shut their eyes to it. His proposal was that a synod should be convoked, and a resolution be taken that study was to be devoted solely to the Talmud, while the sciences were to be pursued only at the time when it was neither day nor night—that is as much as saying, not at all. This exclusive fidelity to the

Talmud, which rejected all compromise, identified with an influential man of sincere piety, made an overpowering impression on the rather facile minds of Spanish Jews. Ben Adret himself who had hitherto always hesitated to push the affair farther, all at once declared that he was prepared to use the ban, if Abba-Mari and the Prince Kalonymos would only take the lead. An officious zealot, Samson ben Meïr, disciple of Ben Adret, took upon himself to collect assenting signatures from twenty congregations. Toledo was especially reckoned upon, having already been swayed by Asheri's mind, and next Castile generally, which as a rule followed the guidance of the head community.

How feigned and opposed to the sentiment of the majority was this zeal became apparent, especially in the congregation of Montpellier, which the party of Abba-Mari styled the tower of Zion. In this congregation the zealots did not even venture to collect signatures for decreeing the sentence of excommunication. As if in defiance, one of the Tibbonides announced that he would give a reading from Anatoli's book of sermons on a certain Sabbath, and immediately drew a numerous audience. Abba-Mari, who had repeatedly boasted to Ben Adret of his mighty influence, and had persuaded him that the whole congregation, except a few deluded people, were on his side, now had to admit that Montpellier was not to be reckoned upon in this affair. In the consciousness that their party was in a minority in South France, the two leaders Abba-Mari and Kalonymos of Narbonne, formulated the ecclesiastical ban in an unexpectedly mild form both as to wording and contents. First the reading of works on natural science and metaphysical books only was to be prohibited, all other branches of learning being expressly allowed. Secondly, the writings generally of Jewish authors, even those dealing with natural science or meta-

physics were to be excluded from the inhibition. Abba-Mari, with a view to meeting his adversaries half-way, had already made the proposal to fix the period when the study of every department of learning was to be allowed, not at the thirtieth, but at the twenty-fifth year of the student's age. Ben Adret, however, who could not tolerate half-measures nor brook retreat, had now become still more severe. He who formerly had to be driven and urged on, had now become the propeller. Asheri's influence here is not to be mistaken. On the Sabbath of Lamentation in commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem, he and his colleagues ordered the anathema against the study of the sciences to be read amid solemn ceremonies with the scroll of the Law in the arms of the reader (4 Ab—26 July, 1305). Whoever read any scientific book before the twenty-fifth year of his age was liable to the penalty of excommunication. This ban was to remain in force for half a century. The philosophical expounders of Holy Writ were doomed in the hereafter, and in this world were to be subjected to excommunication and their writings condemned to be burnt. As no exception was made with scientific works composed in Hebrew, according to the formulation of the ban not only was Anatoli's book of sermons exposed to proscription, but also Maimuni's philosophical writings. Ben Adret and his college allowed only the study of medicine, on the ground that its practice is permitted in the Talmud. This was the first heresy-tribunal in Jewish history, and Ben Adret was at its head. The Dominicans had found docile emulators among the Jews.

According to the communal system in the Middle Ages, every congregation was independent, and the resolutions of one congregation had no force with another. The proclamation of the ban accordingly had validity only for Barcelona, as long as no other congregation confirmed it. Ben

Adret, however, laboured to have it adopted by other congregations. The sentence, signed by Ben Adret, his two sons, and more than thirty of the most influential members of the Barcelona congregation, was dispatched to the congregations of Spain, Languedoc, North France, and Germany. In the meantime, the invitation to adopt the ban was not so warmly received as the authorities of Barcelona had flattered themselves it would have been. Jacob ben Machir and his party had already received notice that a blow was being meditated against them, and accordingly made preparations for a countermove on their side. They resolved from the first to frustrate the effect of the ecclesiastical interdict of the study of science. They drew up a resolution in Montpellier which contained three important points. A sentence of excommunication was to fall upon those who out of religious scruples ventured to debar or withdraw their sons, whatever their youth, from the study of any science whatsoever, regardless of the language in which it was treated; secondly, upon those who presumed to utter an irreverent or abusive word against the great Maimuni, and; lastly, also upon those who presumed to denounce a religious author on account of his philosophical method of thought. The last point was raised for the credit of Anatoli's memory, which his opponents had vilified. Thus there was ban against ban. Jacob Tibbon and his friends caused their resolution in favour of science and its advocates to be announced in the synagogue, and the great majority of the congregation of Montpellier took his side. Party zeal, however, impelled the Tibbonides to take an ill-advised step, which threatened to produce the same evil consequences as had ensued at the time of the first conflict in Montpellier with regard to the Obscurantists. As Jacob ben Machir Profatius and others of his party had influence with the governor of the city,

they wished to secure his assistance in the event of their opponents endeavouring violently to carry the Barcelona interdict into effect. The governor, however, explained to them that he was interested only in one point: that the Jewish youth should not be prevented from reading other than Talmudical works. He should strongly deprecate any attempt being made to discourage the study of extra-Talmudical literature, because, as he frankly expressed himself, he would not consent to their being deprived of the means to their potential conversion to Christianity through fear of excommunication. To the other points, on the other hand, he was indifferent.

Abba-Mari and his party were now in despair on account of the activity of their opponents. As the resolution in favour of the unrestricted study of science had been adopted by the majority of the community, according to Rabbinical law it was binding on the minority as well, and therefore on their leader, and they could not legally stand by the interdict of Barcelona. Thus the zealots, the provokers of the conflict, had their hands tied, and were caught in their own net. They did what they could; they protested against the resolution of the Tibbonides, and advertised their protest far and wide. But they could not conceal that they had suffered a defeat, and were obliged to consult certain authorities as to whether the resolutions of the Tibbonides were binding also for them or not. Ben Adret was thus placed in an embarrassing position. The party of Jacob ben Machir believed, or wished to have it believed, that the prohibition of the Rabbis of Barcelona, in reference to the study of scientific books, was meant to apply also to Maimuni's works. Through their action they obtained for themselves the credit of having taken up the cudgels in behalf of Maimuni's honour, and of contending for the glory of Judaism; whilst

their opponents, Ben Adret included, through their narrow-mindedness and obstinacy were exposed to the scorn of educated Christians. The party which stood up as the vindicator of knowledge seemed to continually gain in public opinion. There now appeared on this side a young poet, whose eloquent defence, written in a highly imaginative style, made a great impression at the time. It gives a faithful picture of the feeling and excitement which then agitated the souls of the champions of science, and, therefore, awakens interest even in the present day. In a modest manner, but with manly spirit, the poet tells Ben Adret truths which he never had the opportunity of hearing in his own circle. This young poet, who has made himself more famous through his letter than through his verses, was Yedaya En-Bonet ben Abraham, better known under the name of Bedaresi (of Beziers) and under the poetical pseudonym of Penini. (born about 1280, died about 1340). Yedaya Penini, son of the bombastic poet, Abraham Bedaresi, had more talent as a poet than his father; he possessed a lively imagination and overflowing wealth of language; he lacked only restraining tact, and conceived no dignified and universally acceptable aim for poetry, or a method calculated to move the heart. This deficiency gave his poems the appearance of empty grandiloquence and artificiality. He had inherited the defect of his father, of not being able to control the super-abundance of words, through the rules of beauty. Moreover, he was too artificial, and he moralised too much, instead of exalting and impressing. In his seventeenth year Yedaya Bedaresi wrote a book of morals (Pardes), and in his earliest years, whilst his father was still alive, he composed a prayer of some hundred verses, in which every word begins with the same letter (Bekashot ha-Memin), which his father, and per-

haps also his contemporaries, admired, but which is nevertheless very insipid. An admirer of Maimuni and Ibn Ezra, science and philosophy had equal importance with Judaism in the eyes of Bedaresi, or, as most thoughtful men of that time believed, were contained in one another.

Bedaresi conceived that his convictions had been assailed in their deepest point by Ben Adret's anathema. He, moreover, believed that it had in reality been directed against Maimuni's name. Consequently, he could not restrain himself from addressing a sharp rebuke to the excommunicators. As he lived in Montpellier, and was certainly attached to Jacob ben Machir's party, it is quite probable that he wrote the defence of Maimuni and of science which he sent to Ben Adret, at their instigation (December, 1305, or January, 1306). This missive, as most of those written in this controversy, was intended not only for the individual addressed, but for the reading Jewish public in general. After Bedaresi had expressed his respect for the upright and learned Rabbi of Barcelona, he remarked that he and his friends were not affected by the ban, for knowledge was invulnerable; and could not be injured by the fulmination of excommunications. They were only hurt that Ben Adret should brand the Jewish congregations of South France as heretics and renegades, and expose them to contempt in his message to many congregations and countries. Ben Adret had allowed himself to be taken in tow by Abba-Mari, and had made a mountain of a mole-hill. From time immemorial, from Saadiah's age, science was not only tolerated in Judaism, but cherished and fostered, because its importance in religious knowledge was indisputable. Moreover, the denouncers of heresy were not so rigid in their behaviour; they excluded the science of medicine from the ban, although this science, just as much as any other

branch of knowledge, had a side which was in conflict with religion. How could they even dare to impugn Maimuni's writings, whose dazzling personality outshone all his great predecessors? At the end Yedaya Bedaresi observed that violent faction fights had already broken out in Montpellier. Did they wish to drive it farther, that the absence of unity among the Jews might occasion the Christians unholy satisfaction? "We cannot give up science; it is as the breath to our nostrils. Even if Joshua would appear and forbid it we would not obey him, for we have a warranty, who outweighs them all, Maimuni, who has recommended it and impressed it upon us. We are ready to set our goods, our children, and our very lives at stake for it." In conclusion, he invited Ben Adret to advise his friends in Montpellier to relinquish their search after heretics, and not to stir the fire of discord farther.

At the same time furious disputes broke out also in the Church between King Philip IV. of France and Pope Boniface VIII., but here the subject of the dispute was not about ideal good, not about science and free research, but purely about dominion, power, and mammon. The chiefs of the two parties made war upon one another for life and death. The king accused the Pope of heresy, of simony, covetousness, perjury, and impurity. And the Pope released the subjects of their oath towards their hereditary king, and gave away his empire. The Jewish hostilities had neither this range nor yet this unprovoked wickedness.

Ben Adret and several who had signed the decree of excommunication, Moses Iskafat Meles and Solomon Gracian, were so unpleasantly affected by Bedaresi's letter, and feared its effect so much, that they hastened to offer the explanation that they had in nowise animadverted upon Maimuni's writings, whom they revered in the highest degree. They

even exhorted Abba-Mari's party to make peace with their opponents, to vindicate their dignity before their common enemy. But the controversy was now at a stage when it could no longer be settled peaceably. The mutual bitterness was too violent, and had entered too far into the domain of personality. Moreover, each party claimed to be in the right from its own standpoint; neither could consent to a compromise nor suggest an agreement. Consequently each adhered to its own principles; the one sought to enforce a resolution that science must be allowed free play, the other made an endeavour to keep the Jewish youth, before maturity, from the deleterious poison of knowledge. Whilst the adherents of Abba-Mari were trying to arrive at a composition in order to have the ban of their opponents declared unauthorised, a sad event happened, which, like a whirlwind, tore friends asunder, and drove enemies towards one another.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST EXPULSION OF THE JEWS FROM FRANCE, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

Philip le Bel—The Jews of France plundered and banished—Estori Parchi; Aaron Kohen; laments of Bedaresi—Eleazar of Chinon, the Martyr—Return of the Jews to France; their precarious position—Progress of the Controversy regarding the Study of Philosophy—Abba-Mari and Asheri—Death of Ben Adret—Rabbinical Revival in Spain—Isaac Israeli II.—Samuel and the Queen Maria Molina—Don Juan Emanuel and Judah Ibn-Wakar—The Jews of Rome—Robert of Naples and the Jews—Peril of the Jews in Rome—Kalonymos ben Kalonymos, his satires—Immanuel and Dante—The poet Judah Siciliano—Leone Romano and King Robert—Shemarya Ikriti—Position of Karaism—Aaron the Elder and the Prayer-book of the Karaites.

1306—1328 C.E.

PHILIP IV. le Bel, at that time the king of France, one of those monarchs who made arrogant and unprincipled despotism familiar in Europe, suddenly issued a secret order (21st January, 1306) to the higher and lower officials throughout his kingdom, under pressure of the strictest silence, and without warning of any kind, to put under arrest all the Jews of France on one and the same day. Before the Jews had fully recovered from fasting on the Day of Lamentation in remembrance of the destruction of Jerusalem, and just as they were about to go to their daily business, the constables and jailors appeared, laid hands upon them, and dragged young and old, women and children, to prison (10th Ab—22nd July). There it was intimated to them that they had to quit the country within the space of a month, leaving behind both their goods and the debts owing to them. Whoever was found in France after that time was liable to the penalty of death. What could it have been that had

induced this prince, more prudently than clerically inclined, so suddenly to change his sentiments towards the Jews? It was certainly not clerical intolerance, nor was it yielding to the will of the people. For the French, even in the Middle Ages, were not so bigoted, and it was not their wish that the Jews should be removed in order that they might be freed from usury. Avarice was rather the motive of this cruel order. For Philip's feud with the Pope, and his war with the rebellious Flemish, had so exhausted his treasury and had rendered necessary so unsparing an extortion of money that, as the ballads of the time scoffingly said, "The fowl in the pot was not secure from the king's grasp." The king wanted to replenish his coffers from the property of the Jews. Another circumstance is said to have moved him to this hard-hearted resolution. The German Emperor Albrecht, who at that time was not on the best terms with Philip, had demanded of him the surrender of the kingdom of Arles; further that he should deliver up Jesus' supposed crown of thorns, and lastly that he should acknowledge his authority over the French Jews as successor of the Emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Charlemagne, *i.e.*, to yield to him a portion of the hard-earned property of the Jews. Philip is thereupon represented as having consulted his lawyers, to decide to whom the authority over the Jews appertained, and as they adjudged it to the German emperor, the idea occurred to him to fleece the Jews of their property, and to send his body-slaves naked and bare to Albrecht according to his desire. Before the world the king covered his act of violence, as inhuman as it was unstatesmanlike, with the excuse that the continual outrages of the Jews had rendered their expulsion imperative. But that he had aimed at the possessions of the Jews was shown by his relentless plundering. The officials left the unhappy Jews nothing beyond the clothes they wore,

and to everyone not more than seemed necessary for a day's consumption (12 gros Tournois). Whole wagons full of the property of the Jews, gold, silver and precious stones, were transported to the king; and lesser valuables were sold at a ridiculous price. Thus at the appointed time (September, 1306) they were banished, some 100,000 souls, from the country which their ancestors had inhabited in part already at the time of the Roman republic, long before the irruption of Christianity into France. Many who could not separate themselves from their property and the country which they loved went over to Christianity. The whole congregation of Toulouse is said to have been guilty of this cowardice, which scarcely seems credible. The celebrated seats, where once so much intellect was developed, the colleges of Rashi, Tam, and the Tossafists, Troyes, Paris, Sens, Chinon, Orleans; the places also where a higher culture had its temple: Beziers, Lunel, Montpellier, where the combatants for and against science were plunged into common misery,—all these schools and synagogues were sold to the highest bidder or given away. A German or English king would at any rate have destroyed the holy places of the Jews. King Philip le Bel made a present of a synagogue to his—coachman. An approximate idea can be formed of the sums which the expulsion and robbery of the Jews brought in to the king, if it is kept in mind that the sale of the Jewish goods in the house of the prefect of Orleans alone brought in 337,000 francs.

How many of the refugees, now reduced to beggary, may have fallen victims to the hardships of their journey cannot be known. The bitter complaints of those who were oppressed by the heavy affliction sound mournful and touching even at this distance of time. Estori Parchi, then a youth of many accomplishments and a noble heart, a relative of Jacob ben Machir, whose ancestors had emi-

grated from Spain to South France, thus describes his sorrow: "From the house of study have they torn me; naked was I forced as a young man to leave my ancestral home, and wander from land to land, from people to people, whose tongues were strange to me." Parchi at length found a resting-place in Palestine. Another fugitive, the learned Aaron Cohen of Narbonne, poured forth this elegy: "I, unhappy, saw the misery of the banishment of the sons of Jacob, who like a herd of cattle were driven asunder. From a position of honour I was thrown into a land of darkness." The sudden turn of fortune which changed rich men into beggars, and transplanted the delicate and those used to the comforts of life into bitter deprivation, gave the overcharged poet Yedaya Bedaresi gloomy reflections, and an opportunity of painting in dazzling colours the trouble and pain of life, and man's helplessness and nothingness. His "Trial of the World" (*Bechinat Olam*), suggested by personal observation and bitter experience, consequently makes a depressing and mournful impression, and reflects faithfully the melancholy feelings of the ill-starred race.

The expulsion of the Jews from France by the stony-hearted Philip le Bel did not come off without its martyred victims. Those who did not observe the time of grace allowed, and had rejected solicitations to abjure their faith, were punished by death. As a martyr of this time Eleazar ben Joseph of Chinon is specially famous. He was a learned and noble-minded man, a correspondent of Ben Adret, master of many distinguished disciples, and among them of the youthful Parchi, one of the last scions of the Tossafist school. He was condemned to the stake, although no other crime could be laid at his door except that he was a Jew: With him died also two brothers. The expatriated Jews dispersed themselves in all parts of

the world; many travelled to Palestine. The majority however, remained as near as possible to the neighbourhood of the French borders, in Provence proper, which at that time was partly under German suzerainty, and in the province of Roussillon, which belonged to the Aragonian king of Mallorca, and also in that island. Their intention was to wait for a favourable change of fortune, which would once more permit them to return to the land of their birth. They had not, indeed, speculated falsely. King Philip himself was induced by avarice to unbend from his severity.

The vehement struggle, which had broken out in Montpellier about permitting the Jewish youth to engage in the study of the sciences, remarkable to relate, continued after the banishment from France (September, 1306) on another stage, and the mutual hatred of the two parties was in no way abated by suffering. A portion of the Tibbonide party had settled in Perpignan, which belonged to the king of Mallorca, who was no favourer of the Jews. At his command copies of the Talmud were once more delivered up to the *auto-da-fé*; but as he hoped to gain some advantage by the settlement of intelligent, industrious Jews, he suffered them to remain in peace. Abba-Mari and another portion of the congregation of Montpellier at first took up their abode in the town of Arles, but as he could not stay there, he likewise emigrated to Perpignan (January 1307). But the opposing party, which had influence with the king or governor, endeavoured to hinder his settlement in that place. Nevertheless, Abba-Mari's partizans, by making representations to the king, succeeded in obtaining permission for him to live in Perpignan. Here the controversy raged anew. Solomon ben Adret and Asheri, or in reality rather the latter, whose decision of character now acquired for him the chief authority, again interfered. Asheri explained that

he had given his signature to the decree prohibiting young men from occupying themselves with profane studies in a half-hearted manner; for, according to his opinion, it was a too far-reaching concession to admit them to such an occupation at so tender an age as twenty-five years. Science ought to be prohibited altogether, for she inevitably lures on to unbelief. The defenders of science were to be condemned without mercy, since the afflictions of exile had made no impression on them, suffering had not broken their spirit of defiance, and had not chastened their former hardness of heart.

This view, that qualities prejudicial to Judaism were inherent in science, continually gained the supremacy after Ben Adret's death (1310), when Asheri was acknowledged in Spain and in the neighbouring countries as the only influential authority in religious matters. Asheri, his sons and companions who had migrated with him from Germany, transplanted from the neighbourhood of the Rhine to vivacious Toledo that spirit of honest, but tormenting, narrow-minded and intolerant piety, that gloomy disposition which regards even harmless joy as a sin, that feeling of subjection (as if not daring to call their souls their own), which characterised the German Jews of the Middle Ages, and inoculated the Spanish Jews with it. All free activity of the mind was checked. Asheri concentrated all his mental power on the Talmud and its exposition. His chief work was a compilation of the Talmud for practical religious use (1307—1314). He on all occasions endeavoured to enforce the practice of a difficult, painful, and severe discipline. If anyone desired to express his thoughts on any department of knowledge whatsoever, he had first to bring the subject into harmony with the requirements of strict orthodox belief. When the erudite Isaac ben Joseph Israeli II., of Toledo,

published an astronomical work (1310), he had first to adjust it in accordance with Talmudical orthodoxy and subscribe to a profession of faith, for only in this manner could he hope to find grace in Asheri's eyes.

About this time, during Asheri's Rabbinate in Toledo, prominent Jews once more obtained influence at Court. King Ferdinand IV. (1295—1312) had a Jewish treasurer named Samuel, whose counsels he followed also in political matters. The dowager queen, Maria de Molina, however, who had held the reins of government during her son's minority, hated the favourite Samuel, who had nourished the enmity between mother and son, with feminine passionateness. One day, when Samuel was in Badajos, and was preparing to follow the king to Seville, he was attacked by an assassin, and was so severely wounded that he was left for dead. It is not known who instigated the deed. The king, however, ordered such care and attention to be devoted to Samuel, that he recovered from his wounds.

Don Ferdinand's death brought in its train a time full of unquiet, civil war, and dissolution of all social order for Spain. As the Infante Alfonso was still a child in the cradle, several persons, the clever Maria de Molina, the young queen-mother Constantia, and the uncles of the young king contended for the guardianship and the regency, and provoked faction feuds in the country (1312—1326). Donna Maria de Molina, who conducted the government, did not extend her hate against the Jewish counsellor of her son to the community to which he belonged. As in the lifetime of her husband she had had a Jewish favourite, Todros Abulafia, so during her regency she had a Jewish treasurer, Don Moses. When the Council of Zamora (1313) once more renewed canonical laws hostile to the Jews, the Cortes of

Burgos demanded the exclusion of Jews from all honours and offices, and the Pope issued a bull that Christians were to be absolved of their debts to Jews on account of usury. The wise regent submitted only in part. It is true she arranged that Jews should no more bear high-sounding Christian names, nor enter into close intercourse with Christians; but she most emphatically declared herself against the unjust abolition of debts, and published a law that no debtor could make himself free of his obligation to professors of the Jewish faith by appealing to a Papal bull.

The regency of Don Juan Emanuel, inaugurated an improvement in the condition of the Castilian Jews (1319—1325). The regent was a friend of learning, himself an author and poet of no mean standing, and was consequently held in esteem by educated Jews. A Jew of Cordova, Jehuda ben Isaac Ibn-Wakar, found high favour in his eyes, and probably acted as his treasurer. At his solicitation Juan Emanuel invested the Rabbinate once more with penal jurisdiction, which the Jews had partly lost during the regency of Maria de Molina, and had only practised privately.

Jehuda Ibn-Wakar, however, was an admirer of Asheri, and, like the latter, of excessive piety, desiring to have every religious transgression punished with the utmost severity. When a Cordovan once uttered a blasphemy in Arabic, Ibn Wakar asked of Asheri what was to be done with him, and the latter replied that his tongue should be cut out. A beautiful Jewess having had intercourse with a Christian, Don Juan Manuel resigned her to the punishment of the Jewish Court, and Jehuda Ibn-Wakar condemned her to have her face disfigured by the removal of her nose, and Asheri confirmed the sentence.

The South Spanish and Castilian congregations in the meantime still lived in peace, and the undis-

turbed possession of their goods; the North Spanish, and still more the South French congregations on the other hand, were exposed to bloody attacks on the part of the fanatical hordes, which the Church first unfettered, and then could no more restrain. France was once more inhabited by Jews. Louis X. had recalled them nine years after their banishment (1315). This king, who was seized by a desire to abrogate the ordinances of his father, and to bring his plans to trial, had also been solicited by the people and nobility, who could not do without the Jews, to re-admit them into France. He accordingly entered into negotiations with them in reference to their return. But the Jews did not accept his proposal without further deliberation, for they well knew the inconstancy of the French kings, and the fanatical hatred of the clergy against them. They therefore hesitated at first, and then submitted their conditions. These were, that they should be allowed to reside in the same places as before; that they should not be chargeable for former transgressions; that their synagogues, churchyards, and books should be restored to them, or sites be granted for erecting new places of worship. They were also to have the right of collecting their previous debts, of which, nevertheless, two-thirds should belong to the king. Their former privileges, as far as they were still in force, were to be again extended to them, or new ones conceded. King Louis accepted all these conditions, and granted them also the right of emigration under certain restrictions. In order to conciliate the clergy, he imposed on his side the following conditions: They must wear a badge of a certain size and colour; and they must not hold either public or private disputations on religion. Two high officials (*prud'hommes*, *auditeurs des Juifs*) were appointed to superintend the re-settlement of the Jews. Their residence in France

was fixed for the present for twelve years ; if the king should resolve to expel them again after the expiration of that period, he put himself under the obligation to give them a year's warning that they might have time to make their preparations. The king forthwith published this decree, and declared therein that his father had been ill-advised to banish the Jews ; but as the universal voice of the people solicited their return the Church desired a tolerant policy, and as the sainted Louis had set him the precedent of first banishing and then readmitting them, he had, after due consultation with the prelates, the barons, and his whole high council, permitted the return of the Jews. The French Jews streamed back in masses to their former dwelling places, regarding this opportunity as a miraculous redemption. When Louis X. died a year after, and his brother Philip V. the Long ascended the throne, he extended their privileges still farther, and protected them especially from the enmity of the clergy ; so that they and their books could be seized only by royal officers. But they were not free from vexation on the side of the degenerate clergy, who insisted that the Jews of Montpellier, who thought they could venture on certain liberties, should re-affix on their dress the Jew-badge. At one time they accused the Jews of Lunel with having publicly outraged the image of Christ on the Purim festival ; at another time they once more ordered that two wagons full of copies of the Talmud should be publicly burned in Toulouse. Nevertheless such proceedings were merely child's play compared with what they had to endure from the bigoted multitude.

Philip V. had the idea, which was repugnant to the spirit of the time, of undertaking a Crusade anew, in order to wrest the Holy Land, after so many vain attempts, from the hands of the infidels. This enterprise appeared to the discerning so fool-

hardy, that even Pope John XXII., the second of the popes who resided in Avignon instead of at Rome, dissuaded him from it. Nevertheless, the fancy as soon as it was known inflamed the minds at the rude populace. A young man of excited imagination gave out that he had observed a dove which had settled itself at one time on his head, at another on his shoulder, and when he sought to seize it, it transformed itself into a beautiful woman, who invited him to gather around him a troop of Crusaders, and assured him at the same time of victory. His utterances found credulous hearers, and the lower people, children, and swine-herds attached themselves to him. A wicked priest and an unfrocked Benedictine monk used the opportunity to force their way to the front, and thus there rose up in North France (1320) a numerous horde of forty thousand shepherds (Pastoureux, Pastorelli, Roim), who moved in procession from town to town carrying banners, and announced their intention of journeying across the sea to the deliverance of the supposed holy sepulchre. Their attention was immediately turned to the Jews, possibly because they wanted to raise money for the purchase of weapons by robbing the Jews of their possessions, or a Jew, as is related, had made sport of their childish heroism. The massacre of the Jews by the shepherds (Geseret-ha-Roim) is another bloody page in Jewish history.

As nearly all the crusading enterprises had commenced with the murder of Jews, so was it also this time. The shepherd-gangs who had collected near the town of Agen (on the Garonne), destroyed all the Jews they met on their march from this place to Toulouse, swooping down on them as soon as they refused the invitation to be baptised. About five hundred Jews had found a refuge in the fortress of Verdun (on the Garonne), the commandant having placed a strong tower at their disposal. The shep-

herds, however, took it by storm, and a desperate battle took place. As the Jews had no hopes of a rescue, they had recourse in their despair to self-destruction. The unhappy people selected the oldest and most respected man of their number to slay them one after the other. The old man picked out a muscular young assistant in this ghastly business, and both went to work to rid their fellow-sufferers of their miserable lives. When at last the young man, after slaying his aged partner, was left alone, the desire of life came strong upon him; he declared to the assailing shepherds that he was ready to go over to them, and asked to be baptised. The latter, however, were just or cruel enough to refuse the request, and tore the renegade to pieces. The Jewish children whom they found in the tower were baptised by force. The governor of Toulouse zealously espoused the cause of the Jews, and commanded the knights to take the approaching shepherds prisoners. Thus many of them were brought in chains to the capital and thrown into prison. But the mob, which sympathised with them, banded together, set them at liberty, the final result being that the greater part of the congregation of Toulouse was destroyed. A few seceded to Christianity. On the capture of the shepherds near Toulouse, the Jews in the neighbourhood, who had been granted shelter in Castel-Norbonnais, thought that they were now free of all danger, and left their place of refuge. They were, however, surprised by the rabble and annihilated. Thus perished almost all the Jews in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux, Gascogne, Toulouse, Albi, and in other towns of South France. Altogether, more than 120 Jewish congregations in France and North Spain were blotted out through the rising of the Shepherds; the survivors, moreover, were so impoverished by spoliation that they were dependent upon the succour of their brethren in other parts, which,

however, flowed to them in abundance even from Germany.

The following year was also very unfortunate for the Jews, the trouble again beginning in France. This persecution was occasioned by lepers, from whom it has its name (*Geseret Mezoraim*). The unhappy people who were thus afflicted in the Middle Ages were banished from society, declared dead as citizens, sent to special and unhealthy quarters, and there tended after a fashion. Once when certain lepers had been badly provided with food in the province of Guienne, they conceived and carried into effect the plan of poisoning the wells and rivers, through which many people perished (1321). When the matter was traced back to the lepers, and they were examined under torture, one of them invented, it is uncertain whether at his own or at another's suggestion, the lying accusation that the Jews had inspired them with the plan of poisoning the waters. However incredible this charge might appear, it was nevertheless generally believed, and even King Philip V. had no doubt about it. At one time it was asserted that the Jews wanted to take revenge in this manner for the sufferings which they had experienced at the hands of the Shepherds the year before; at another time that they had been persuaded by the Mahometan King of Granada to cause the Christians to be poisoned; at another time again it was suggested they had done it on an understanding with the Mahometan ruler of Palestine, in order to frustrate the intended crusade of King Philip. In several places Jews were arrested on the ground of this accusation, unmercifully tortured and some of them burnt (*Tammuz*—July, 1321). In Chinon a deep pit was dug, fire was kindled in it, and eight Jewish men and women thrown in, who sang whilst dying by the fire. The mothers had previously cast in their children, so as to save them from forcible baptism. Altogether five thousand are said to

have suffered death by fire in that year. Many were banished from France, and robbed by the heartless populace. Philip indeed was convinced later on of the untruth of the accusation; but as the Jews had been once accused, the opportunity might be used to swell the treasury. Accordingly the congregations were condemned by Parliament to a penalty of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds (Parisian); they were to apportion the contributions among themselves. Deputies (*procureurs*) from North France (*de la langue Française*) and from Languedoc met together and enacted that the South French Jews who had been decimated and impoverished through the previous year's massacre were to contribute forty-seven thousand pounds, and the remainder was to be borne by the North French Jews. The wealthiest Jews were put under arrest as security for the proper payment of the *finé*, and their goods as well as their debts were distrained.

In the same year a great danger threatened the oldest of all the European communities. Misfortune came upon it all the more unexpectedly as till then it had tasted but little of the cup of misery which the Jews of England, France and Spain had so often to drink to its dregs. It was just because Rome did not belong to the Pope, but to the families of Orsini and Colonna, Ghibellines and Guelfs—the great and minor lords, who fought out their party feuds in that city—that the Jews were left untouched by papal tyranny. It was well for them that they were little considered.

Just about this time the Roman Jews had made an advance in material welfare and intellectual culture. There were some among them who possessed houses which were like palaces, furnished with all the comforts of life. Since the time when through the concurrence of circumstances, they had

tasted of the tree of knowledge, learning and poetry were cherished by the Italian Jews. The seeds which Hillel of Verona, Serachya ben Shaltiel and others had scattered, commenced to bear fruit. When the flower of intellectual glory in South France began to decay through the severity of the rigid Talmudical tendency and the bloody persecutions, it unfolded itself in Italy and especially in Rome. At that time the first rays of a new cultural development which broke through the gloom of papacy and the rude licence of the Middle Ages, appeared in Italy. A fresh current of air swept the heavens in Italy in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the epoch of Dante, which commenced to thaw the icy coat of the Church and of knightdom, the two pillars of the Middle Ages. The sense of citizenship, the impulse of liberty, the enthusiastic love for science, were the striking symptoms of a new spirit, of a striving for rejuvenescence, which only the Emperor, the embodiment of the rude ungainly knighthood, and the Pope, the incarnation of the stern unbending Church, failed to perceive. Every greater or lesser Italian lord made it a point of honour to encourage art and science, and patronise poets, artists and learned men at his court. Nor were the Jews overlooked at this juncture. One of the most powerful Italian princes, Robert of Anjou, the King of Naples, Count of Provence (Arelat), General Vicar of the Church estate, and for a long time titular Lieutenant of the German-Roman empire, was a friend of science, a warm admirer also of Jewish literature, and consequently a protector of the Jews. Many Jewish *littérateurs* were his teachers, or elaborated at his instance scientific and theological works.

Whether out of a spirit of imitation of the current practice or from sincere sympathy with Jewish literature, certain rich Jews, who played the part of small princes, invited Jewish authors into

their circle, lightened their daily anxieties by liberal support, and stimulated their activity by encouragement. Thus it came to pass that three Jewish Italian men of letters had the courage to compete with the Spaniards and Provençals. These were Leo Romano, Judah Siciliano, and above all the poet Immanuel Romi, who ennobled once more the new-Hebrew poetry, and raised it to a higher level. The Roman congregation at that time displayed exceptional interest in Jewish writings. Of Maimuni, who was the embodiment of science for them as for the rest of the Jewish world, they possessed the copious "Code of Religion," and the translation of his "Guide;" but of his luminous Mishna commentary, composed originally in Arabic, only those parts which Charisi and Samuel Ibn-Tibbon had done into Hebrew. The representatives of the Roman congregations, to which probably the poet Immanuel also belonged, wished to have a complete edition of the work, and sent a messenger to Barcelona to Ben Adret expressly for this purpose, that he might procure for them the remaining parts. The affair, however, was not so simple as the Roman Jews had imagined. The greater portion of the anxiously desired commentary of Maimuni on the Mishna was, on account of peculiar difficulties, not yet rendered into Hebrew. The greatest obstacle consisted in the circumstance that the knowledge of Arabic among the Spanish Jews, even those who lived in Toledo and in the neighbourhood of the kingdom of Granada, had become extinct. Ben Adret, who wished to oblige the Roman congregation, endeavoured to get the required portions translated into Hebrew. He encouraged certain men, learned both in Arabic and the Talmud, to undertake this difficult task, and they divided the labour among themselves. Joseph Ibn Alfual and Jacob Abbassi of Huesca, Solomon ben Jacob and Nathaniel Ibn Almali, both phy-

sicians of Saragossa, and others besides. Jewish literature is indebted for the possession of this most valuable work of Maimuni to the zeal of the Roman congregation, of Ben Adret, and of these translators.

The Roman community were roused from their peaceful occupations and undisturbed quiet by a rough hand, and awakened to the consciousness that they existed under the scourge of papacy and the caprice of its rulers.

It is related that a sister of the Pope (John XXII.) named Sangisa had repeatedly exhorted her brother to expel the Jews from the holy city of Christendom. Her solicitation had, however, been always fruitless; she therefore instigated several priests to give testimony that the Jews had made merry by words and actions over a crucifix which was being carried through the streets in a procession. The Pope thereupon issued the command to banish all the Jews from the Roman province. All that is certain is that the Jews of Rome remained in great danger during that year, for they instituted an extraordinary fast, and directed fervent prayers to heaven (21 Sivan—18 June, 1321), nor did they fail to employ worldly means. They sent an astute messenger to Avignon to the Papal Court and to King Robert of Naples, the patron of the Jews; who happened to be staying in that city at that time on account of State affairs. The messenger succeeded, through the mediation of King Robert, in proving the innocence of the Roman Jews in regard to the alleged insulting of the cross, and the other transgressions laid to their charge. The twenty thousand ducats, which the Roman community is said to have presented to the sister of the Pope effaced the last recollections of the affair. The Jews of Rome entered their school of trouble later than the Jews of other countries. For that reason it lasted all the longer.

Whilst King Robert was residing in South France he seems to have made the acquaintance of a learned, genial Jewish satirist, Kalonymos ben Kalonymos, and to have taken him into his service. This talented man (born 1287, died before 1337) possessed solid knowledge, was even familiar with the Arabic language and literature (which was very remarkable in a Provençal), and already in his youth (1307—1317) translated medical, astronomical, and philosophical writings from that language into Hebrew. Kalonymos ben Kalonymos, however, was not only a hewer of wood and drawer of water, and interpreter in the realm of science, but had intellect enough to establish independent views. Disregarding the province of metaphysical speculation, he was more interested in pure ethics, which he especially wished to inculcate in his co-religionists, "because neglect and ignorance of it leads men into all kinds of perversities and mutual harm." He did not treat the subject, however, in a dry uninteresting style, but sought to clothe it in attractive garments. With this end in view Kalonymos revised a part of the Arabic encyclopædia of science (which was in circulation under the name of "Treatises of the Righteous Brethren,") in a dialogue between men and beasts, giving the theme a Jewish colouring.

In another work, "Touchstone" (composed at the end of 1322), Kalonymos ben Kalonymos held up a mirror to his Jewish contemporaries, in which they could recognise their perversities, follies, and sins. In order to avoid giving himself the appearance of a mere censor of morals, he enumerated his own register of sins, more in satire, however, than as a confession. In a sudden whimsical attack, Kalonymos satirised even Judaism. He wished he had been born a girl, for then he would not have had to bear the burden of six hundred and thirteen religious laws, besides so many

Talmudical restrictions, and rigorous ordinances, which could not possibly be all fulfilled, even when a man tried with the most exacting conscientiousness. As a woman he would not have to trouble himself with so much reading, to study Bible, Talmud, and the subjects belonging to it, nor torment himself with logic, mathematics, physics, astronomy, and philosophy. In time, however, Kalonymos' satire took the shape of bitter earnest. The degradation of his Jewish co-religionists, and the bloody persecutions occasioned by the Shepherds and the lepers, dispelled his mocking humour, and his satire was changed into lamentation. In Rome, which King Robert assigned to him as a place of residence, Kalonymos, having been furnished with letters of recommendation, obtained entry into a joyous, vivacious, imaginative circle of men, by whom he was urged to write an original parody. He composed a treatise for the Jewish carnival day (Purim) in which he imitated the tenor and spirit of the Talmud, its method, controversies, and digressions with considerable wit. It is a fine parody, which even now excites laughter, and of which we cannot tell whether it was intended as a harmless carnival joke or a satire on the Talmud. Kalonymos assumed a position of importance in the Roman congregation. Handsome in form, of abundant accomplishments, solid character, and elevated through the favour of King Robert of Naples, he was everyone's favourite. The Italian Jews were proud of him. But Kalonymos was not a true poet, still less an artist.

Of much more gifted, profound, and imaginative soul was his older friend and admirer, Immanuel ben Solomon Romi (born about 1265, died about 1330). He was a phenomenon in the Middle Ages in Jewish society, whom it is almost impossible to class. He belonged to that species of authors who, because they

do not write very decently, are therefore all the more attractive. Of overflowing wit, extravagant humour, and caustic satire, he is always able to enchain his readers, and continually to provoke their merriment. Immanuel may be called the Jewish Heine of the Middle Ages. Immanuel had an inexhaustible power of expressing the most brilliant sentiments with the utmost spontaneity. And all this in the holy language of the Prophets and Psalmists. Granted that the new-Hebrew poets and thinkers, the grammarians and Talmudists, had already lent flexibility to the language, none of Immanuel's predecessors had his power of striking from it whole showers of sparkling wit. But if, on the one side, he reduced the Hebrew language almost to a vehicle for the expression of brilliant dialogue, on the other side he robbed it of its sacred character. Immanuel transformed the chaste, closely-veiled maiden of the Hebrew muse into a lightly-clad dancer, who attracts the attention of the passers-by. He allows his muse to deal with the most frivolous and indelicate topics without the slightest concealment or shame. His collection of songs and novels might exert a very pernicious and poisonous effect upon hot-blooded youth. But, nevertheless, Immanuel was not on this account the hardened sinner, as he describes himself, who used to think of nothing else than to carry on amours, to mislead the fair, and deride the ugly. He sinned only with the tongue and the pen, but scarcely with the heart and mind.

Though he often sings in unmeasured strains of self-laudation, this simple description of his moral conduct must still be credited: "That he never bore his enemies malice, that he remained steadfast and true to his friends, cherished gratitude towards his benefactors, had a sympathetic heart, was not ostentatious with his knowledge, and had read deeply in science and poetry, whilst his companions

rioted in sensual enjoyments." Immanuel belonged to those who are dominated by their wit, even if their dearest friends are its victims, and the holiest things are dragged in the mire by it. He allowed himself to be far too easily influenced by the vivacity of the Italians and the Europeanized Jews, and put no curb to his tongue. What is remarkable in this satirist is that his life, his position, and occupation seem to have been in contradiction with his poetical craft. In the Roman community he filled an honourable position, was something like a president, at all events a man of distinction. He appears to have belonged to the medical profession, although he made sport of the quackeries of the doctors. In short, he led the domestic life common to his time, a life permeated by morality and by a religion which never tolerated any swerving from what was usual. His honourable rank in life nevertheless did not prevent him from singing riotous songs, and from writing as though he were unconscious of the seriousness of religion, of responsibility, and learning. Immanuel was acquainted, if not on intimate terms, with the greatest poet of the Middle Ages, the first to open the gates of a new epoch, and to display the unity of Italy in poetic phrase. Probably they came to know one another in one of Dante's frequent visits to Rome either as ambassador or exile. Although their poetic style is as opposite as the poles—Dante's ethereal, grave, and elevated; Immanuel's smart, gay, and light—they nevertheless have some points of contact. Each had absorbed in himself the culture of the past; Dante the catholic, scholastic, and romantic elements; Immanuel the Biblical, Talmudical, Maimonist, philosophical and neo-Hebraic products. Both elaborated this many-hued material, and moulded it into a new kind of poetry. The Italians at that time were full of the impulse of life, and

Immanuel's muse is inspired by the witchery of Spring. He wrote ably also in Italian; a beautiful poem of his in that language, which is still extant, gives evidence of this. Immanuel was the first to adapt the Italian numbers to the neo-Hebraic lyre. He introduced the alternative rhyme (*Terza rima* in sonnet form), in which he aimed at a musical cadence. His poems, however, are not equally successful. They are wanting not in imagination, but in grace and elegance. His power lies purely in poetical prose (*Meliza*), where he can indulge in strained and witty allusions. In this form he composed a host of short novels, questions and answers, letters, panegyrics, and epithalamia, which, through clever turns and comic situations, extort the laughter of the most serious-minded readers.

In one of these novels he brings forward a quarrelsome grammarian of the Hebrew language, a verbal critic who takes the field in grammatical campaigns, and is accompanied by a marvellously beautiful woman. Immanuel enters into a hair-splitting disputation, that he might have the opportunity of coquetting with the lovely lady. He suffers defeat in grammar, but makes a conquest in love. Immanuel's description of Hell and Paradise, in which he imitated his friend Dante, is full of fine satire. But whilst the Christian romantic poet shows gravity and elevation in his poetical creation, represents sinners and criminals, political opponents and enemies of Italy, cardinals and popes, as being punished in hell, and in a manner depicts a severe last judgment: his Jewish friend, Immanuel, invents scenes in heaven and hell for the purpose of giving play to his humorous fancy. Dante wrote a "divine comedy," Immanuel a human one. He introduces his pilgrimage to heaven and hell by relating that he once felt greatly oppressed by the burden of his sins, and had experienced pangs of compunction; at this juncture his young

friend Daniel appeared to him, by whose untimely death he had lately been deeply affected, and offered to guide him through the dismal portals of hell and the Elysian fields of the blessed. In the chambers of hell Immanuel observes all the wicked and godless of the Bible: He sees also Aristotle, "because he teaches the eternity of the world," and Plato "because he asserts the reality of the ideas of species" (Realism). Most of all he scourges his own contemporaries in this poem. He makes the deriders of science suffer the torment of the damned, among them a Talmudist who secretly led the most immoral life, men who committed intellectual thefts, those who had sought to usurp all honours to themselves, the one to have his seat by the Ark of the Covenant, the other to read the prayers on the Day of Atonement. Quack doctors are also precipitated into hell, because they speculate on the stupidity and credulity of the multitude, and bring trusting patients to a premature grave. His young and blessed guide goes with him through the gates of Paradise. What exclamations the departed spirits make at the poet's approach. They call out, "Now is the time to laugh, for Immanuel has arrived." In the description of Paradise and its inhabitants, Immanuel affects to treat his theme very seriously; but titters softly within the very gates of heaven. Of course, he notices the holy men, the patriarchs, the pious kings and heroes of the Jewish past, the prophets and the great teachers, the poets, Jehuda Halevi and Charisi, the Jewish philosopher Maimuni. Next to King David, however, who fingers the harp and sings psalms, he observes the harlot Rahab, who is concealing the spies in Jericho, and Tamar who is sitting at the cross-road waiting. Dante excludes all the heathen world from Paradise, because they did not acknowledge Christ, and had no share in the grace of blessedness. Immanuel sees a troop of the blissful,

whom he does not recognise, and asks their leader who they are? "These are," answers the latter, "righteous and moral heathens, who by their spirit attained the height of wisdom, which recognises the only God as the creator of the world and the bestower of grace." The pious authors, David, Solomon, Isaiah, Ezekiel, on seeing Immanuel, dart forward to meet him; they all thank him for having expounded the Scriptures so well; and Immanuel thus administers side-blows to older and contemporary exegetists.

The neo-Hebraic poetry, which began with José ben José, and reached its zenith in Ibn Gebirol and Jehuda Halevi, attains its final stage of development in Immanuel. All sources were now choked up. After Immanuel, the Hebrew muse became silent again for a long time, and it required a fresh and powerful stimulus to awaken it from slumber to new energy. Verses were certainly still written after his days, and rhymes polished, but they are as far removed from poetry as a street song is from a soul-stirring melody. The fate of Hebrew poetry is typically illustrated in Immanuel's career. For a long period he was popular, everyone sought his friendship, but in old age he fell into neglect and poverty. His own statement is that his generosity dissipated his means. He was as much derided as he was formerly praised. He left Rome with his family, travelled about, and found repose at length at the house of a wealthy, influential friend of art (Benjamin?) in Fermo, who made him and his family welcome, and advised him to arrange the verses and poems written at different periods of his life into a symmetrical whole.

The praises which Immanuel bestows on his own productions, and his boast that he would cast the old poets into the shade, certainly tended to produce a bad impression. Nevertheless, like every expert in his profession, he was far removed

from that repulsive vanity which perceives its own depreciation in the recognition of another. To true merit Immanuel gave the tribute of his warmest praise, and modestly conceded precedence to it. Not only did he extol the well-born Kalonymos, who basked in the sunshine of the king's favour, with the most extravagant figures of speech, but he praised almost more heartily the poet Jehuda Siciliano, who lived in straitened circumstances. He gave him the palm for poetical verse, but reserved for himself superiority in poetical prose. But for Immanuel, nothing would have been known of this poet. Poor Siciliano had to waste his power in occasional poems for his subsistence, and was thus unable to produce any lasting work. With glowing enthusiasm he eulogises his cousin, the young and learned Leone Romano, Jehuda ben Moses ben Daniel (born about 1292), whom he calls the "Crown of Thought." In Paradise he provides him with the highest place of honour. Leone Romano was the teacher of King Robert of Naples, and instructed him in the original language of the Bible. He knew also the language of learned Christendom, and was certainly the first Jew who directed his attention to scholastic philosophy. He translated for Jewish readers the philosophical compositions of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and others. Leone Romano also composed original works of exegesis, set forth in philosophical method. But greatly as his contemporaries admired his learning and intellect, which had already achieved so much when he had scarcely arrived at man's estate, he exercised no influence whatever on posterity.

Roman society which promoted science and poetry, included also the grandson of a Roman emigrant who took up his abode in Greece, Shemarya Ikriti (Cretan) of Negroponte (flourished 1290—1320). He stood in close relation with the

Roman community and King Robert. Familiar with Talmudical literature, as he was probably Rabbi in Negroponte, he devoted himself to philosophical speculations, and was perhaps well read in the Greek philosophical literature in its original language. In his youth, Ikriti, like many of his contemporaries, occupied himself with translations of philosophical works. Later on he conceived a plan of practical utility, in which he designed to turn his knowledge to account. He sought to smoothe over the difference between the Rabbanites and Karaites, and lastingly to reconcile the sects which had been at enmity with one another for centuries, "that all Israel may once more be united in one fraternal bond." Shemarya of Negroponte was the first, perhaps the only Rabbanite, who, if he did not exactly extend the hand of reconciliation to Karaism, still showed a friendly disposition towards it. He recognised that both parties were in error, Karaism was wrong in rejecting Talmudical traditions unconditionally; but the Rabbanites also sinned against truth in placing the Talmud in the forefront, and overlooking the Bible. In Greece there may have been Karaites at that time who had settled there from Constantinople. To these Shemarya Ikriti applied, in order to incline their minds in favour of reunion with the mother-community.

For the difficult task of bringing discordant faiths into harmony, there was required much intelligence and energy; but Shemarya could only furnish goodwill to the cause. He was not exactly deficient in knowledge, but his mental grasp was not sufficiently powerful. At the instance of King Robert, who interested himself in Jewish literature, he wrote a commentary on the Bible, and forwarded to him the books which he had first completed with a dedication (1328). It read as follows: "To our noble King Robert, adorned, like King Solomon,

with the crown of wisdom and the diadem of royalty, I send this exposition of the cosmogony, and the Song of Songs." His Biblical commentaries, however, were set forth with great diffuseness, covered a great range, and were not calculated to appeal to the Karaites, and draw them over to the side of Rabbinical Judaism. His attempt at reconciliation miscarried, and perhaps was not made with the proper spirit; for there was a certain disposition on the part of many Karaites to treat his overtures favourably, and his efforts would not have failed if they had been conducted with greater skill. Nevertheless, Ikriti was held in such esteem in his time that the Roman congregation took an interest in his labours, entered into correspondence with him, while the Karaites assiduously read his works, and indeed in later times described him as a member of their own party.

Karaism was still dragging itself along slowly with a decaying, stiffening form. Internal schisms still remained unaccommodated. Different Karaite congregations celebrated the festivals at different times: the Palestinians, according to the observation of the new moon, and the extra-Palestinian congregations, in common with the Rabbanites. Their extremely severe marriage laws had not been finally settled even up to this epoch. Karaism at that time had three centres—Cairo in Egypt, Constantinople in the Byzantine Empire, and Sulchat (Eski-Crimea) in the Crimean peninsula. Some importance at that time was possessed by Aaron ben Joseph the elder, physician in Constantinople (flourished about 1270—1300). He came originally from the Crimea, made extensive voyages, and acquired a knowledge of medicine and philosophy. Aaron I. also made himself intimate with Rabbanite literature to a degree that few of his co-religionists ever attained. He made use even of Nachmani's commentary on

the Pentateuch, and from this circumstance arose the mistake of later Karaites, that Aaron had sat at Nachmani's feet. His familiarity with Rabbanite literature had also a beneficial effect on his style: he wrote much more clearly and intelligibly than most of the Karaite authors. He was even disposed to accept the tradition of the Talmud.

He completely fixed the Karaite Prayer Book (Siddur Tefila), which hitherto had been in an unsettled condition. For this purpose he also incorporated hymns written by Gebirol, Jehuda Halevi, Ibn Ezra, and other Rabbanite liturgical poets. Although Aaron himself possessed very little poetical genius, and his metrical prayers, with which he enriched the Prayer Book of the Karaites, have no great poetical merit, yet by this admission of the hymns written by Rabbanites into his compilation, he showed that he knew how to appreciate the devout sublimity attained in the prayers of the Spanish Jews, and that he was not altogether devoid of taste. If Shemarya of Negroponte had undertaken to effect a reconciliation between the Rabbanites and the Karaites in a more intelligent and energetic manner, there can be no doubt but that Aaron would willingly have offered his assistance, provided, of course, that he knew of Shemarya's attempt. There was not wanting among the Karaites at this time a strong inclination for reunion. Owing to the activity of Abraham Maimuni II., a great grandson of the renowned Maimuni, who had succeeded to the post of Chief (Nagid) over the Rabbanite communities in Egypt after the death of his father David, on a certain day an important Karaite congregation in Egypt openly acknowledged the teachings of the Rabbanites. In Palestine also frequent conversions of Karaites to Talmudical Judaism took place. On this account the Rabbis of the time were more favourably disposed towards them. On the

one hand, the strict Talmudist Samson of Sens had denounced the Karaites as heathens, whose wine was not to be partaken of by orthodox Jews; on the other hand, however, Estori Parchi, who had been banished from Provence, and who, emigrating to Palestine, had settled in Betsan, recognised them as co-religionists who were led astray by certain erroneous notions which they held, but who were not to be altogether rejected.

CHAPTER III:

THE FAMILY OF ASHERI AND GERSONIDES:

Condition of Palestine—Pilgrims and Immigrants—Shem-Tòb Ibn Gaon, Isaac Chelo and Meir Aldabi—Favourable position of the Jews in Castile under Alfonso XI.—Persecution in Navarre—Joseph de Ecija and Samuël Ibn Wakar—Increase of Anti-Jewish Feelings—Abner-Alfonso of Burgos, Convert to Christianity, and Persecutor of the Jews—Gonzalo Martinez—Fall of Martinez and Deliverance of the Jews—Decline of the Study of Science—The Study of the Talmud—Prosecuted with Renewed Vigour—Jacob and Judah Asheri—Samson of Chinon—Isaac Pulgar, David Ibn Albilya—The Provençal Philosophers—Ibn Caspi, Leon de Bafolas, and Vidal Narboni—Decline of the Study of the Talmud in Germany—Emperor Louis of Bavaria and the Jews—Persecution by the “Leather-Arms.”

1328—1350 C.E.

THE Holy Land was once more made accessible to its children, The Egyptian Sultans, into whose power it had again completely passed after the fall of Acco and the expulsion of the Christians, were more tolerant than the former Christian Byzantine emperors and the crusading kings of the Franks. They did not hinder the coming thither of Jewish pilgrims who desired to pray and to weep over the ruins of the past, so rich in recollections, or at the graves of their great men who were there interred, so as to lighten their overburdened hearts; nor did they oppose the settlement therein of European exiles, who again cultivated the soil of the land of their fathers. The long, powerful, and at the same time mild, reign of the Mameluke Sultan, Nassir Mahomet (1299—1341), was a happy time for the Jews who visited Palestine. Whilst under the rule of the Christian governors of the country, no Jew was permitted to

approach the former capital, at this time Jewish pilgrims from Egypt and Syria regularly came to Jerusalem, to celebrate the festivals just as in the time when the Temple yet shone in all its splendour. The Karaites established special forms of prayer for those who went on pilgrimages to Jerusalem: at their departure, the whole congregation used to assemble in order to give utterance in a common prayer to the bitter-sweet emotions connected with the memory of Zion. The immigrants, who made a lengthened stay in Palestine, engaged in agriculture, and became so thoroughly occupied with it, that the question was mooted whether the laws of Tithes, of the Year of Release, and others ought not to be again carried into effect. In consequence of the freedom and tolerance which the Jews were enjoying, many enthusiastic spirits were again seized by the ardent desire to kiss the dust of the Holy Land. Emigration, especially from the extreme west, in the direction of Palestine, became very frequent at this time.

A pupil of Meïr of Rothenburg, named Abraham, who was a painstaking copyist of holy writings, considered it to be a mark of grace from God that he was able to dwell in the Holy Land. Two young Kabbalists, Chananel Ibn Askara and Shem-Tob Ibn Gaon from Spain, also travelled to this country, probably to be nearer the source of the mystic doctrines, which their fancy assigned to this place, and took up their residence in Safet. But instead of obtaining any fresh information upon the doctrines of the Kabbala, one of them—Ibn Askara had died in his youth—was the promulgator of the elements of this science there. Shem Tob ben Abraham Ibn Gaon, from Segovia (born 1283, died after 1330), whose teacher in the Talmud had been Ben Adret, and in the Kabbala Isaac ben Todros, introduced the mystic teaching into Palestine, and stamped even Maimuni as a Kabbalist.

The congregation of Jerusalem was at this time very numerous. A large portion of the Rabbanite community led a contemplative life, studied the Talmud day and night, and became engrossed with the secret lore of the Kabbala. There were also among them, however, handicraftsmen, merchants and several who were acquainted with the science of medicine, with mathematics and astronomy. The artistic work of the famous calligraphers of Jerusalem was in great demand, far and near. At this time Hebron also possessed a vigorous community, whose members engaged chiefly in the weaving and dyeing of cotton-stuffs, and in the manufacture of glass wares, which were exported thence in large quantities. In the south of Palestine Jewish shepherds again pastured their flocks after the manner of the patriarchs, in company with Mahometans. Their Rabbi was also a shepherd; he delivered discourses upon the Talmud in the pasture fields for such as desired to obtain instruction.

In the meantime, although the Holy Land was the goal towards which men moved by their ardent longing turned themselves, yet it did not now become a centre for the dispersed members of the Jewish race any more than it had been for a long time previous. It could not once produce an original leader of any sort, and lived upon the crumbs which fell to it from the culture of the Jews in Europe. The Kabbala, which had begun to be studied in Palestine since the time of Nachmani, was only an exotic plant which could never flourish very well there; and in this part of the world it became impregnated and polluted by the wildest superstition. The Holy Land did not once produce a Talmudical authority of widespread renown; also for earnest Rabbinical studies it was dependent upon Europe. The leadership for all Judaism in the days after the deaths of Ben Adret and Asheri was once again

assumed by men in Spain, this time however not in Aragon but in Castile, where the family of Asheri and their method of instruction led the way. Here lived the universally recognised Talmudical authorities. Here, as at all times, was to be found, if not a flourishing state of science, at least an appreciation of scientific research. In Castile, beneath the rule of the powerful and intelligent monarch, Alfonso XI., the Jews were in such a prosperous condition that, compared with other countries in Europe, this period may be called their Golden Age. Several wealthy Jews in succession under the distinguished title of Ministers of Finance (Almoxarif) exercised an influence upon the course of politics. Not only the Court, but also the great nobles surrounded themselves with Jewish counsellors and officers. In place of the humiliating servile state, and of the degrading brand, which the Church had decreed for the Jews, the Jewish Spaniards now again bore their heads erect, and clothed themselves in gold and silk. Led astray by the glittering appearance of this favourable state of affairs, some persons recognised therein the fulfilment of that old prophecy which Christians had so often employed in their attacks on Judaism, which declared that "the sceptre shall never depart from Judah."

It is scarcely to be wondered at, if the Spanish Jews were somewhat unduly elated because of the promotion of certain men from their midst to State offices. Such prominent public men were for the most part a protecting shield for the communities against the avaricious and turbulent lower orders of the nobility, against the stupid credulity and envy of the mob, and the serpent-like poison of the clergy, which lay concealed but ready to attack the Jews. Jewish ministers and counsellors who were in the service and the retinue of the king, clothed in the splendour of

the Court, and wearing at their sides the knightly sword, disarmed their bitter enemies by their own power, without calling in the aid of any special intercession on behalf of their brethren in faith and in race. The impoverished nobles, who possessed nothing more than their swords, were filled with envy against the rich and wise Jews; but they were compelled to submit to the state of affairs. The masses, who are easily guided by appearances, did not venture to ill-treat or to slay the most distinguished men among the Jews as outlaws and exiles, as was done in Germany, because they knew that the Jews were held in high favour at Court. They often even overrated their influence, and believed that the Jews at that time were more readily listened to by the king than were others. Even the haughty clergy were obliged to restrain their hostile clamour so long as Joseph of Ecija, Samuel Ibn Wakar, and others, were in a position to counteract their influence.

If the Castilian Jews compared the condition of their brethren in neighbouring countries with their own, they must certainly have felt themselves in an exalted position, and entitled to be proud of their lot. In Aragon, which at this time was united into one kingdom with the islands of Mallorca and Sicily, the persecuting spirit of the Church, which Raymund de Penjaforte had stirred up there, and which Jayme I. had perpetuated by means of oppressive laws, was rampant. In Navarre, which already for half a century had belonged to the Crown of France, the hatred against the Jews burned with a frenzy, the like to which was hitherto only to be met with in Germany. The last of the Capets, Charles IV., was dead, and with the accession of Philip IV. to the French throne the dynasty of the House of Valois began. It is noteworthy that even Christians at that time believed that the ultimate extinction of the lineal successors of

Philip le Bel was a retribution for having driven out the Jews so mercilessly from France. The people of Navarre strove hard to separate themselves from the rule of France, and to form an independent State. It is not exactly known in how far the Jews stood in the way of their project. Anyhow it is certain that simultaneously throughout the whole country a bloodthirsty enmity arose against the Jews, which was prompted by envy for their riches, and was incited by the monks. A Franciscan, named Pedro Olligoyen, made himself most prominent in his efforts to goad on the deluded mob to fury against the innocent Jews. In the large congregation of Estella a most horrible massacre began on a Sabbath (23rd Adar—5th March, 1328). The infuriated mob raised the cry of "Death to the Jews, or their conversion."

In vain did the Jews attempt to defend themselves in their streets; the inhabitants of the city, strengthened by bands of men from without, besieged them and took by storm the walls which surrounded the Jewish quarter. These they broke down, and slew almost all the Jews of the city. They also set fire to the Jewish houses and reduced them to ashes. The description given by an eye-witness of the events in which he also was a sufferer, presents only a feeble record of the terrible extent of this savage massacre in Estella. The murderers had slain the parents and the four younger brothers of Menachem ben Zerach, who was then barely twenty years old, and afterwards became a learned scholar. He himself was wounded by the murderers, and was stretched on the ground. Thus he lay from evening till midnight powerless beneath a number of corpses. A compassionate knight, who was a friend of Menachem's father, searched for him beneath the pile of corpses, took him home with him, and had him carefully tended till he recovered from his wounds. Similar scenes

of barbarity were enacted also in other parts of the country, especially in the largest community in Navarre, Tudela, and in the smaller ones of Falcos, Funes, Moncilla, Viana and others, but nowhere to such a frightful extent as in Estella. Over six thousand Jews perished in these riots. Only the Jews of the capital, Pampeluna, appear to have escaped these savage attacks. The people of Navarre at length succeeded in their desire; their country was divided from the land of France and obtained its own king, who was Philip III., Count of Evreux and Angoulême. As soon as he had been crowned, the relatives of the murdered people entreated him to obtain justice for their deaths. At first Philip pursued his prosecution of the guilty persons in real earnest; he ordered the chief ringleaders, the Franciscan Pedro Olligoyen and others, to be cast into prison, and laid a fine upon the cities in which these crimes had been committed. But in course of time he liberated all the imprisoned, and remitted the fine as an act of grace. He, however, would not part with the stolen property and the possessions of persons left without heirs; these were to be surrendered to him, just as in Germany. The Jews indeed might at any time be slaughtered, but the royal treasury was not to suffer any loss on that account. This king and his successors imposed new burdens upon the wretched people. The Jews of Navarre now began to suffer as bitterly as those of Germany.

In Castile about this time there shone what was strictly speaking only a false sun, but it nevertheless cast a ray of light which, compared with the gloom wherein the congregations of other countries were steeped, for the moment at least promised to be beneficial. Alfonso XI., as soon as he came of age, and obtained the sovereignty (1325—1380), had two Jewish favourites, Don Joseph of Ecija and

Samuel Ibn Wakar. The former of these two men, whose full name was Joseph ben Ephraim Ibn Benveniste Halevi, had a pleasing exterior, understood music, and knew how to secure the favour of those in power. At the recommendation of his uncle, the king had appointed him not only to the post of Minister of Finance (Almoxarif), but also to that of trusted councillor (privado), and he highly valued his opinion. Joseph of Ecija possessed a state carriage, knights accompanied him as an escort on his journeys, and hidalgos dined at his table. On one occasion the king dispatched him on a very important and honourable mission which almost cost him his life. He was besieged by the citizens of Valladolid in the palace of the Infanta, and they demanded his surrender with tumultuous clamour. Meanwhile some of Joseph's retinue succeeded in escaping from the city, and they hastened at full speed to the king to whom they related what had taken place. Alfonso at once rightly saw that this was a revolt against his sovereignty. He marched rapidly towards Valladolid, and led all the knights of Old Castile against this town. Contrary to the wishes of his Jewish favourite, he besieged the former capital of his kingdom, burnt many houses, and would have entirely destroyed the place had not some more moderate persons intervened and explained to the king that the people were not so much embittered against Don Joseph as against Don Alvar Nuñez, whose influence was most hateful to them. Don Alfonso thereupon commanded Alvar to be removed from his public offices, whilst Don Joseph continued in favour with the king.

The other favourite of King Alfonso was his physician, Don Samuel Ibn Wakar (Abenhuacar). This man was of a scientific turn of mind, acted as astronomer, and probably also as astrologer to his master. Although he occupied no public office,

and took no part in State affairs, yet, through the favour of the king, he possessed very great influence. There existed, however, between Don Joseph of Ecija and Ibn Wakar, that kind of jealousy which is common to all courtiers who bask in the rays of the same sun. On account of their rivalry these two favourites sought to injure each other, and thus incurred the hatred of the people, which also fell upon their co-religionists.

Certain wealthy Jews, probably relying upon the favourable position of their friends at Court, carried on transactions in money matters in an unscrupulous manner. They extorted a high rate of interest, and mercilessly persecuted their dilatory Christian debtors. The king himself was not opposed to the usury of the Jews and Moors, because he gained advantage therefrom. The complaints of the people against the Jewish and Mahometan usurers grew very numerous. The Cortes of Madrid, Valladolid and other cities made this point the object of petitions which they presented to the king, demanding the abolition of these abuses, and the king was compelled to yield to their entreaty.

The minds of the people, however, remained embittered against the Jews. The Cortes of Madrid thereupon called for several restrictive laws against the Jews, such as that they should not be allowed to acquire landed property, and especially that Jewish ministers of finance and farmers of taxes should not be appointed (1329). Alfonso replied, that, in the main, things should continue as they had been before. Don Samuel Ibn Wakar rose even higher in the royal favour. Don Alfonso entrusted him with the farming of the revenues which were derived from the importation of goods from the kingdom of Granada. He, moreover, obtained the privilege which empowered him to control the coinage of the realm, and to issue it at a lower standard. Joseph of Ecija now be-

came jealous of this power, and offered a higher sum for the right of farming the import-taxes from Granada. When he thought he had effected some damage to his rival, the latter dealt him in return a still more perceptible blow. Ibn Wakar succeeded in persuading the king that it would be more advantageous to the people of Castile if the protective system were carried out to its uttermost limits, and all imports from the neighbouring Moorish kingdom prohibited (1330—1331).

Whilst the two Jewish courtiers were striving to injure each other, the enemies of the Jews were busily at work to imperil not only the reputation, but also the existence of all the Castilian congregations. They inflamed the minds of the people by representing to them that, owing to the depreciation in the value of money which had been brought about by the farmer of the coinage, Ibn Wakar, the price of the necessities of life had risen in price, these articles being exported to the neighbouring countries, where they were bartered for silver, which had a higher value in their own land. The enemies of the Jews also brought the influence of the Church to bear, in order to arouse the prejudices of the king against all the Jews. A man from amongst the Jews was their champion, who no sooner had he embraced Christianity, than he became a fanatical persecutor of his brethren. This was the infamous Abner, the forerunner of the baptised and unbaptised Jew-haters, who prepared, and at length accomplished, the humiliation and banishment of the Spanish Jews.

Abner of Burgos, or as he was afterwards called, Alfonso Burgensis de Valladolid (born about 1270, died about 1346), was well acquainted with Biblical and Talmudical writings, and occupied himself also with the sciences, and practised the art of medicine. His knowledge had destroyed his religious belief, and turned him not only against Judaism,

but against all faiths alike. Troubled by cares for his means of subsistence, Abner did not obtain the desired support from his kinsmen in race. He was, however, too little acquainted with the world to cast his lot with contentment into an entirely new sphere. His ambition led him to desire higher things in life, but he was unable to find the means to satisfy his wishes. In order to be able to live in ease and splendour, Abner determined, when nearly sixty years of age, to adopt Christianity, although this religion was as little able to guarantee inward contentment to him as that which he had forsaken. As a Christian, he assumed the name of Alfonso. The infidel pupil of Aristotle and Averroes accepted an ecclesiastical office as sacristan at a large church in Valladolid, to which a rich benefice was attached, thus enabling him to gratify his worldly desires. He attempted to excuse his hypocritical behaviour and his apostasy by means of sophistical arguments.

Alfonso carried his want of conscientiousness so far that not long after his conversion to Christianity he attacked his former brethren in faith and race with a bitter hate, and showed the intention of eagerly persecuting them. Owing to his knowledge of Jewish literature, it was an easy task for him to discover the weak points in it, and to employ them in order to serve as charges against Judaism, and to produce the most hateful consequences. Alfonso was indefatigable in his accusations against the Jews and Judaism, and composed a long series of works, in which he introduced arguments partly aggressive, and partly defensive of his new faith in order to justify Christianity against the attacks made upon it by the Jews. He made the Hebrew language also suffer in his abuse of Judaism; he composed with much greater ease in this language than in Spanish.

On one occasion Alfonso had the brazen impudence to dedicate one of his hateful writings to his former friend, Isaac Pulgar. The latter thereupon sharply replied to him in a biting satirical poem, and enraged him also by his polemical writings. The Jews of Spain had not yet become so disheartened as to suffer such insolent attacks from their enemies in silence. Another less renowned writer also strongly opposed Alfonso, and there thus arose a warm battle of pens.

Alfonso of Valladolid, however, did not content himself with waging war in the field of polemical writings alone, but also presented himself straightway before King Alfonso XI., and laid his accusations against the Jews before him. He observed, or rather raked up anew the remark of the Church Father Jerome and of others, that in their Book of Prayer the Jews employed a formula of imprecation against the God of the Christians and his adherents. The representatives of the Jewish community in Valladolid, who were probably summoned by the king, to offer some justification for themselves, emphatically denied that the imprecation which originally was levelled against the Minim (Nazarenes), referred at all to Jesus and his present followers. Alfonso, however, would not admit this attempt at exculpation, and pledged himself to demonstrate clearly his charges against the Jews in a disputation. The King of Castile thereupon commanded the representatives of the Valladolid community to enter upon a religious discussion with the sacristan. It took place in the presence of public officials and Dominicans. Here Alfonso Burgensis repeated his accusations, and was so far victorious that in consequence of this disputation, the King Alfonso issued an edict (25th February, 1336) forbidding the Castilian communities, under penalty of a fine, from using

the condemned prayer or the formula of imprecation any more. Thus the enemies of the Jews succeeded in winning over the king, who was really well-disposed towards the Jews, to their own side. More ominous events were now about to happen.

King Alfonso was not very constant in his bestowal of favours, but transferred them from one person to another. He once took into his confidence a man unworthy of the distinction, named Gonzalo Martinez (Nuñez) de Oviedo, originally a poor knight, but who had been promoted to higher positions through the patronage of the Jewish favourite, Don Joseph of Ecija. Far from being grateful to his benefactor, he bore a deep hatred against him who had thus raised him, and his hostile feeling extended to all Jews. When he had been appointed to the post of Minister of the Royal Palace, and later on to that of Grand Master of the Order of Alcantara (1337), he determined upon carrying out his plan of annihilating the Jews. He lodged a formal charge against Don Joseph and Don Samuel Ibn Wakar; to the effect that they had enriched themselves in the service of the king. In consequence of this, he obtained the permission of the king to deal with them as he chose, so as to extort money from them. Thereupon Gonzalo ordered both of them, together with two brothers of Ibn Wakar, and also eight relatives of their families, to be thrown into prison, and their property confiscated. Don Joseph of Ecija died in prison, and Don Samuel died under the torture to which he was subjected. This, however, did not sufficiently satisfy the enemy of the Jews. He now sought to destroy two other Jews who held high positions at Court—these were Moses Abudiel and (Sulaiman?) Ibn Yaish. He implicated them in a charge which he brought forward, while he still pretended to behave in a very friendly manner towards them.

Through their downfall, Gonzalo Martinez thought to carry into effect his wicked plan against all the Jews without any difficulty.

The Moorish King of Morocco, Abulhassan (Alboacin), whose help was implored by his oppressed co-religionists in Granada, had gathered a very large army under the command of his son, Abumelik, near the Straits, and announced his intention of immediately undertaking a vigorous campaign against Castile. At once on the reception of this news, terror spread throughout Christian Spain. The King Alfonso forthwith appointed Gonzalo Martinez, the Master of the Order of Alcantara, as general in charge of this war, and invested him with plenary power. But funds were wanting; at the deliberation which then ensued, it appears that Gonzalo propounded his plan for depriving the Jews of their wealth, and also of expelling them from Castile. By this means, large supplies of money would flow into the royal treasury; for even the Christians, who were indebted to the Jews, would willingly pay large sums of money in order to escape falling into the hands of their enemies. Fortunately this proposal met with opposition in the royal council, and even from the most prominent clergyman in Castile, the Archbishop of Toledo. The latter urged that the Jews were an inexhaustible treasure for the king whom no person should rob, and that the rulers of Castile had guaranteed to them protection and toleration. Don Moses Abudiel, who obtained information concerning the counsel that had been offered with regard to the Jews, seeing that it vitally affected them for weal or for woe, advised the congregations to institute public fasts, and to supplicate the God of their fathers to annul the wickedness of Gonzalo. The latter then marched to the frontier against the Moorish army, and secured an easy victory. It happened, fortunately for the Spaniard,

that the Moorish general, Abumelik, fell pierced by an arrow, and his army, filled with dismay at this event, was defeated and put to the rout. The vain-glory of the Grand Master of Alcantara now attained a high pitch. He thought to obtain such great importance in Spanish affairs that the king would be compelled to approve of all measures proposed by him. He was indeed filled with that pride which precedes a fall.

The feeble hand of a woman was the cause of his downfall. The beautiful and spirited Leonora de Guzman, who had so enthralled the king with her charms that he was more faithful to her than to his wife, hated the favourite Martinez Gonzalo, and determined to turn the king against him. Alfonso desiring to learn the real truth of the matter sent a command to Gonzalo to present himself before him in Madrid; he however disobeyed the royal command. To be able to defy the anger of the king, he stirred up the knights of the Order of Alcantara, and the citizens of the towns assigned to his government, to rebel against his sovereign, and also entered into traitorous negotiations with the King of Portugal, and even with the enemy of the Christians, the King of Granada. Alfonso then determined to lead his nobles in person against him, and to besiege him in Valencia de Alcantara. In mad defiance, Gonzalo directed arrows and shots to be aimed at the king, which mortally wounded a man who stood in the vicinity of Alfonso. But some of the knights of the Order of Alcantara forsook their Grand Master, and surrendered to the king. There thus remained nothing for Gonzalo except to yield. He was condemned to death as a traitor, and burnt at the stake (1339), and thus ended the man who had sworn to annihilate the Jews. The Castilian congregations thereupon celebrated a new festival of deliverance in the same month, in which the evil plans

of Haman against the Jews had recoiled on his own head. Alfonso again received the Jews into his favour, and raised Moses Abudiel to a high position at his Court. From this time forward till the day of his death, Alfonso XI. acted justly towards his Jewish subjects.

One would have thought that, in the midst of this favourable condition of affairs, the Jews would have occupied themselves with the further advance of their intellectual culture which had already developed its full blossom; but it was not so. Castile in particular, and indeed all Spain, at this epoch, was very deficient in men who cultivated Jewish science. The Talmud constituted the only branch of study which intellectual men attended to, and even here there was no particular fertility, for a decrease in strength manifested itself even in the study of the Talmud. The most famous rabbis of this period had so great a mistrust of their own powers that they no longer dared to take an independent view of anything, and only relied upon the results achieved by older authorities. They made it very convenient for themselves in practice by slavishly following Maimuni's Code of laws, only deviating from it in such particulars as Asheri had objected to. Apparently the later scholars succeeded, if not in altogether destroying the inclination of the Spanish Jews to engage in scientific inquiry, at least in bringing science into disrepute, and thus weakening its study. The most distinguished supporters of philosophy henceforth no more came from Spain; such indeed as may be considered to have risen to any degree of importance at all were from Southern France. These were Ibn Kaspi, Gersonides and Narboni. Asheri and his sons who inherited his hostility to science caused the view to become general throughout Spain, that a man should not engage any longer in higher questions

concerning Judaism and its connection with philosophy. They did not conceive that by this means the spirit of the Spanish Jews would also become enfeebled for Talmudical investigations, and would be capable of engaging in them. The Jewish inhabitants of Spain were not so well suited for the study of narrow Talmudism as were the German Jews. When they were prevented from occupying themselves in science, all their buoyancy of spirit was at the same time removed from them, and they became unfit for the studies which were permitted to them. Even their pleasure in song and their poetical talents died away. Though one or another still wrote poems, their productions consisted merely in rude and unimaginative verse. They were in truth no better than the German Jews whom they had before so greatly despised. Even their prose style, on which the Spanish Jews had formerly bestowed so much care, degenerated for the most part into a spiritless verbosity. The charming writer, Santob de Carrion, who already in the time of Alfonso XI. had clothed his thoughts in beautiful Spanish verse, was a solitary poet, whose songs awoke no echoing sound.

The eight sons of Asheri, his relatives, who had emigrated with him from Germany to Toledo, together with his numerous grandsons, dominated Spanish Judaism from this time onwards. They introduced a one-sided Talmudical method of instruction, deeply tinged with a gloomy and penitential view of religion. The most famous of the sons of Asheri were Jacob (Baal ha-Turim) and Jehuda, both of them not only intensely religious, but also of unselfish, self-sacrificing dispositions; they were, however, both limited to a very narrow range of ideas. Both were as learned in the Talmud as they were ignorant in other subjects, and may almost be said to have striven to bring the decay of religion into accord with the in-

creased sufferings of the Jews in this third settlement of their race.

Jacob ben Asheri (born about 1280, died 1340) was visited by bitter misfortunes. His life was one chain of sufferings and privation; but he bore all with patience, without any murmur or complaint. Although his father, Asheri, had brought much wealth with him to Spain, and had always been in good circumstances, yet his son, Jacob, had to suffer the bitterest pangs of poverty. Nevertheless he received no salary as a Rabbi: he does not appear indeed to have accepted that post at any time. As with all the family of Asheri, both sons and grandsons, the Talmud constituted his exclusive interest of life; but he displayed more erudition than originality. His sole merit consists in the fact that he brought the chaos of Talmudical learning into definite order, and satisfied the requirement of the time by a definite Code of laws for religious practice.

Owing to his German origin and to his residence in Spain, Jacob Asheri became familiar with the results of the different schools and authorities in their minutest details. He was thus well suited to control this chaotic mass and to reduce it to order. On the basis of the labours of all his predecessors in this field, especially of Maimuni, Jacob compiled a second religious Code (in four parts, Turim, called, in short, Tur, about 1340). This work treated solely of religious practice, that is, of the ritual, moral, marriage and civil laws. He omitted all such things as had fallen into disuse since the destruction of the Temple, and also because of altered circumstances. With the composition of this work there begins, as it were, a new phase in the inner development of Judaism.

Jacob's religious Code forms a graduated scale, by means of which it can be ascertained to how low a level official Judaism had sunk since the time of

Maimuni. In Maimuni's compilation thought is paramount; every ritual practice, of whatever kind, whether good or bad, is brought into connection with the bases of religion. In Jacob's Code, on the other hand, all thought or reasoning is renounced. Religious scrupulousness, which had taken so firm a hold of the German Jewish congregations, here imposes upon men the utmost stringency and enforces mortification. Maimuni in his acceptance of those religious precepts that were incumbent upon all, relied entirely on the Talmud, and but seldom included the decisions of the Geonim as invested with authority. Asheri's son, on the contrary, admitted into his digest of religious laws everything that any pious or ultra-pious man had decided upon either out of scrupulosity or as a result of learned exposition. On this account, in his Code, the elements of religion which were regarded as binding upon all by Rabbinical authorities far outnumbered those which had their origin in the Talmud. One might almost say that in Jacob Asheri's hands Talmudical Judaism was transformed into Rabbinism. He even included some of the follies of the Kabbala in his religious digest.

Jacob's Code of laws is essentially different from that of Maimuni, not only in contents, but also in form. The style and language do not manifest the conciseness and lucidity of that of Maimuni. Notwithstanding this, his Code of religious precepts soon met with universal acceptance, because it corresponded to a want of the times, and presented, in a synoptical form, all the ordinances relating to the ritual, to marriage, and civil laws which were of binding force on the adherents of Judaism who lived in exile under the rule of various nations. Rabbis and judges accepted it as the criterion for practical decisions, and even preferred it to Maimuni's work. Only a very few of the Rabbis of that age refused to

forego their independence and continued to pronounce decisions arrived at by original inquiry of their own, and therefore paid little heed to the new religious Code. The great majority of them, on the other hand, not only in Spain, but also in Germany, were delighted at possessing such a handy book of laws where everything worth knowing was arranged for them, which dispensed with deep penetrative research, and appealed more to the memory than to an independent use of the understanding. Thus Jacob's Tur became the indispensable manual for the knowledge of Judaism, as understood by the Rabbis, for a period of four centuries, till a new one was accepted which far surpassed the old.

His brother, Jehuda Asheri, was on a par with Jacob in erudition and virtue, but did not possess similar power of reducing chaos to order. He was born about 1284, and died in 1349. After the death of his father the community of Toledo elected him as Asheri's successor in the Rabbinate of the Spanish capital. He performed the functions of his office with extraordinary scrupulousness without respect of persons, and thus was able to call the whole community to witness that he had never overlooked the most trivial breach of the law, or suffered the guilty to sin with impunity. On one occasion, when Jehuda Asheri, on account of some small quarrel with his congregation, resolved to take up his abode in Seville, the entire community unanimously begged of him to remain in their midst, and doubled his salary. In spite of this show of affection he did not feel comfortable in Spain, and in his will he is said to have advised his five sons to emigrate to Germany, the original home of his family. The persecution of the German Jews, during the year of the epidemic pestilence, had taught them, however, that it was much preferable to dwell in Spain. By reason of his position in the most important of the congrega-

tions and of his comprehensive Rabbinical learning, Jehuda Asheri was regarded as the highest authority of his age, and was preferred even to his brother Jacob.

Seeing that even the study of the Talmud, which was so zealously pursued in Spain, had fallen into this state of stagnation and lassitude, the other branches of science could not complain that they made no progress, or were not attentively cultivated. The study of the Bible, Hebrew grammar, and exegesis were entirely neglected; we can hardly recall a single name of a writer who earnestly occupied himself with these subjects. Owing to the energetic and fiery zeal of Abba-Mari, the interdict of Ben Adret, and the pronounced aversion of Asheri to it, all intellectual thought had completely fallen into disrepute and decay. The truly orthodox shunned contact with philosophy as the direct route to heresy and infidelity, and pseudo-pious people behaved in a yet more prudish fashion towards it. It required courage to engage in a study which involved accusations of heresy and contempt. The Kabbala had also done its work, in dimming the eyes of men by its illusions. There were but few men who at this time maintained the study of the rational interpretation of Judaism, these were Isaac Pulgar of Avila, David Ibn Albilla of Portugal, and Joseph Kaspi of Argentiére, in Southern France.

A more renowned and more talented personality was revealed in Levi ben Gerson or Leon de Bagnols, also called Leo the Hebrew, more usually known by his literary name Gersonides (born 1280, died about 1345). He belonged to a family of scholars, and among his ancestors he reckoned that Levi of Villefranche, who had indirectly set on foot the prohibition of scientific study. In spite of the interdict of Ben Adret forbidding the instruction of youths in science, Gersonides was initiated into it at a very

early age, and before he had reached his thirtieth year he was able to compose a comprehensive and profound work upon philosophy. Gersonides was gifted with a versatile and profound intellect, and was averse to all superficiality and incompleteness. In the study of astronomy he corrected his predecessors, and made such accurate observations that students of the science based their views and calculations upon them. He invented an instrument by means of which observations of the heavens could be made more certain. This discovery filled him with such ecstasy—though he was an unpoetical man, and had his head filled with dry calculations and logical conclusions—that he composed a Hebrew poem, a kind of riddle, upon it. He also wrote works upon the science of medicine, and discovered new means of healing. At the same time he was held in very high repute by his contemporaries as a profound Talmudist, and, from his love for systematic arrangement, wrote a work upon the methodology of the Mishnah.

Maestro Leon de Bagnols, which title he bore in his profession of doctor, had been fortunate in not belonging to the Jews of France proper: he had continually changed his place of residence, staying at different times in Orange, Perpignan, and in Avignon, which was at this time the home of Popedom. He also had not been a sufferer in the expulsion of his co-religionists from this land; but his heart bled at the sight of the sufferings which the exiles were made to undergo. He moreover escaped from the effects of the Rising of the Shepherds, and the subsequent bitter calamities. Just about the same time his fertile powers of production began to put forth fruit, and he began his series of writings which continued for more than twenty years (1321—1343). None of his writings, however, created such a sensation as his work on the philosophy of religion

(Milchamot Adonai). In this he set forth the boldest metaphysical thoughts with philosophical calmness and independence, as if he paid little heed to the fact that by his departure from the hitherto received notions upon these questions, he was laying himself open to the charge of heresy and heterodoxy. "If my observations upon the subject are correct," he remarked, "then all blame levelled against me, I regard as praise." Leon de Bagnols belonged to a class of thinkers who are seldom to be met with, who, with majestic brow, seek truth for its own intrinsic value, without any reference to other ends and results which might cause conflict. Levi ben Gerson thus expressed his opinion upon this subject: Truth must be brought out and placed beneath the glare of open daylight, even if it should contradict the Torah in the strongest possible manner. The Torah is no tyrannical Law, which desires to force one to accept untruth as truth, but seeks to lead man direct to a true understanding of things. If the truth which has been arrived at by investigation is in harmony with the utterances of the Bible, then so much the better. In his reckless method of thought, the only parallel to Gersonides among Jewish inquirers that can be discovered is Spinoza. Like many of his predecessors, he would not recognise any ideas of the mystic art in science. He moreover refused to follow slavishly the accepted authorities in philosophy, who were regarded as infallible. He rather propounded his own independent views, which were sometimes opposed not only to Maimuni and Averroes, but also to Aristotle. Leon de Bagnols did not establish any perfect and thoroughly organised system of the philosophy of religion, but treated of the difficulties which concerned the thinkers of the age in a more decisive and extensive form than any of his predecessors had done.

In spite of all his great abilities, Gersonides has exercised very little influence upon Judaism. By the pious he was denounced as a heretic, because of his indiscreet mode of inquiry, and his ambiguous attitude towards the doctrine of the Creation. They misinterpreted the name of his chief work, "The Battles of the Lord," into "Battles against the Lord." He obtained a better reception, on the other hand, from Christian inquirers after truth. Pope Clement VI., during the lifetime of the author, commanded his treatise upon astronomy and the newly-invented instrument to be translated into Latin (1342).

Of a similar nature to him was another representative of rational Judaism of this age, Moses ben Joshua Narboni, also called Maestro Vidal (born about 1300, died 1362). His father Joshua, who belonged to a family in Narbonne, but resided in Perpignan, was so warmly interested in Jewish, that is to say, Maimunistic philosophy, that in spite of the interdict which was hurled against all who studied the subject, he instructed his son therein when he was thirteen years old. Vidal Narboni became an enthusiastic student. He divided his admiration between Maimuni and Averroes, to whose works he for the most part wrote commentaries. His travels which he had made from the foot of the Pyrenees to Toledo and back again to Soria (1345—62) enriched and firmly established his store of knowledge. He was interested in anything that was worth knowing, and made observations with great accuracy. No calamities or troubles succeeded in damping his zeal for the inquiry after truth. In consequence of the Black Death infuriated masses of the mob fell upon the community at Cervera. Vidal Narboni was compelled to take to flight in company with the rest of the congregation; he lost his possessions, and, what was more painful to him, his precious books. These misfortunes,

nevertheless, did not disturb him: he took up the thread of his work where it had been interrupted. He accomplished no entirely independent or original work; he was a true Aristotelian of an Averroist complexion. Narboni conceived Judaism as a disciplined guide which led to the attainment of the highest degree of theoretical moral truths: the Torah had a double meaning, the one simple, made easy for the thoughtless mob, and the other of a deeper metaphysical nature for the class of thinkers. This was a common opinion in those times, from which Gersonides alone demurred. Narboni also gave expression to heretical views, that is, such as were contrary to the ordinarily accepted understanding of Judaism, but not with the freedom and openness of Levi ben Gerson. He also rejected the belief in miracles, and attempted to explain them away altogether. He defended man's freedom of will by philosophical arguments. Death overtook him in the very midst of his labours when advanced in years, and when he was on the point of returning to his native land from Soria, on the other side of the Pyrenees, where he had spent many years of his life.

If the Karaite, Aaron ben Elia Nicomedi, is also to be reckoned among the philosophers of this time, he could scarcely be admitted into the company of Levi ben Gerson and other Provençal thinkers. His small stock of philosophical knowledge was indeed better displayed in matters that required erudition than in independent thought. Aaron II., of Nicomedia (in Asia Minor, born about 1300, died 1369), who probably lived in Cairo, was indeed superior only to his unscientific brother Karaite sectarians; but he was several centuries behind all the Rabbanite philosophers of religion. His method of thinking sounded like a voice from the grave, or as of one who had slumbered for a long series of years, and now spake the language

of antiquity, which was not understood by the men of his own day.

Aaron ben Elia was never once able to indicate correctly the end at which his writings aimed. Without being himself fully conscious of his motives, he was guided in the composition of his works by jealous rivalry of Maimuni and the Rabbanites. It vexed him sorely that the religious philosophical work, "The Guide," which was the property of his opponents, was perused and admired not only by Jews, but also by Christians and Mahometans, whilst the Karaites had nothing like it to show. Aaron desired to save the honour of the Karaites by his "Tree of Life." For this purpose he sought to detract from the merits of the work of Maimuni, and remarked that some of the statements which were to be found in the book had already been made by Karaite philosophers of religion. Notwithstanding this he followed Maimuni most minutely, and treated only of those questions which the latter had raised; but he sought to solve them not by the aid of philosophy, but by that of the authority of the Bible.

The history of this period, when dealing with events in Germany, has nothing but calamities to record; bloody assaults, massacres, and the consequent poverty of genius. Asheri and his sons were either deluded or unjust when they preferred bigoted Germany to Spain, which was at that time still tolerable, and cast a longing look thitherwards from Toledo. From the time of Asheri's departure till the middle of the century misfortune followed upon misfortune, till nearly all the congregations were exterminated. On account of this state of affairs the study of the Talmud, which was the only branch of learning pursued in Germany with ardour and thoroughness, also fell into decay. How could the intellectual strength of the Germans grow into any vigour when they were not certain

about one moment of their lives, or the means of prolonging them? Their state agreed most precisely and in the most literal sense with the prophetic threat of punishment: "Thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; thou shalt fear day and night. In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear." The Emperor Louis, the Bavarian, is reported to have been favourably inclined towards the Jews, which encouraged them to grow proud. But this account is an idle calumny both against the emperor and the Jews. No German ruler before him had ever treated his serfs of the Imperial Chamber so badly; pawned them and sold them, as did Louis the Bavarian. He also imposed a new tax upon the Jews, the so-called golden gift-pence. As the emperors had gradually pawned all their revenues which they derived from their Imperial serfs to enable them to satisfy their immediate necessity for money, Louis the Bavarian was driven to cogitate upon some new means of obtaining supplies from them. He thereupon promulgated a decree (about 1342), which commanded that every Jew and Jewess in the German Empire, who was above the age of twelve, and was possessed at least of more than twenty florins, should pay annually to the king or the emperor a poll-tax of a florin. He probably derived the right to this payment, if indeed one may speak of right in reference to the treatment of Jews, from the fact that the German emperors were now in possession of all the prerogatives once claimed by those of Rome. As the Jews, since the days of Vespasian and Titus, had been compelled to pay a yearly tax to the Roman emperors, so also now the German rulers declared themselves to be the direct heirs to this golden gift-penny.

Hitherto the massacres of Jews in Germany had

taken place only at intervals and in a few places; but now, under the reign of Louis, owing to riots and civil wars, they became much more frequent. During two consecutive years (1336—1337) a regularly organised band of peasants and rabble, who called themselves "the beaters of the Jews," made fierce attacks upon them with unbridled fury and heartless cruelty. Two dissolute noblemen were at the head of this troop; they gave themselves the name of Kings Leather-arm (Arm-leder) from a piece of leather which they wore wound round the arm. In this persecution, as in that which has been narrated above concerning the man Rindfleisch, the fanaticism and blind superstition inculcated by the Church played important parts. One of the Leather-arms announced that he had received a divine revelation which directed him to visit upon the Jews the martyrdom and the wounds which Jesus had suffered, and to avenge his crucifixion in their blood. Such a summons to arms seldom remained unanswered in Germany. Five thousand peasants, armed with pitchforks, axes, flails, pikes, and whatever other weapons they could lay hands upon, gathered around the Leather-arms, and inflicted a bloody slaughter upon the Jewish inhabitants of Alsace and the Rhineland as far as Suabia. As frequently happened during such barbarous persecutions, numbers of Jews, on this occasion also, put an end to their own lives, after having slain their children, in order to prevent them falling into the hands of the Church. The Emperor Louis the Bavarian did indeed issue commands to protect the heretic Jews (April, 1337), but his help came too late, or was of little effect. At length the emperor succeeded in capturing one of the Leather-arms, whom he ordered to be executed.

About the same time a bloody persecution, prompted by dreams of avarice, was set on foot

in Bavaria. The council of the city of Deckendorf (or Deggendorf) desired to free themselves and all their citizens from paying their debts to the Jews, and at the same time to enrich themselves. In order to carry out this plan, the fable of the desecration of the Host by the Jews, with the accompaniment of the usual miracles, was spread abroad. When the populace had been incited to a state of fanatical frenzy, the council proceeded to execute the project which they had formed, but which they had previously matured outside their own town, so as not to arouse any suspicion among the Jews. On the appointed day (30th September, 1337), when a sign had been given by the church bell, the knight Hartmann von Deggenburg, who had been initiated in the conspiracy, marched with his band of horsemen through the open gates into Deckendorf, and was received with loud rejoicing. The knight and the citizens thereupon fell upon the defenceless Jews, put them to death by sword and fire, and possessed themselves of their property. In honour of the miracles which were performed by the Host that had been pierced by the knives of the Jews, a Church of the Holy Sepulchre was erected, and appointed as a shrine for pilgrims; and the knives which the Jews had used, together with the insulted Host, were placed beneath a glass case and guarded as relics. For many centuries, and even up to the present day, they have been displayed for the edification of the faithful. From that town the lust for slaughter against the unhappy Jews spread abroad into Bavaria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria. Thousands of them perished by different forms of martyrdom. Only the citizens of Vienna and Ratisbon protected their Jewish inhabitants against the infuriated mob. The friendly efforts of Pope Benedictus XII. were of little avail against the brutal spirit of the then Christian world.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BLACK DEATH.

Rise of the False Accusation against Jews of Poisoning the Wells—Massacres in South France and Catalonia—The friendly Bull of Pope Clement VI.—Terrible Massacres in all parts of Germany—Confessions wrung from the Jews under the Rack—The Flagellators as a Scourge for the Jews—King Casimir of Poland—Persecution in Brussels—The Black Death in Spain—Don Pedro the Cruel and the Jews—Santob de Carrion and Samuel Abulafia—Fall of Don Pedro and its Consequences for the Jews—Return of the Jews to France and Germany—The “Golden Bull”—Manessier de Vesoul—Matathiah Meir Halevi—Synod at Mayence.

1348—1380.

THE assistance of the Pope was thus of very little use to the Jews, and the protection of the German emperor was like the support of a broken reed to them. Within scarcely ten years they learned this comfortless experience. For soon came days which were the most mournful for the Jewish communities throughout nearly all Europe, wherever the Cross held sway, and to which the slaughter made by the Leather-arms and the brutal atrocities of Deckendorf were only a weak prelude.

The glimpse of good fortune, which the Spanish Jews enjoyed under Alfonso XI., served only to bring down upon their brethren in the remaining Christian countries a universal, intense, indescribably cruel persecution, to which none of the massacres that had hitherto taken place bear the faintest resemblance. The destroying angel called the Black Death, which carried on its ravages for over

three years, made its way from China over the islands and the coasts into the heart of Europe, heralded by promonitory earthquakes and other terrifying natural phenomena. It left a devastated track behind, sparing neither rank nor age, but swept away a fourth part of all mankind (nearly 25,000,000), and, as with a poison-laden wind, stifled every noble movement. In Europe the invisible Death with its horrors turned the Christians into veritable destroying angels for the Jews, only to hand over those whom the epidemic had spared, to torture, the sword, or the stake, and to annihilate all Jews from the face of the earth. The character of the instruction imparted by the Church to its adherents is sufficiently recognised from the remarkable fact, that whilst neither Mahometans nor Mongols, nor other civilised or barbarous nations of that portion of the earth which was visited by the epidemic attacked the Jews, it was only and solely the Christian peoples who charged the unhappy race with being the originators of the pestilence, and who slaughtered them *en masse*. The Church had so often and impressively preached that infidels were to be destroyed; that the Jews were much worse than heretics, even worse than unbelieving heathens; that they were the murderers of Christians and the slayers of little children; that at last its true sons believed what was said, and were obliged to carry its doctrines into effect. At this time, owing to the prevailing miseries, all discipline and order, obedience and submissiveness were at an end, and each man was thrown upon his own resources. Under these circumstances, the effects of the education of the Church became most apparent in a hideous form. The Black Death had indeed made itself felt among the Jews also; but the plague had visited them in a comparatively milder form than the Christians, probably on account of their greater moderation in living, and the very careful attention paid to their

sick. Then the rumour was spread that the Jews, who were still accused of slaying Christian children every year, had also poisoned the brooks and wells, and even the air, in order to cause the utter annihilation of the Christians of every country at one blow.

But where was this very comprehensive plan invented and started into action? Who was it that possessed sufficient authority to be able to incite all the Jews of Europe to take common action for such a dangerous enterprise as the wholesale poisoning of the Christians? Well, the answer appeared quite evident. The Spanish Jews, who were in possession of great power and of absolute influence over the congregations of all Europe, had hit upon this diabolical scheme for the total destruction of the Christians; they had despatched messengers far and wide with boxes containing poison, and with threats of excommunication had instigated all the Jews to aid in carrying out their plans. These directions to the Jews had issued from Toledo, which place was to all appearances the Jewish capital. The deluded and infatuated people even went so far as to point out by name the man who had delivered these orders and the poison. It was Jacob Pascate, said they; a man who had come from Toledo, and had settled in Chambéry (in Savoy): he it was who had sent out a whole troop of Jewish poisoners into all the different countries and cities. This Jacob, together with a Rabbi Peyret, of Chambéry, and a rich Jew, Aboget, were said to have dealt largely in the manufacture and sale of poisons. The poison, which was prepared by the Jewish doctors of the Black Art in Spain, was sometimes reported to be concocted from the skin of a basilisk or compounded of spiders, frogs and lizards, or again from the hearts of Christians and the fragments of the Host beaten into a soft mass. These and similar silly stories

invented by ignorant, or, perhaps, malicious people, and distorted and exaggerated by the heated imagination, were credited not alone by the ignorant mob, but even by men of higher culture. The Courts of Justice earnestly busied themselves in striving to learn the real truth of these rumours, and employed the usual means which the Christians of the Middle Ages called in, with especial care and regularity, to aid in the confirmation of a suspicion; this was torture in every possible form.

As far as can be ascertained, these tales concerning the poisoning of the brooks and wells by the Jews first found credence in Southern France, where the Black Death had already, in the beginning of the year 1348, obtained many victims. In a certain town of Southern France the whole Jewish congregation, men, women, and children, were cast into the flames, together with their holy writings, on one day (the middle of the month of May). From that place the slaughter spread to Catalonia and Aragon. In these provinces, in the same year, anarchy was rife, because the nobles and people had revolted against the king, Don Pedro, in order to strengthen certain of their privileges against the encroachments of the monarch. When the tales of the poisoning of the wells had taken firm root in the minds of the people of these countries also, the inhabitants of the city of Barcelona gathered together on a Saturday (towards the end of June), slew twenty persons, and pillaged the Jewish houses. Meanwhile, the most distinguished men of the city received the persecuted people under their protection, and in the midst of a terrible storm which just at that moment broke out, accompanied by loud claps of thunder and dazzling flashes of lightning, they made a successful attack upon the deluded or plunder-seeking assailants of the Jews.

A few days later the community at Cervera was attacked in a similar manner, eighteen of them killed, and the rest compelled to flee. The Jewish philosopher, Vidal Narboni, happened to be just at the time in the town, and, in consequence of this sudden assault, he lost his goods and his books. All the congregations of Northern Spain were in danger of being attacked; they instituted public fasts, implored mercy from heaven, and barricaded their quarters, which were surrounded by walls. Meanwhile in Aragon the highest personages came to the help of the Jews. Pope Clement VI., who had taken so much interest in the astronomical works of Gersonides, and who, terrified at the approach of death, had shut himself up in his room, still felt for the sufferings of an innocent and persecuted people. He issued a Bull in which, under pain of excommunication, he prohibited anyone from killing them without proper judicial sentence, or from dragging them by force to be baptised, or from despoiling them of their goods (the beginning of July). This Bull was probably of some use in Southern France, but in the other parts of the Christian world it produced no effect whatever. One country followed the example of another. The Land of Paradise, as the region surrounding the Lake of Geneva was called, next became the scene of the most frightful persecution. At the command of the duke of that time, Amadeus of Savoy, several Jews, who were suspected of poisoning, were arrested and imprisoned in two small towns Chillon and Chatel, on the Lake of Geneva. A commission of judges was appointed to inquire into the charges brought against the prisoners, and, if convicted, they were to be severely punished. In this country also a prince and his tribunal attached great importance to the preposterous fable of the poisoning by Jews. On the Day of Atonement

(15th September, 1348) three Jews and a Jewess in Chillon were made to undergo torture: these were Valavigny, from Thonon, afterwards called Bandito, a surgeon; Mamson, from Ville-Neuve, and, three weeks later, a married woman, Bellieta, and her son Aquet. Maddened with pain and despair they admitted everything that was demanded of them; they declared the names of the persons from whom they had received the poison, and that they had scattered it in different spots near wells and brooks. They denounced themselves, their co-religionists, their parents and their children, as guilty. Ten days later the merciless judges again applied the torture to the enfeebled woman and her son, and the martyred couple became very profuse and ready in their revelations. In Chastelard five Jews were put to the torture at their trial, and these also made general confessions of guilt which are incredible. One of them, Aquet, made a most monstrous and unparalleled assertion that he had placed quantities of poison in Venice, in Apulia and Calabria, and in Toulouse, in France. The secretaries of the tribunals took down all these confessions in writing, and they were then verified by the signatures of their authors. To remove all doubts concerning the trustworthiness of these statements, the crafty judges added the following remark: "The victims were only very lightly tortured." Consequent on these disclosures of guilt, not only the accused who acknowledged their crime, but also all the Jews who dwelt in the region of the Lake of Geneva and in Savoy, were burnt at the stake.

The report of the demonstrated guilt of the Jews rapidly made its way from the district of Geneva into Switzerland, and here also scenes of blood of the same horrid description were soon witnessed. The consuls of Berne ordered the account of the proceedings of the Courts of Justice at Chillon and Chastelard to be produced. They

then put certain Jews to the torture, extracted confessions from them, and in a like manner kindled a wholesale conflagration for all the Jews (September).

The annihilation of the Jews on the charge of poisoning was now systematically carried out, beginning with Berne and Zofingen (in the canton of Aargau), where it was also pretended that poison had been mixed with the water. The consuls of Berne addressed letters to Basle, Freiburg, Strasburg, Cologne, and many other places, with the intimation that the Jews had been undeniably found guilty of the crime imputed to them; and also sent a Jew, bound in chains, under convoy to Cologne, in order that everyone might be convinced of the diabolical plans of the Jews. In Zurich the charge of poisoning the wells was raised, together with that of the murder of a Christian child: in this place, also, those who appeared to be guilty were burnt at the stake, the rest of the community expelled from the town, and a law passed forbidding them ever to return thither (21st September). The persecution of the Jews extended further northwards, according as the pestilence spread. Like the communities around the Lake of Geneva, those that dwelt in the cities surrounding the Lake of Constance, in St. Gallen, Lindau, Uberlingen, Schaffhausen, Constance (Costnitz), and others, were destroyed at the stake, on the wheel, or were sentenced to expulsion or compulsory baptism. Once again did Pope Clement VI. take up the cause of the Jews, and he published a Bull to the whole of Catholic Christendom, in which he declared the innocence of the Jews regarding the charge which was repeatedly levelled against them. He produced all the reasons which could possibly be employed to show clearly the absurdity of the accusation. He stated that in some districts where no Jew lived the people were yet visited by the pestilence, and that Jews also suffered

from its terrible effects. It was all of no avail that he admonished the clergy to take the Jews under their protection, and that he placed the false accusers and murderers under a ban of excommunication (September). The child had become more powerful than its parent, wild fancy stronger than the Papacy.

Nowhere was the destruction of the Jews prosecuted with more thoroughness and intense hatred than in the Holy Romano-German Empire. In vain did, the newly-elected Emperor Charles IV., of Luxemburg, issue letter after letter forbidding a hair of the Jews, his Imperial serfs, to be touched. Even had he possessed more power of control in Germany, he would not have found the German people willing to spare the Jews. The Germans did not commit their fearful outrages upon the Jews merely with a desire of pillaging their property; as a straightforward historian of that epoch, Closener of Strasburg, remarks, "their very goods were the poison which caused the death of the Jews;" they did not act thus simply from greed, but from sheer stupidity, believing that the Jews had actually poisoned the wells and rivers. The Councils of various towns ordered that the springs and wells should be walled in, so that the citizens should not be poisoned, and they therefore had to drink rain water or melted snow. Was it not just, therefore, that the Jews, the supposed cause of this evil, should suffer?

Meanwhile, however, there were some who did not share in the delusion that the Jews were the cause of the great mortality. This small minority deserve a place in history, for notwithstanding the danger which surrounded them, they could yet feel and behave with humanity. They were the municipality of Strasburg, the Burgomaster Conrad (Künze) of Wintertur, the Sheriff, Gosse Sturm, and the Master of Trades, Peter Swäber. They

took great trouble to prove the Jews innocent of the crimes which had been laid at their door, and defended them against the fanatical attack of the mob and even against the bishop. The Council of Basle and Freiburg likewise took the part of the unhappy people. The Council of Cologne also wrote to the representative of Strasburg that he would follow the example of the latter town with regard to the Jews; for he was convinced that the pestilence was only to be considered as a visitation of God. He would, therefore, not concede that the Jews should be persecuted on account of groundless reports, but as his ancestors had done he would protect them with all his power. In Basle, however, the tradespeople and mob rose in rebellion against the Council, repaired with their flags to the Court of Justice, and insisted that the patricians who had been banished on account of their proceedings against the Jews, should be recalled, and further that the Jews should be banished from the city. The Council were compelled to comply with the first demand; as to the second, they deferred their decision until a day of public meeting, when this matter was to be considered. In Benfelden (Alsace) a council was actually held to consider the course to be followed with regard to Jews. There were present Richard Berthold of Strasburg, the barons, gentlemen, and representatives of the towns. The representatives of Strasburg bravely maintained the cause of the Jews, even against the bishop, who either from malice or stupidity was in favour of their complete destruction. Although they repeatedly demonstrated that the Jews could not be the cause of the pestilence they were out-voted, and it was decided to banish the Jews from all the cities on the Upper Rhine (towards the close of 1348).

The Jews of Alsace, through the decision of Benfelden, were declared to be outlaws, and were

either expelled from, or burnt in, the various places they visited. The same fate overtook the community of Basle. On an island of the Rhine, in a house especially built for the purpose, they were burnt to death (January 9th, 1349), and it was decided that within the next two hundred years no Jew should be permitted to settle in that city. A week later all the Jews of Freiburg were burnt at the stake with the exception of twelve of the richest men, who were permitted to live in order that they might disclose the names of their creditors; for the property of the victims fell to the community. The community of Speyer was the first sacrifice amongst the communities of the Rhineland. The mob rose up, killed several of the Jews, others of whom burnt themselves in their houses, whilst some went over to Christianity. The Council of Speyer confiscated the property of the Jews and had their estates in the neighbourhood confiscated. The Council of Strasburg remained firm in its protection of the Jews. But from many sides there came unfavourable testimony. The Council of Zähringen said it was in possession of the poison which the Jews had first tried on animals, but that it would not give it out of its hands, though the Council would show it a messenger.

A Castellan of Chillon caused the confessions of the murdered Jews from the district near Lake Geneva to be copied, and sent them to the Council of Strasburg. Only the Council of Cologne encouraged Wintertur to support the cause of the Jews, and to take no notice of the demands of their enemies. At length the mob arose against Wintertur and his two colleagues, who were deposed from office. A new council was chosen that favoured the persecutions of the Jews. In the end the entire community of Strasburg—2,000 souls—were imprisoned. The following day, on a Sabbath (14th February, 1349), they were all dragged to the place of torture. A stake was erected and

they were burnt to death. Only those who from despair accepted the cross were spared. The new council decreed that for a period of a hundred years no Jew should be admitted into Strasburg. The treasures of the Jews were divided amongst the burghers, some of whom were loth to defile themselves with the money, and, according to the advice of their confessors, devoted it to the Church.

The turn came next to the oldest community in Germany, that of Worms. The Jews of this town had the worst to fear from their Christian fellow-citizens, the Emperor Charles IV. having given up the town to them with all its appurtenances in return for the services rendered to him. "Thus the city and the burghers of Worms might do or leave undone unto the Jews and their Judaism, might act with both as with their own property." The burghers, therefore, had full license to do with them as they listed. When, therefore, the council had decreed that the Jews should be burnt, the unfortunates determined to anticipate the death which awaited them from the hangmen. Twelve Jewish representatives repaired to the house of the Town Council and begged for mercy. When this was refused to them they are said to have drawn forth the weapons concealed in their clothes, to have fallen on the councillors and killed them. This story is only legendary; it is, however, a fact that nearly all the Jews of Worms set fire to their houses, and that more than 400 persons were burnt to death (10th Adar—1st March, 1349). The Jews of Oppenheim likewise burnt themselves to death in order to escape being martyred as poisoners (end of July). The community of Frankfort remained secure so long as the hostile Emperors, Charles IV. and Gunther of Schwarzburg were fighting in that neighbourhood; the latter holding his court in Frankfort. When he died and the contest was ended it came to the turn of the

Jews of Frankfort to be killed. On being attacked they burnt themselves in their houses, which caused a great outbreak of fire in the city. In Mayence, where the Jews had hitherto been spared, a thief, during a scene of penance, had stolen his neighbour's money-bag. Hereupon a strife arose and the mob seized the opportunity to attack the Jews. They had, no doubt, been warned of this danger, and 300 of them took up arms and killed 200 of the mob. This aroused the anger of the entire Christian community who likewise took to arms. The Jews fought a considerable time, and at length, when overpowered by the enemy, they set fire to their houses (24th August). Nearly 6,000 Jews are said to have perished at this time in Mayence. In Erfurt out of a community of 3,000 souls not one survived, although the council both there as well as in Eisenach and Gotha had attempted to protect them. In Breslau, where at that time there dwelt a considerable community, the Jews were completely destroyed. Later on the Emperor Charles gave orders to seize the murderers and give them their due punishment. But he took no steps to hinder the horrible slaughter that was being enacted everywhere. In Austria also the outcry was made that the Jews were poisoners, and here too terrible scenes ensued. In Vienna, on the advice of Rabbi Jonah, the entire congregation killed themselves in the synagogue. In Krems, where there was a large congregation, the populace of the town, assisted by that of a neighbouring place named Stein and its villages, attacked the Jews, who set fire to their houses and died (September, 1349), only a few being saved.

In Bavaria and Suabia persecution was also rife, and the communities of Augsburg, Würzburg, Munich, and many others succumbed. The Jews of Wurtemberg, who did an extensive commerce, and possessed great riches and grand houses, were

the especial objects of dislike on the part of the Christians. Their destruction was so imminent that the Emperor Charles threatened the council with his severe displeasure if they should be injured against his wish.

At length their fate was fulfilled. On a spot afterwards called the *Judenbühl* (Jews' hill), the followers of the religion of love erected a pile, and all those who had not emigrated were burnt or killed. The Council of Ratisbon did its utmost to save the community, the oldest in the south of Germany. For here also the mob demanded the annihilation or banishment of the Jews. The Dukes of Bavaria, the sons of the Emperor Louis, had declared by document that they favoured the persecution of the Jews, and that the people "might treat the Jews as they liked, according to honour or necessity, and might banish them with or without justice." The Margrave Louis of Brandenburg, son of the Emperor Louis, one of the partisans of the opposing Emperor Gunther of Schwarzburg, showed his good feeling by giving orders to burn all the Jews of Königsburg (in Neumark), and to confiscate their goods. So inhuman were people in those days that the executioners boasted of their deeds, and gave documentary evidence that the Margrave Louis had commanded the Jews to be burnt. In North Germany there lived but few Jews, except in Magdeburg, where also in a short time they were burnt or destroyed. In Hanover (in 1349) persecution became rife. Outside of Germany, amongst the more barbarous nations, there were comparatively few persecutions. Louis, King of Hungary, and an enthusiast for his faith, drove the Jews out of his land, not as poisoners, but as infidels, who opposed his scheme of conversion, although he had given them equal rights with the Christians, and also other privileges. The Hungarian Jews who

remained true to their faith emigrated to Austria and Bohemia. In Poland, where the pestilence also raged, the Jews suffered but slight persecution, for they were favoured by King Casimir the Great. At the request of some of the Jews, who had rendered services to him, the king, after his ascent to the throne (October 9th, 1334) confirmed to them the laws enacted nearly a century before by Boleslav Pius, Duke of Kalish, or rather by Frederick, the warlike Archduke of Austria. These laws, which had been accepted by the King of Hungary and various Polish princes, held good not only in the dukedom of Kalish and Great Poland, but were extended by Casimir to the whole of the Polish empire. Thirteen years later, however, Casimir altered the laws by which the Jews were permitted to lend money at interest, but from this we must not deduce that he was inimical to the Jews, for he expressly states that he made this limitation only at the request of the nobility. Even in the years of the pestilence Kasimir appears to have protected the Jews against the outbreaks of the misguided multitude, for the accusation of the poisoning of wells by the Jews had travelled from Germany across the Polish frontier, and had roused the populace against them. Massacres occurred in Kalish, Cracow, Glogau, and other cities, especially on the German frontier. But if the number of Jews stated to have been killed in Poland (10,000) be correct, it bears no relation to the enormous multitudes who fell as victims in Germany. Later (1356) Casimir is said to have taken a beautiful Jewish mistress named Esther (Esterka), who bore him two sons (Niémierz and Pelka) and two daughters, who are said to have remained Jews. In consequence of his love to Esther, the King of Poland is supposed to have bestowed special favours and privileges on some of the Jews (probably Esther's relations). But the

records handed down by untrustworthy witnesses cannot be implicitly believed.

At all events, the Jews of Poland fared better than those of Germany, seeing that they were placed on an equality, if not with the Roman Catholics, yet with the Ruthenians, Saracens, and Tartars. The Jews were permitted to wear the national costume and gold chains, and daggers, like the knights, and were eligible for military service:

As on the eastern frontier of Germany, the Jews on the western side, in Belgium, were also persecuted at the period of the Black Death. In Brussels at that time a wealthy Jew stood in great favour with the Duke of Brabant, John II. When the torturers came, and the death of his co-religionists was imminent, this Jew entreated his patron to accord them his protection, which John willingly promised. But the enemies of the Jews had already foreseen this, and had ensured themselves immunity from punishment through the duke's son. They attacked the community of Brussels, dragged them into the streets and killed them all—about 500 people.

In Spain, the congregations of Catalonia, which, after those of Provence, supplied the first victims, conceived a plan to avoid the consequences of the outrages of fanaticism. They determined to establish a common fund in support of their people who should become destitute through a revolt or persecution. They also chose deputies, whose duty it would be to represent to the king (Don Pedro IV.) that he should prevent the recurrence of such scenes of horror. Other concessions were to be sought, but the plan was never carried into effect, owing to delay on the part of the Jews of Aragon, and also probably because too much was expected of the king. The Jews under Aragonian rule, therefore, remained behind those in the kingdom of Castile.

In Castile also the Black Death had held its grue-

some revelries; but here the population, more intelligent than elsewhere, never dreamed of holding the Jews responsible for its ravages. In Toledo and Seville the plague snatched away many respected members of the community, particularly from the families of Abulafia, Asheri, and Ibn Shashou. The grief of the survivors is vividly depicted in such of the tombstone inscriptions of the Toledo Jewish cemetery as have come down to us. The King Alfonso XI. was amongst the victims of the insidious visitation: but not even a whisper charged the Jews with responsibility for his death. May not this circumstance serve as a standard for ascertaining the degree of civilisation reached by the various European peoples? During the reign of Don Pedro (1350—1369), Alfonso's son and successor, the influence of the Castilian Jews reached a height never before attained. It was the last lustre of their splendid career in Spain, soon to be shrouded in dark eventide shadows. The young king, only fifteen years of age when called to the throne, was early branded by his numerous enemies with the name of "Pedro the Cruel"; and the countenance which he showed the Jews had its share in procuring him this nickname, although he was not more cruel than many of his predecessors and successors. Don Pedro was simply natural and uncultured; a man who could not submit to the restrictions of Court etiquette, or allow himself to be controlled by political considerations. Through the duplicity and faithlessness of his bastard brother, son of Alfonso's mistress, Leonora de Guzman—the same who had at an earlier date unconsciously saved the Jews from imminent destruction—the king was deliberately provoked to sanguinary retaliation. The instincts of self-preservation, the maintenance of his royal dignity, filial affection, and attachment to an early love, had more to do with his reckless and bloody enterprises than inherent cruelty and instincts of vengeance.

The young king who was destined to come to so sad an end, and to involve the Castilian Jews in his fall, was from the beginning of his reign surrounded by tragic circumstances. His mother, the Portuguese Infanta Donna Maria, had been humiliated and deeply mortified by her husband at the instigation of his mistress, Leonora de Guzman. Don Pedro himself had been neglected for his bastard brothers, and particularly for his elder half-brother, Henry de Trastamara. The first important duty of his reign was thus to obtain justice for his humiliated mother, and degrade the rival who had caused her so much misery. That he tolerated his bastard brother is a proof that he was not altogether of a cruel disposition. His severity was felt more by the grandees and hidalgos, who trampled on all right and humanity, and ill-treated the people with cavalier arrogance. Only in these circles had Don Pedro bitter enemies, and not amongst the lower orders who, where they were not misled, remained faithful to him to death. The Jews also were attached to him. They devoted their property and their lives to their patriotic instincts whilst he protected them against injustice and oppression, and did not treat them as outcasts. The Jews certainly suffered much through him, not in the character of patient victims as in Germany and France, but as zealous partizans and fellow combatants who equally shared the overthrow of their leader with his Christian followers.

Shortly after Don Pedro had ascended the throne, and when the grief caused by the death of King Alfonso XII. was still fresh, a venerable Jewish poet ventured to address to the new monarch some words of advice in the form of well-balanced Spanish verses. This poet, Santob (Shem-Tob) de Carrion, from the North Spanish town of that name (about 1300—1350), and a member of a large community, has been entirely neglected in Jewish literature.

Christian writers have preserved his memory and his verses. Santob's (or as abbreviated Santo's) poetical legacy deserves, however, to be treasured. His verses flowed soft and clear as the ripples of an unsullied spring, dancing with silvery brightness out of its rocky hollow. He had not only thoroughly mastered the sonorous periods of the Spanish language, at that time in a transition state between tenderness and vigour, but had even enriched it. Santob embodied the practical wisdom of his time in beautiful strophes. His "Counsels and Lessons" addressed to Don Pedro have the character of proverbs and apothegms. He drew upon the unfailing wealth of maxims of the Talmud and later Hebrew poets for his verse, and the sweetness of his poetry was derived from various sources.

Santob's verses were, however, not always of this gentle and uncontroversial character. He did not hesitate, when the occasion required, to speak sternly to those of his co-religionists who had become wealthy by the king's bounty, and he frequently denounced the prejudice with which Spanish Christians regarded whatever was of Jewish origin. Even to the young king he was in the habit of indulging in a certain amount of plain speaking; and in his stanzas, more than 600 in number, he often drew for his majesty's benefit suggestive pictures of the virtues and vices. Santob reminded the king, too, of various promises which had been made by his father, and bade him fulfil them. From this it would appear that the life of our Jewish Troubadour, who wooed the muse so successfully, was not wholly a happy one. Little, however, is known of him beyond his verses, and we have no knowledge of the reception which his representations met with at the hands of Don Pedro.

To other prominent Jews the king's favour was unbounded. Don Juan Alfonso de Albuquerque,

his tutor and all-powerful minister, recommended to him for the post of Minister of Finance a Jew who had rendered him great services, and the king appointed him to a State situation of trust in defiance of the decision of the Cortes that Jews should no longer be eligible for such employment. This fortunate man was Don Samuel ben Meir Allavi, a member of the leading family of Toledo, the Abulafia Halevis. Samuel Abulafia not only became the Treasurer-in-chief (Tesoreo Mayor), but also the confidential adviser (privado) of the king, who in all important consultations and decisions learnt to rely upon his advice. Two inscriptions referring to Don Samuel, one written during his lifetime and the other after his death, describe him as noble and handsome, instinct with religious feeling, a benevolent man "who never swerved from the path of God, nor could he be reproached with a fault."

Another Jew who figured at Don Pedro's Court was Abraham Ibn Zarzal, the king's physician and astrologer. Don Pedro was indeed so surrounded by Jews, that his enemies cried out against what they were pleased to consider the purely Jewish character of his Court. Whether, however, the protection he extended to his Jewish subjects was due to the influence of these Jewish favourites or to his own impulses is unknown. When on opening for the first time the Cortes of Valladolid (May, 1351) he was presented with a petition, praying him to abolish the judicial autonomy enjoyed by the Jewish communities and their rights to appoint their own Alcaldes, he replied that the Jews, being numerically a feeble people, required special protection. From Christian judges they could not obtain justice, or their cases were neglected.

Whilst the relatives of the young king were about this time intriguing to arrange a marriage between him and Blanche, daughter of the French

Duc de Bourbon, he fell in love with a clever and beautiful lady of a noble Spanish family, Maria de Padilla. It is even said that he was formally married to her in the presence of witnesses. At any rate, he caused the marriage proposals to Blanche to be withdrawn; but the Bourbon Princess, either of her own accord, or at the instance of her ambitious relatives, insisted on coming to Spain to assume the diadem. Her resolve brought only sorrow on herself and misfortune to the country. The nearest relatives of the king strained every nerve to procure the celebration of the marriage, and in this they succeeded; but Don Pedro only remained with his bride two days. The result of this state of things was that to the old parties in the State another was added, some of the grandees taking part with the deserted queen and others with Maria de Padilla. To the latter belonged Samuel Abulafia and all the Jews of Spain. The reason assigned for their choice of sides was that Blanche, having observed with displeasure the influence possessed by Samuel and other Jews at her husband's Court, and the considerable honour and the distinctions enjoyed by them, had taken a definite resolve, which she even commenced to put into execution, so as to compass the fall of the more prominent Jews, and further, to obtain the banishment of the whole of the Jewish population from Spain. She made no secret of her aversion to the Jews, but, on the contrary, expressed it openly. For this reason, it is stated, the Jewish courtiers took up a position of antagonism to the queen, and, on their part, lost no opportunity of increasing Don Pedro's dislike for her. If Blanche de Bourbon really did foster such anti-Jewish feelings, and circumstances certainly seem to bear out this view, then the Jews were compelled in self-defence to prevent the queen's influence from acquiring any ascendancy, and to

declare themselves for the Padilla party, and to support it with all the means in their power. Dissension and civil war grew out of this unhappy relation of the king to his scarcely recognised consort. Albuquerque, who was first opposed to the queen and then permitted himself to be won over to her side, fell into disgrace, and Samuel Abulafia succeeded him as the most trusted of the king's counsellors. In every movement of the Court, Samuel with other eminent grandees was in attendance on the king.

One day Don Pedro's enemies—at the head of whom were his bastard brothers—succeeded in decoying him, with a few of his followers, into the fortress of Toro. The escort, among whom was Samuel Abulafia, were thrown into prison, and the king himself was placed under restraint (1354), whilst a few of the loyal grandees, and even the Grand Master of Calatrava, were executed by the conspirators. The favourite Samuel was, strange to say, spared. Later on it was his good fortune to become the companion of the king in his flight. Having shared in his royal master's misfortune, he rose still higher in his favour; but besides this the esteem in which he was held by the king was largely increased by his successful administration of the finances which he had so managed as to accumulate a large reserve—a success which few of Don Pedro's predecessors had been able to boast. The treacherous seizure of the king at Toro formed a turning point in his reign. Out of it grew a fierce civil war in Castile, which Don Pedro on his side carried on with great cruelty. In this, however, the Jewish courtiers had no hand; even the enemies of the Jews do not charge the Jewish minister with any responsibility for Don Pedro's excesses. The bastard brothers and their adherents endeavoured to seize the chief town, Toledo. Here Don Pedro had numerous partisans, amongst whom were the whole

of the Jewish community, and they contested the entrance of the brothers. One of the gates was, however, secretly opened to them by their friends, and they immediately attacked the quarters in which the Jews lived in large numbers. In the Alcana street they put to the sword nearly 12,000 people, men and women, old and young. But in the inner town they failed to make any impression in consequence of the Jews having barricaded the gates, and, together with several noblemen belonging to the king's party, having manned the walls (May, 1355). A few days later Don Pedro entered Toledo. By his adherents in the city he was received with enthusiasm, but he exacted a severe retribution from all who had assisted his brothers.

Samuel Abulafia, by the wisdom of his counsels, his able financial administration, and his zeal for the cause of Maria de Padilla, continued to rise in the favour of the king. His power was greater than that of any of the grandees of the realm. His wealth was princely, and eighty black slaves served in his palace. He does not seem, however, to have appreciated the desirability of employing some portion of his power and prosperity for the permanent benefit of his race and his religion. He certainly "sought to promote the welfare of his people," as an inscription reminds us; but he failed to understand in what this welfare precisely consisted. Against injustice and animosity he protected his brethren, promoted a few to State employment, and gave them opportunities for enriching themselves; but he was far from being what Chasdaï Ibn Shaprut and Samuel Ibn Nagrela had been to their co-religionists. Samuel Abulafia appears to have had little sympathy with intellectual aspirations, or with the promotion of Jewish science and poetic literature. He built synagogues for several of the Castilian communities, and one of especial magnifi-

ceise at Toledo, but not a single establishment for the promotion of Talmudic study.

The Abulafian synagogue at Toledo which, transformed into a church, is still one of the ornaments of this town, was, like most of the Spanish churches of that period, built half in the Gothic and half in the Moorish style. It consisted of several naves divided by columns and arches. The upper part of the walls is decorated throughout with delicately cut arabesques, within which, in white Hebrew characters on a green ground, the eightieth Psalm may be read. On the north and south sides are inscriptions in bas-relief, reciting the merits of Prince Samuel Levi ben Meir. The community offers up its thanks to God, "who has not withdrawn His favour from His people, and who has raised up men to rescue them from the hands of their enemies. Even though there be no longer a king in Israel, God has enabled one of His people to find favour in the eyes of the king Don Pedro, who has raised him above the mighty, appointed him a councillor of his realm, and invested him with almost royal dignities." The name of Don Pedro appears in large and prominent letters, suggesting that this prince, being in intimate relations with the Jews, belonged to a certain extent to the synagogue. In conclusion, the wish is expressed that Samuel may survive the rebuilding of the Temple and officiate there with his sons as chiefs of the people.

The construction of this large and splendid synagogue was completed in the year 1357. For the following year the astronomer, Abraham ben Chiya, and the Rabbi and Cabbalist, Nachmani, a century before, had predicted the arrival of the Messianic period. The philosopher Leon de Bagnols had uttered a similar prediction some decades later. As, however, this prophecy was not literally fulfilled, many Jews began to regard the eminence attained

by Samuel and other leading Jews as a shadow of the sceptre of Judah. It was a dazzling inspiration which had, however, its dangerous aspects, and this circumstance was fully appreciated by Nissim Gerundi ben Reuben (about 1340—1380), Rabbi of Barcelona, and the most important rabbinical authority of his day. Justly fearing that the belief in the coming of a Messiah would suffer discredit by the non-fulfilment of such prophecies he preached against the attempt to calculate the end of the world from expressions in the Book of Daniel.

Don Samuel exercised too decided an influence over the king to avoid making enemies. Even had he been a Christian, the Court party would have devised schemes to bring about his fall. But he was a Jew! Attempts were made to stir up the Castilian population against the Jews, and particularly against the Jewish minister, not only by Don Pedro's bastard brother, Don Henry, and Queen Blanche, but also by all who had formerly been in the king's service. Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala, poet, chronicler, and the king's banneret, has given us, in one of his poems, a picture of the feelings with which the courtiers regarded the high-placed Jews. "They suck the blood of the afflicted people; they lap up their possessions with their tax-farming. Don Abraham and Don Samuel, with lips as sweet as honey, obtain from the king whatever they require." Samuel's fall was desired by many. It is even said that some Toledo Jews, envious of his good fortune, complained of him to the king, stating that he had accumulated his enormous wealth at his royal master's expense. Certain it is that Don Pedro confiscated Samuel's entire fortune and that of his relatives, consisting of 170,900 doubloons, 4,000 silver marks, 125 chests of cloth of gold and silver and 80 slaves from the minister, and 60,000 doubloons from his relatives. According to some

writers an extraordinary quantity of gold and silver was found buried under Samuel's house. Don Pedro ordered his former favourite to be imprisoned at Toledo, and he was subsequently placed upon the rack at Seville, in order to force him to disclose further treasures. He however remained firm, revealed nothing and succumbed under the torture (October or November, 1360). His gravestone recites in simple phrase how high he had formerly been placed, and how his soul, purified by torture, had been taken to his God. Concerning Don Pedro, the inscription has not a single condemnatory expression.

Samuel Abulafia's death did not change the friendly relations that had subsisted between the king and the Jews. They still remained faithful to him, and he continued to confer important distinctions on members of their body. They consequently came in for a share of the hatred with which the enemies of the king regarded him. The king resolved to put to death his much detested consort (1361). Whatever the character of the queen, whether she was a saint or the reverse, whether she had deserved her fate or not, the method of her death must ever remain a stain on Don Pedro's memory. In spite of the animosity with which De Ayala regarded the Jews, there is no intimation in his chronicle that any of Don Pedro's Jewish favourites were concerned in this crime. It was reserved for a later period to invent fables identifying them with the king's guilt. A story was forged to the effect that a Jew had administered poison to the queen on the king's order, because she had insisted on the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. A French romance, in which an endeavour is made to varnish the deeds and misdeeds of the French adventurers who fought against Don Pedro and the Jews, attributes the queen's death to a Jewish hand.

Don Pedro announced publicly, before the assembled Cortes at Seville, that his marriage with Blanche of Bourbon had been illegal, inasmuch as he had been previously married to Maria de Padilla. He called witnesses, among whom were a few of the clergy, and these confirmed his statement on oath. Through the murder of Blanche, and its consequences, an opportunity offered itself to Don Henry de Trastamara to obtain allies for the dethronement of the king, and of this he was not slow to avail himself. The Bourbons in France and the king promised him aid, and allowed him to enlist the wild lances of the so-called Great or White Company, who, in consequence of the conclusion of the war with England, were rendering whole districts of France insecure. The Pope, displeased at the favours shown by Don Pedro to the Jews, also supported Don Henry, and placed the King of Spain under the ban.

In order to invest his rebellion with a tinge of legality and to work upon the feelings of the people, Don Henry lost no opportunity of blackening his brother's character, picturing him as an outcast who had forfeited the crown because he had allowed his states to be governed by Jews, and had himself become attached to them and their religion. Don Henry carried his calumnies so far as to state not only that his mistress, Maria de Padilla, was a Jewess, but that Don Pedro himself was of Jewish extraction.

With the mercenaries of the White Company, graceless banditti, Henry crossed the Pyrenees to make war on, and if possible, to depose his brother. At the head of these French and English outlaws stood the foremost warrior of his time, the hero and knight-errant, Bertrand du Guesclin (Claquin), celebrated for his deeds of daring, his ugliness, and his eccentricity, and who like the Cid, has become glorified by legend. The Jews consis-

tently threw in their fortunes with those of the Don Pedro party, and supported it not only with their money, but also with their blood. They flocked to his standard in the field, and garrisoned the towns against the onslaughts of Don Henry and Du Guesclin. For this the wild mercenaries to whom they were opposed not only avenged themselves on the Jewish soldiers, but also on those who had not borne arms.

The approach of the enemy compelled Don Pedro to abandon Burgos, the chief town of Old Castile, and at an assembly of the inhabitants it was prudently resolved not to contest Don Henry's entrance. On his taking possession of the town, where he was first proclaimed king (March 1360), Henry levied a fine of 50,000 doubloons on the Jewish community, and cancelled all outstanding debts due by Christians to Jews. The Jews of Burgos being unable to pay this large contribution were compelled to sell their goods and chattels, and even the ornaments on the scrolls of the Law. Those who could not make up their share of the contribution were sold into slavery. The whole of Spain then fell to the conqueror in consequence of Don Pedro's neglect to concentrate round himself that portion of the population on which he could rely, or to buy over to his side the free lances of the White Company, as he had been advised. The gates of Toledo, the capital, were opened to the victor, although the local party of Don Pedro to which the Jews belonged strongly counselled its defence. Upon the Toledo community Don Pedro also levied a heavy fine as the penalty of their fidelity to the legitimate king. Don Pedro's last stand was made at Seville.

Once again fortune smiled on Don Pedro after he had been compelled to cross the Pyrenees as a fugitive and leave the whole of his country in the hands of the enemy. The heroic Prince of Wales, who was called the Black Prince, from the colour of

his armour, being in the South of France at the time, undertook to come to the aid of the deposed monarch both in the cause of legitimacy and in view of rich rewards in money and land. Henry de Trastámara was compelled once more to abandon Spain (1367). The whole of the peninsula hailed the victor Don Pedro, and his ally the Black Prince with enthusiasm, in the same way as it had previously rejoiced at the triumph of his brother, and the wild Constable of France, Bertrand du Guesclin. Soon, however, the scene changed. The Black Prince left Don Pedro, and Don Henry returned with new levies from France. The northern towns of Spain again fell to his arms. The citizens of Burgos opened their gates to the conqueror, but the Jews remained true to the unfortunate Don Pedro. Assisted by a few loyal noblemen they bravely defended the Jewry of Burgos, and were only subdued by the superior strength of the enemy. They obtained, however, a favourable capitulation, providing for their undisputed continuance in the town; but they were forced to pay a war indemnity of one million maravedis.

This time the Christian population were desirous of profiting by the revolt against Don Pedro. The Cortes of Burgos represented to Henry that the Jews having been favourites and officials under the former king were largely responsible for the civil war, and that he should sanction a law to exclude them in future from all state employment, including the post of physician to the king or queen, and also from the right of farming taxes. To this Don Henry replied that such a practice had never been countenanced by any former king of Castile. He would, however, take care that the Jews at his court should never be admitted to his councils, nor be permitted the exercise of functions which might prove detrimental to the country. From this it will be evident that Henry had no particular aversion

to the Jews. Probably he felt that by oppressing them he might drive them to acts of desperation.

Don Pedro still counted many adherents in the country. Most of the Jewish communities remained true to him, and Jews served in his army and fought against the usurper for the king, who to the last treated them with special favour. Even when driven to despair, and obliged to call to his assistance the Mahometan King of Granada, he impressed upon that monarch the duty of protecting the Jews. Notwithstanding this, the Jews endured indescribable sufferings at the hands of both friend and foe. Don Pedro being entirely dependent in the first place on the auxiliaries of the Black Prince, and then on those of the Mahometan king, his wishes with respect to the Jews were not regarded. The community of Villadiego, celebrated for its benevolence and the promotion of learning, was utterly destroyed by the English. The same evil fortune befell Aguilar and other communities. The inhabitants of Valladolid, who owned allegiance to Don Henry, plundered the Jews, demolished their eight synagogues, despoiled them of their treasures, and tore up their sacred writings. A period of unbridled rapacity supervened. Wherever Don Henry came he laid the Jews under heavy contributions, precipitating them into poverty, and leaving them nothing but their lives. The Mahometan king, Don Pedro's ally, carried away from Jaen three hundred Jewish families as prisoners to Granada. Still worse was the attitude of the violent Du Guesclin. A prey to the French Jew-hatred, he could not look upon the Jews as equal partizans and belligerents, but only as slaves who had dared to draw the sword against their masters. The misery was so great at this time that many Jews became converts to Christianity.

The community of Toledo suffered most severely. In emulation of Don Pedro's Christian adherents,

they made the greatest sacrifices for the defence of the town and endured a long and frightful siege. The famine endured during the investment was so great that the unfortunates consumed, not only the parchment of their sacred writings, but even the flesh of their own children. Through hunger and the horrors of the war generally the greater portion of the Toledo community—according to some 8,000 persons, and to others more than 10,000—perished. At last, at Montiel, Don Henry finally defeated his brother, who had been abandoned by all his partisans (14th March, 1369). Don Pedro's end was tragic. On meeting his brother, the latter is said to have hurled these insulting words in his face: "Where is the Jew, the son of a harlot, who calls himself King of Castile?" They then closed in a struggle. Don Pedro was overcome, and was immediately beheaded by his brother's general, Du Guesclin. Pope Urban V. could not contain his delight on hearing the news of Don Pedro's death. "The Church must rejoice," he wrote, "at the death of such a tyrant, a rebel against the Church, and a favourer of the Jews and Saracens. The righteous exult in retribution." The humiliation and abasement of the Spanish Jews, which the Papacy had so long failed to accomplish, was obtained unexpectedly from the civil war in Castile. At Montiel they suffered a defeat pregnant with fatal consequences to their future.

Had a traveller, like Benjamin of Tudela, journeyed through Europe in the latter half of the fourteenth century, with the object of visiting, enumerating, and describing the various Jewish communities, he would have had a dismal picture to give us. From the Pillars of Hercules and the Atlantic Ocean to the banks of the Oder or the Vistula, he would have found in many districts no Jews at all, and elsewhere only very small, poverty-stricken, and wretched communities still bleeding from the wounds inflicted upon

them by the plague-maddened populace. According to all human calculation the destruction of the Jews in Western and Central Europe was then imminent. Those who had survived the pitiless massacre, or had been spared a desperate suicide, had lost all vital energy. Communal ties were for the most part rent asunder. The recollection of the scenes of horror through which they had passed long agitated the small number of surviving Jews, and left them no hope of better times. Lord Byron's elegiac lines—

"The wild dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
Mankind their country—Israel but the grave,"

are, indeed, applicable to the whole of the mediæval history of the Jews, but to no period are they more appropriate than to this. Western and Central Europe had become for the descendants of the Patriarchs and the Prophets one vast grave which insatiably demanded new victims.

It is remarkable that the Jews had become indispensable to the Christian population, in spite of the venomous hatred with which the latter regarded them. Not only princes, but cities, and even the clergy, became imbued with a mania for "possessing Jews." Within a few years after the terrible frenzy which followed on the Black Death, German citizens and their magistrates hastened to re-admit the Jews; they soon forgot their vow, that for a hundred or even two hundred years no Jew should dwell within their walls. The Bishop of Augsburg applied to the Emperor Charles IV. for the privilege "to receive and harbour Jews." The Electors, ecclesiastical as well as secular, were bent upon curtailing the exclusive right of the German Emperor to possess serfs of the chamber (*servi cameræ*), and upon acquiring the same right for themselves. Gerlach, Archbishop of Mayence, especially exerted himself to

wrest this privilege from the Emperor Charles IV., his success being in no small extent due to the desire of the emperor to retain his popularity amongst the Electors. At an Imperial Diet held at Nuremberg in November, 1355, where a kind of German Constitution, known as the "Golden Bull," was promulgated, the emperor conferred on all the Electors, in addition to the right of the discovery to metal and salt mines, the privilege to hold Jews; that is to say, he yielded to them this source of revenue in addition to such sources as deposits of metal and salt. But it was only to the Electors that the emperor conceded this right; he still retained his old rights to the *servi cameræ* living under the rule of the minor princes and in cities. The Archiepiscopal Elector of Mayence lost no time in utilising the new privilege, and immediately employed a Jew to obtain others for him. Thus the Jews were at once repelled and attracted, shunned and courted, outlawed and tolerated. They were well aware, however, that it was not for their own sakes that they were indulged, but solely on account of the advantages they afforded to the authorities and the population. How, then, could they avoid devoting themselves to money-making, when it was the sole means by which they were enabled to drag out a miserable existence?

In France, as in Germany, financial considerations also induced the rulers to consent to the re-admission of the Jews. The embarrassments resulting from frequent wars with England, which were particularly felt after the captivity of King John (September, 1356), threatened to reduce this chivalrous land to the condition of a province of the English crown. Money especially was wanting. Even to ransom the imprisoned king the assembled States-General found themselves unable to authorise any expedient, or burdened their sanction with heavy conditions. The third Estate rose in rebel-

lion, and encouraged the peasants to throw off the yoke of the nobles. Anarchy reigned throughout the whole country. At this juncture the Jews, with their financial operations, appeared to the Dauphin Charles (who acted as regent during the captivity of the king) as providential deliverers of the State. A clever Jew, Manessier (Manecier) de Vesoul, actively negotiated the return of the Jews to France, whence they had been so frequently banished. The Dauphin-Regent had already granted a few permissions to individual Jews to return, but if the impoverished State or the Court were to reap any real benefit from such return it was necessary that it should take place on a large scale. Hence, the plan which Manessier submitted to the prince was approved in every detail, and the return of the Jews for twenty years was authorised under the most favourable conditions. Neither the Jews, however, nor their representative, Manessier, cared to take advantage of so important an offer without the consent of the imprisoned king. The plan was accordingly submitted to him for confirmation. At the instance of Manessier de Vesoul, the Jews at the same time laid before the king a memorial setting forth how they had been formerly unjustly expelled from France, and that they could not forget the land of their birth. On this, the imprisoned monarch issued a decree (March, 1360) by which, with the consent of the higher and lower clergy, the higher and lower nobility, and the third Estate, permission was granted to all Jews to enter France and reside there for twenty years. They were allowed to take up their abode in any part of the country; in large and small towns, villages and hamlets, and to possess, not only houses, but also lands.

The head of every Jewish family was, however, compelled immediately on entering the country to

pay a sum of fourteen florins (Florins de Florence) for himself and one florin for each child and other member of his family; besides this he became liable to an annual Jew-tax of seven florins for himself and one for each individual of his household. On the other hand, the immigrants were to enjoy extensive privileges. They were not amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts or officials, but had a special justiciary for themselves in the person of the Count d'Etampes, a prince of the blood royal, who acted as their protector (Gardiën, Conservateur), and whose duty it was to appoint investigating judges and commissioners, and to safeguard the interests of the community when endangered. Cases of misdemeanour and crime amongst themselves were to be tried by two rabbis and four assessors. Against the decisions of this tribunal there was no appeal. The property of the convicted Jewish criminal, however, became forfeited to the king, to whom, in addition, the rabbis had to pay the sum of one hundred florins. For past misdemeanours and crimes the king granted them a complete amnesty. They were protected against the violence of the nobles and the petty annoyances of the clergy. They were not to be forced to attend the services or discourses of the Christian Church. Together with their furniture, cattle, and stores of grain and wine, their sacred books, not merely the Bible, but also copies of the Talmud, were to be guaranteed against confiscation, and the public burning of the Talmud at Paris was not to be repeated. The widest protection was reserved for their trade. They were allowed to charge an interest of 80 per cent. (4 deniers on the livre) on loans, and to take pledges, in respect of which their rights were safeguarded by a perfect fence of laws. Manessier de Vesoul himself, the active and zealous negotiator of these privileges, was appointed to a high

position at Court. He became Receiver-General (Procureur or Receveur - Général), and in this capacity had to watch over and be responsible for the punctual payment of the sums due by Jews on entering the country, and the collection of their annual taxes; of these sums he himself received nearly 14 per cent. The result of the granting of these privileges was that the Jews entered France in large numbers, even those who were not natives were permitted to settle there, or to take up a more or less protracted residence.

The extensive privileges granted to the Jews excited envy on several sides. The Christian physicians, exposed to the competition of Jewish doctors, complained that the latter had not passed any public examination, and denounced them as charlatans. The judges and officials, being without power over the Jews and having no opportunity for extorting money from them, complained of their abuses. The clergy, indignant at the favoured position of the Jews, but having no real grievance, complained that they no longer wore the prescribed badge. The feeble king allowed an order to be extorted from him, to some extent in contradiction of his own decree, by virtue of which only such Jews were to be permitted to practise medicine as had passed an examination, and all Jews, not excepting those even who enjoyed especial privileges (Manessier and his family), were to wear a red and white wheel-shaped badge (rouelle) of the size of the Royal Seal. Finally, the Jews were re-committed to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts, and the earlier arrangements annulled.

As soon however as the politic Dauphin ascended the throne, under the title of Charles V., and had laid down a strict system of government, he proceeded to assure to himself the sources of revenue constituted by the Jews, in order to deliver himself

from dependence on the States-General (May, 1364). He restored the privileges partly abolished by his father, renewed the right of residence for six years, and even granted a secret permission to Hebrew money dealers to exceed the charge of 80 per cent. on loans. At the instance of Manessier de Vesoul, always so zealous in the interests of his co-religionists, the Jews were again withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals and committed to the care of their officially appointed protector, the Count d'Etampes. The clergy, whose hatred of the Jews bordered on inhumanity, were rendered powerless. In the south of France the heads of the Church had threatened with excommunication any Christians who should trade with Jews or provide them with fire, water, bread or wine, and, by this means, had so stirred up the fanaticism of the people, that the lives and property of the Jews became imperilled. To counteract this the Governor of Languedoc issued in the name of the king, an ordinance informing the officials, both lay and ecclesiastical, that all who exhibited hostility towards the Jews would be unsparingly punished in person and substance.

Thus, during the reign of Charles V. (1364—1380), the condition of the Jews was at least endurable. Manessier remained Receiver-General of the Jews' taxes for the North of France (Langue d'Oyl), and the same functions were discharged by Denis Quinon in Languedoc. On the complaint of the latter that a few Jewish converts, in conjunction with the Christian clergy, had forced their former brethren to attend the churches in order to hear sermons, the king issued a rescript (March, 1368) severely prohibiting all such unseemly compulsion. Subsequently, Charles prolonged the period for remaining in the country another ten years, and later on, another six. All this was brought about by the indefatigable Manessier (1374). His zeal in the

Jewish cause and the advantages the king derived from his exertions were rewarded by the exemption of himself and his family from every kind of tax, contribution and service to the crown (1375).

Meanwhile, although the German and French Jews appeared to revive after their dreadful sufferings, it was only a material revival; their spirit remained dead. Their intellectual powers had disappeared. In France, where, during more than two centuries, from Rashi to the last of the Tossafists, the study of the Talmud had been carried to its most flourishing point and where a remarkable acuteness and intellectual depth had developed, the new immigrants exhibited so astonishing an ignorance that they were obliged to commence their studies anew. The indulgences of the kings John and Charles certainly spoke of rabbis who should be invested with authority to deal judicially with Jewish criminals; but amongst the rabbis it is difficult to discover a single profound Talmudist, whilst, according to the avowal of contemporary writers, there were not more than five of even mediocre attainments. The only one who at that time may be said to have represented Talmudical study, Matathiah ben Joseph Provenci, has left nothing in writing to testify to his ability. Held in such esteem by Charles V., that he and his family were exempted from wearing the distinctive badges prescribed by law, and closely related to the Receiver-General, Manessier de Vesoul, Matathiah was in the best position to deal with the prevailing ignorance. He re-established a college at Paris, assembled pupils around him, expounded the Talmud to them, ordained them to rabbinical offices, and caused copies of the Talmud to be written. In consequence of his energy and his comparatively great learning he was chosen by the collective newly-established French communities to the office of Chief Rabbi and Chief Justice in civil and penal

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king. This appointment was confirmed by the king. His school had to supply the various communities with rabbis, but his pupils enriched rabbinical literature by their contributions as little as he himself. Even Provenci, once so fruitful of Jewish literature, had become intellectually impoverished.

In Germany, where the rabbis had once been so proud of their traditional wisdom, the Black Death, with its attendant persecutions and banishments, had so thinned the ranks of the Jews, that there also an extraordinary intellectual decay had set in. The illiterate and the superficial were, in the absence of better men, inducted into rabbinical offices. This mischievous practice was vigorously opposed by Meir ben Baruch Halevi, a rabbi who, in his time, passed for a great authority in Germany (1370—1390). Rabbi at Vienna, as his father had been before him, Meir Halevi (Segal) published a decision that no Talmudical student should exercise rabbinical functions, unless he had been previously authorised by an approved rabbi. Until then it had been the practice for anyone who believed himself to possess sufficient ability, and felt that he had a call, to assume the rabbinical office without further ceremony, or, should he perchance settle in the neighbourhood of his teacher, to obtain permission from him. As from the time of Gershom of Mayence, there had always been great Talmudists in Germany, public opinion counteracted the abuse of this liberty; for had an unqualified person arrogated to himself the exercise of rabbinical functions, he would have incurred general derision and contempt. After the Black Death, however, this deterrent lost much of its force through the scarcity of Talmudists. The decision of Meir of Vienna, that every rabbi should be first ordained, that he should earn the title (*Morenu*) and that, without such preparation, he should be precluded from dealing with matri-

monial matters, marriages and divorces, did not proceed from any empty presumption on the part of its author, but was dictated by the exigencies of the times. The insignificance of even the most respected of the German Rabbis of this period is apparent from the fact that not one of them has left behind any important Talmudical work; that, on the contrary, they all pursued a course productive of mental stagnation. Meïr Halevi, his colleague Abraham Klausner, and Shalom, of Austria, Rabbi at Vienna, devoted themselves exclusively to writing down and perpetuating the customs of the communities (Minhagim) to which, formerly, but very little attention had been given. They and their pupils, Isaac Tyrnau of Hungary, and Jacob Mölin (Maharil) have left behind them nothing but such insipid compilations. If the Austrian school, which at this time preponderated, was so wanting in intellectuality, how much more so was the Rhenish, of which only the names are known.

Through the disasters that resulted from the Black Death, the memories of old times had become so obliterated that the Rhenish Rabbis found themselves compelled, in consequence of differences of opinion on points of marriage law, to convene a Synod exclusively for the purpose of restoring old regulations. At the meeting which took place at Mayence (15th Ab—5th August, 1381) a few of the rabbis, together with some of the Communal leaders, renewed the old decisions of Speyer, Worms and Mayence (Tekanot Shum) that the childless widow should, without extortion or delay, be released from the obligation of marrying her brother-in-law, and should receive a strictly defined proportion of the property left by her husband. Among the rabbis who took part in this Synod there is not one name of note.

CHAPTER V.

THE AGE OF CHASDAI CRESCAS AND ISAAC BEN SHESHET.

The Jews of Spain after the Civil War—Joseph Pichon and Samuel Abrabanel—The Apostates : John of Valladolid—Menachem ben Zerah, Chasdai Crescas, and Isaac ben Sheshet—Chayim Gallipapa and his innovations—Provost Aubriot and the Jews of Paris—The French Rabbinate—Revival of Jewish Influence in Spain—The Jews of Portugal—The Jewish Statesmen, David and Judah Negro—Rabbis and Clergy—Persecutions in Germany and Spain—The First Germs of the Inquisition—Second Expulsion of the Jews from France—The Convert, Pessach-Peter—Lipmann of Mulhausen.

1369—1380 C.E.

THE heart of the Jewish race had thus become not less crippled and sickly than its dependent members. In Spain disintegrating forces were at work on that steadfast kernel of Judaism, which had so long defied the corroding influences of ecclesiastical and civil animosity. The prince, whom the Jews at the dictates of their loyalty had so sturdily resisted, against whom they had even taken up arms ; the bastard, Don Henry de Trastamara ; the rebel who had brought civil war upon his native land, and flooded it with an invasion of marauding soldiery ; the fratricide, who had burst the bonds alike of nature and of law, had, after the victory of Montiel, seized the sceptre in his blood-stained hands and placed the stolen crown of Castile on his guilty head. Of the large Jewish population a considerable proportion had, during the protracted and embittered civil war, met their death on the field of battle, in the beleaguered towns, and, armed and

unarmed alike, at the swords of the mercenaries of the "White Company."

The Jewish community of Toledo, the Castilian capital—the "Crown of Israel" of the Middle Ages, and, in a measure, the Jerusalem of the Occident—did not number, after the raising of the siege, as many hundreds of Jews as it had previously counted thousands. The remainder of the Jews of Castile had been reduced to beggary by the depredations and confiscations of friend and foe. Not a few, in their despair, had thrown themselves into the arms of Christianity. A striking picture of the unhappy condition of the Castilian communities at this period is furnished by a contemporary writer, Samuel Çarça: "In truth, plunderers followed on plunderers, money vanished from the purse, souls from the bodies; all the precursory sufferings of the Messianic period had arrived—but the Redeemer came not!"

After Don Henry's victory, the surviving Jews had good reason to tremble. One of his pretexts for making war on his brother had been the favour shown by Don Pedro to the Jews. And now he had become the arbiter of their destinies. Would he not, like another Vespasian or Hadrian, place his foot on the necks of the vanquished? The gloomiest of their anticipations were, however, not destined to be realised. Don Henry I. was as little able to dispense with the Jews as his predecessors, or the French and German princes. The Jews were the only financiers able to keep the State Exchequer in prosperity and order, and, for this purpose, Don Henry stood more in need of them than ever. During the war he had incurred debts for the payment of the troops with which Du Guesclin had assisted him, and for help received in other quarters he had made promises which had to be redeemed. The country had become impoverished by the protracted war. Who, then, should procure the neces-

sary sums and provide for the systematic collection of the taxes if not the Jews? Henry was also not blind to the merits of the Jews, as exemplified in their constancy to his brother. Instead of punishing the conquered he appreciated their fidelity, saying: "Such subjects a king must love and reward, because they maintained to the death a proper loyalty for their conquered king and did not surrender to the victor."

Don Henry thus gave every opportunity for the same conduct to be laid to his charge, which, in the case of his brother, he branded as a crime in the eyes of all Christendom; he employed able Jews in the service of the state, in particular confiding to them the finances. Two Jews from Seville, Don Joseph Pichon and Don Samuel Abrabanel, he appointed to important posts, the former as Receiver-General of Taxes and Almoxarif to the king, by whom he was held in high esteem. Other Jews, distinguished for their ability or their wealth, also had access to Don Henry's court.

If the king bore no grudge against the Jews for the part they had taken in the war against him, the general population were not so magnanimous. The nobility and the commonalty could not forgive their having confronted them as foes in the besieged towns and on the open battle-fields. A passion for vengeance, linked with the usual Jew-hatred, blinded them to the benefits which the Jews contributed to the welfare of the State, and their only thought was how to gratify their resentment. The Jews, being the vanquished, ought, as they thought, to be reduced to a kind of serfdom. The hostile feeling of the populace manifested itself immediately on the assembling of the first Cortes at Toro (1371). Here the enemies of the Jews opened the attack. The Cortes expressed to the king its displeasure that this "evil and opinionated race," these enemies of God and Christendom,

should be employed in "high offices" at court and by the *grandees* of the realm, that the farming of the taxes should be confided to them, by which means feeble Christians could be held in subjection and fear. The Cortes accordingly made explicit demands of the Crown with respect to the Jews. From that time forward they were not to be eligible for any kind of State employment; they were to live in Jewish quarters separated from the Christian population, to be forced to wear the Jew-badges, to be prohibited from appearing publicly in rich apparel, from riding on mules, and finally from bearing Christian names. To Don Henry these demands were very unwelcome, but he dared not refuse some concessions. The majority he dismissed with the remark that in his treatment of the Jews he only followed the example of his ancestors, and especially that of his father, Alfonso XI.; but the two restrictions which he conceded were, if not of material significance, yet calculated to have a very sinister effect. These were that the Castilian Jews should don the degrading badges, and lay aside their adopted names. The pride of the Jews, which they shared equally with the *grandees* and *hidalgos*, was thus deeply wounded. A century and a-half had elapsed since the canonical law concerning the Jew-badge, the outcome of Papal intolerance and arrogance, had been promulgated. During the whole of that period the Jews of Castile had been able to prevent its application to themselves, and now they also were to be compelled to wear the stigmatising token on their garments. They who had been accustomed to hold their heads so high, and to rejoice in sounding titles, were, like the German Jews, to slink along with downcast eyes and be called by their Oriental names. They could not bring themselves to this humiliating situation.

In consequence of an outcry made by some of

his subjects, who complained that they had been ruined by the loans of Jewish creditors and their unrestricted usury, Don Henry also made encroachments on their private rights. He decided that in the event of the Christian debtors discharging their obligations within a short space of time they should only refund two-thirds of the principal borrowed.

The misery resulting from the civil war and the new restrictions exercised a depressing effect on the Castilian Jews. Their most prominent men, those who had access to the court and possessed wealth and influence, especially Samuel Abrabanel, exerted themselves to remedy the gloomy state of affairs. They particularly endeavoured to restore the decrepid, impoverished, and disorganised community of Toledo; but it was beyond their power to revive the scholarly culture and intellectual distinction to which the Toledo community had been as much indebted for its leading position as to the prosperity of its members. The unhappy war, and the evils following in its trail, seemed to have stunted the Jewish mind, and given its intellectual aspirations an altogether material bias. Disorganisation proceeded with great strides. Indifference to scientific work resulted in so general an ignorance, that what formerly every tyro was familiar with now passed for transcendent wisdom. We have an example of the mawkishness to which the new Hebrew poetry had fallen in the verses of the poetaster Zarak (Zerach) Barfat, who, in a poetical paraphrase of the Book of Job, completely marred the beauties of that work of art. It was just at this period that men of learning and ability were urgently required, for then it was that the representatives of Christianity began earnestly and energetically to make attacks on Judaism in order to obtain converts from amongst its adherents.

Don Henry had much to thank the clergy for; they had sanctified his usurpation, and acquiesced in his arrogated legitimacy. From a sense of gratitude and an assumed piety he conceded much to them. At his command Jews were again forced to take part in religious debates, in which there was much to lose and nothing to gain.

Two baptised Jews received from the king the privilege of holding religious discussions in every province and town of Castile, to which they might compel the Jews to attend on their invitation.

One of these apostates was John of Valladolid. At Burgos the discussion took place before the Archbishop Gomez of Toledo. At Avila the whole community was compelled to repair to the great church (1375), where the debate was carried on in the presence of many Christians and Mahometans. The trusty Moses Cohen de Tordesillas, who was as familiar with Christian as with Jewish theological authorities, appeared on behalf of the Jews. He entered upon his dangerous enterprise with trepidation, for he had already been enabled to form an estimate of Christian charity. During the civil war Christian marauders had robbed him of all his possessions, and had even personally ill-used him in order to force him to embrace Christianity. All these trials he had suffered with the courage of strong convictions, but he had become so poverty-stricken through them that he was supported by the community of Avila.

Moses de Tordesillas did not find his part in the discussion too difficult. The baptised John of Valladolid laid every stress on the proposition that the dogmas of Christianity—the Messianic claim, the Divinity, and Incarnation of Jesus, the Trinity, and the Virginity of the “Mother of God”—could be demonstrated from the Old Testament. It was consequently not difficult for his Jewish opponent to confute his arguments. After four debates

John was obliged to abandon his task, vanquished. This, however, did not conclude the matter. Very shortly after a pupil of the apostate, Abner Alfonso, appeared and challenged Moses de Tordesillas to a debate on the Talmud and Agadic texts. In case of refusal he threatened publicly to impeach the Talmud as the source of all anti-Christian exposition. Moses was consequently again forced to meet a series of silly assertions and charges, and to drag himself through the thorny length of another controversy. On the advice of the Avila community he subsequently committed to writing the principal arguments he had used in these discussions (under the title "Ezer ha-Emuna"), and sent them to his Toledan brethren for use under similar circumstances. Moses de Tordesillas' disputations were characterised by calmness and equanimity, notwithstanding the difficulties of his position. Not a word of abuse or invective escaped him, and he counselled his Toledo brethren not to permit themselves to be tempted by their zeal to vexatious expressions, "for the Christians," he said, "possess the power and disposition suddenly to silence the truth by force." Toledo, formerly recognised as the teacher amongst the communities, was now obliged to play the part of pupil, and to have formularies written for its guidance in any interchange of ideas to which its members might be invited.

As if the more far-seeing of the Jews had anticipated the approach of the gloomiest era of Spanish Judaism, they prepared their co-religionists for the coming struggle with casque and buckler, so that the inexorable foe should not surprise them unarmed. Contemporary with Moses de Tordesillas another Spanish Jew compiled a polemical work, more exhaustive than its predecessor, defending Judaism and attacking Christianity. Shem-Tob ben Isaac Shaprut of Tudela had already at an early age been forced into the position of a defender of

his brethren against proselytising attempts. The Cardinal Don Pedro de Luna, who later on, as Pope Benedict XIII., wrought so much confusion in the church and evil on the Jews, was in his time possessed of a perfect mania for conversion, and an irrepressible eagerness for controversy on questions of faith. At Pampeluna he summoned Shem-Tob ben Shaprut to a debate on "Original Sin and Salvation," and the latter was compelled to sustain his part in the presence of the bishop and a number of learned prelates. The war between England and Castile, the scene of which was Navarre, obliged Shem-Tob ben Shaprut, with many other Jews, to quit the country (1378) and settle in the neighbouring town of Tarragona, in Aragon. Observing here that Jews who had been won over by the attacks of John de Valladolid were extremely zealous in the promotion of religious discussions, he published (1380) a comprehensive work ("Eben Bochan"); unmasking the speciousness of the arguments deduced by Christian controversialists from the Bible and Talmud, and designed for the strengthening of Jewish waverers, and the vindication of the Jews and their literature in the eyes of their oppressors. The work is written in the form of a discussion between a believer in the Unity of God and a Trinitarian. In order to enable the Jews to possess themselves of weapons out of the Christian armoury, Shem-Tob ben Shaprut also translated into Hebrew extracts from the four Gospels, with incisive commentaries of his own. Subsequently the anti-Jewish work of the apostate Abner-Alfonso fell into his hands, and he set himself to confute it, argument by argument.

The influence of these polemical works did not prove of far-reaching importance, at any rate their effect was not what their authors had expected. The Jews of Spain did not stand so much in need of writings at this period as of men

of that force of character and commanding personality and leadership needed to raise, if not the masses, at any rate the half-educated classes, and so imbue them with something of that spirit by which they themselves might be animated. The aversion to scientific study which had grown out of the state of painful anxiety into which the Jews had been plunged, and the extreme religiousness to which they had consequently resorted, notably avenged itself; it dwarfed the intelligence of the people, and deprived them of that capacity for appreciating the signs of the times, which only a liberal education can develop. Even the faithful suffered from this want of culture in the rising generation. There is only one Jew of profound philosophic genius who stands out prominently in the history of this period, and the influence he was enabled to exert over a not too extended circle was due less to the force of his intelligence than to his position and Talmudic knowledge. On the other hand, the majority of the Spanish rabbis were, if not actually hostile, at any rate indifferent to the cultivation of the sciences, and especially of religious philosophy. Only laymen devoted themselves to such pursuits, and they were neither exhaustive in their inquiries nor creative in their speculations. It is characteristic of this period that the study of Maimuni's philosophical "Guide to the Perplexed" was entirely neglected, the fashion being to read and discuss Ibn-Ezra. The fragmentary nature of the writings of this commentator, the ingenuity and acuteness, the subtlety and flights of fancy which characterise much of his work appealed more powerfully to the shallowness of this retrograde generation. Shem-Tob ben Shaprut, Samuel Çarça, Joseph Tob-Elem, Ezra Gatiño, and others wrote super-commentaries on Ibn-Ezra's commentary on the Pentateuch. The solution of riddles and mysteries after the style

of Ibn-Ezra, and explanations of his obscurities seriously exercised the minds of large circles of students.

The study of the Talmud, in which the more thoughtful minds, under the influence of a religious bias, still continued to be engaged, fared no better than secular learning. Here also a state of stagnation, if not worse, had supervened. The rabbis of some of the larger communities were not even able to discharge the important duty of explaining the Talmud to classes of young students. A French Talmudist, Solomon ben Abraham Zarfati, who had settled at Mallorca, presumed to attack the Spanish rabbis, not excepting even the celebrated Nissim Gerundi, taking them severely to task on account of the insignificance of their Talmudic knowledge, and comparing them disparagingly with the French and German rabbis. A measure of the average intelligence of the rabbis of this period is yielded by the works of Menachem ben Zerach, who had been elected chief of the still very important community of Toledo.

Menachem ben Aaron ben Zerach (born 1310, died 1385) counted several martyrs in his family. His father, Aaron, was one of the unfortunates whom the cupidity and tyranny of a French king had banished from their country. With the limited means left to his family by legalised robbery, he had settled in Estella, a not inconsiderable Navarrese community. There the father and mother and four of the brothers perished in the massacre of Jews instigated by a Dominican friar. The young Menachem, already married, was severely wounded in this outbreak, and might have also succumbed had it not been for the assistance he received from a nobleman of his father's acquaintance. On his recovery he devoted himself daily to Talmudical study, and later on attended the celebrated House of Learning of the Asheride

Judah of Toledo. In his fortieth year Menachem ben Zerach became chief of an academy, the care of which was confided to him by the Alcála (de Henaras) community. During the civil war in Castile he was wounded and plundered by the lawless soldiery; and of his entire fortune, only his house, field, and collection of books remained to him. Don Samuel Abrabanel assisted him in his distress, so that he was enabled to recover somewhat from his misfortunes. Through his interposition Menachem was called from Alcála to assume the Rabbinate of Toledo, where he opened a House of Learning. As a pupil and disciple of Jehuda Asheri, something considerable in the shape of Talmudical learning was with justice expected of him. Menachem ben Zerach, however, did not rise above the mediocrity of his times. In order to remedy the increasing ignorance of religious forms and duties he wrote a compendium of theoretic and practical Judaism, ("Zeda la Derech," 1374), as comprehensible as it was short, for the use of prominent Jews, who, being employed at the Court and by the grandees, had not sufficient leisure to search through an extensive literature for instruction. This work is also interspersed with scientific elements—medical, psychological, and religio-philosophical—but it is generally weak and common-place, and is full of platitudes. Its several parts do not cohere, and the whole hangs loosely together. The Talmudical elements are neither profound nor original. The only redeeming feature in Menachem ben Zerach's work is that it is conceived in a warm and sympathetic spirit, and was, therefore, in comparison with the usual dry rabbinical disquisitions, calculated to effect some good.

Only two men appear at this time to have been raised by their character and learning above the dead level of the prevailing mediocrity:

Chasdaï Crescas and Isaac ben Sheshet. They both lived in the kingdom of Aragon, where the Jews under Pedro IV. and Juan I. were neither so poor nor so oppressed as their brethren in Castile. Chasdaï Crescas and Isaac ben Sheshet were not men of sufficient importance to exercise an all-powerful influence on their contemporaries, or to prescribe their own tendencies as rules of conduct; they were, however, the foci of large circles, and were frequently appealed to for final decisions on complicated and difficult questions. Both worked earnestly for the maintenance and furtherance of Judaism, for the preservation of peace and concord in the various communities, and for the consolation and re-animation of the broken in spirit, notwithstanding that their means were limited, and the times far from propitious.

Chasdaï ben Abraham Crescas (born 1340, died 1410), originally of Barcelona, and subsequently of Saragossa, where he ended his days, did not belong to the class of ordained rabbis, notwithstanding that he had been educated on Talmudical lines, and was an accomplished Talmudist. His wealth and other occupations seem to have indisposed him for this honourable position. Chasdaï Crescas was in close relationship with the Court of Juan I., of Aragon, and was frequently consulted on important State questions; he had also much intercourse with the grandees of the kingdom. In the methods and conclusions of the various schools of philosophy he was well versed; the independence and depth of thought he evinced in dealing with them stamp him as an original thinker. His ideas were certainly largely based upon religious, or rather upon Jewish convictions, which, however, he presented in an original form. Chasdaï Crescas was the first to recognise and exhaustively indicate the weak points of the prevailing Aristotelianism, and he attacked it with

irresistible force. Of his youth nothing is known, and it is impossible to say under what influences those ripe powers of mind were developed which enabled him to question not only the authority of Maimonides and Gersonides, but even that of Aristotle himself. His ancestors were learned Talmudists, and his grandfather enjoyed a reputation equal to that of the famous Asheri family. He was in Talmudical studies a pupil of Nissim Gerundi, of Barcelona. The nature of Chasdaï Crescas was kind and gentle; he was a friend in need, and a reliable counsellor of the weak. During the unhappy days which broke upon the Jews of Spain in his lifetime he devoted all his powers to the mitigation of the disasters which befell his brethren.

Similar in character, but fundamentally opposed to him in the disposition of his mind, was his friend and senior, Isaac ben Sheshet Barfat (Ribash, born 1310, died about 1409). To some extent a disciple of Ben Adret—being a native of Barcelona, and having finished his studies under the auspices of Ben Adret's son and immediate pupils—Isaac ben Sheshet reflected to the full his teacher's capacity for seizing the spirit of the Talmud, and his lucid method of dealing with the contents of that work, but his master's hostile attitude towards secular studies he far surpassed. Ben Adret had only permitted himself to be forced by the circumstances of his times to a prohibition of such studies as far as raw lads were concerned; Ben Sheshet, in his rigid piety, took the view that even mature men should hold aloof from them, although at that period there was but little reason to fear an outbreak of heresy. The physical sciences and philosophy, he held, should be completely avoided, as they were calculated to undermine the two essential supports of the Torah, the doctrines of the Creation, and of a Providence; because they exalted Reason over Faith,

and generated doubts with respect to Miracles. In the works of Gersonides, and even of Maimuni, Ben Sheshet found illustrations of the pernicious effects of philosophic speculation. He granted that their authors were men of incomparable genius, but he insisted that they had allowed themselves to be so far misled by philosophy as to adopt heterodox views on certain points, and to dispute certain miracles of the Bible. Ben Sheshet was of a high moral character; his disposition was kindly, and on several occasions he willingly sacrificed his personal interests to advance the common good and to promote peace. But where he suspected the violation of a Talmudical precept or the non-observance of some antiquated custom, his mildness became immediately transformed into the most obdurate severity.

In consequence of his Talmudical learning, his clear and penetrating intellect, and his irreproachable character, he was much sought after. The important community of Saragossa elected him as their Rabbi. Immediately on his taking office, Isaac ben Sheshet afforded an illustration of the tenacity with which he clung to the letter of the law, even when it conflicted with the spirit. He observed, with regret, that the practice obtained there of reading the book of Esther on the feast of Purim in a Spanish translation, for the benefit of the women. This practice had also been introduced into other Spanish communities, and was not only applauded by all men of common sense, but had even been authorised by a few rabbis, who maintained, from a Talmudical point of view, that it was allowable. Nevertheless, Ben Sheshet raised a cry of alarm, as if the whole fabric of Judaism had been threatened with ruin. He called to his assistance the authority of his teacher, Nissim Gerundi, and together they opposed the excellent custom with all the resources of sophistical

argument. They appear to have been successful in abolishing it.

Still more characteristic of Isaac ben Sheshet was his quarrel with Chayim ben Gallipapa, a Rabbi, already stricken in years, whose opinions differed from those of the Rabbi of Saragossa. This man (born 1310, died 1380), Rabbi of Huesca and Pampeluna, was a singular phenomenon in the Middle Ages, whom it is difficult to classify with accuracy. Whilst all the rabbis of the time, particularly since the rise of the Asheride teaching, exceeded all bounds in the imposition of burdensome observance, and always, in cases of doubt, decided in favour of their most rigorous fulfilment, Gallipapa took the opposite view, and maintained that the aim of all Talmudical exegesis should be to disencumber life of whatever rendered it less than endurable. The times, he considered, had improved, and neither the ignorance of the people nor the fear of defection was so great as to warrant such severity. This principle was no mere theory with Gallipapa, for he followed it up practically. The freedom he suggested certainly concerned only matters of comparative insignificance, but at that time every triviality was regarded as important. In certain matters of opinion, Gallipapa also held independent views, differing from those generally accepted. The Messianic belief which, since the time of Maimonides, had become an article of faith, to deny which was heresy, he boldly set aside. Gallipapa considered that the prophecies, in Isaiah and Daniel, of the great prosperity of Israel in the future, had already been fulfilled in the days of the Maccabees, and he wrote a special work on the subject. Against this hardy innovator, a storm naturally arose. A neighbouring rabbi, Chasdaï ben Solomon, of Tudela, a man of not over-fine sensibilities, denounced him to Isaac ben Sheshet, and the latter lectured the venerable Gallipapa, who had already

sent pupils into the world, as if he had been a mere schoolboy. He adjured Chayim Gallipapa to avoid scandal and to give no opportunity for schism amongst his brethren. The modest attempt at reform went no further.

This severe tendency in matters of religion was, however, the natural outcome of the prevailing spiritual needs; and it must be confessed that the more rigorous it was the better it was adapted to them. Isaac ben Sheshet and his friend, Chasdaï Crescas, who, although no enemy of secular learning, entertained the same view as his colleague, and defended his orthodoxy on philosophic grounds, were considered, after the death of Nissim Gerundi, the most eminent rabbinical authorities of their day, and not in Spain only. From far and near, inquiries were addressed to them, principally to Isaac ben Sheshet, but also in considerable numbers to Chasdaï Crescas. The proudest rabbis and the largest communities invoked their counsel, and were content to abide by their decisions. The Court of Aragon also regarded them as the leaders of the Jewish communities, but this operated to their disadvantage. In consequence of the denunciation of some malevolent person, the ground of which is unknown, the king Don Pedro IV., ordered Chasdaï Crescas, Isaac ben Sheshet, his brother, Crescas Barfat, the aged Nissim Gerundi of Barcelona, and two others, to be thrown into prison. This was preceded by a deprivation of civil rights. We may well believe Isaac ben Sheshet when he assures us that he and his fellow-prisoners were all innocent of the offence or crime laid to their charge. Their innocence, too, must have subsequently come to light, for later on they were released, and remained afterwards unmolested.

The authority of Chasdaï Crescas and Isaac ben Sheshet was sought by the French communities

to settle an important point in a dispute having reference to the Chief Rabbinate of France. A change, largely the outcome of the political condition of the country, had come over the circumstances of these communities. Manessier de Vesoul, the zealous guide and protector of his co-religionists, was dead (about 1375—1378). Of his four sons—Solomon, Joseph, Abraham, and Haquinet—the eldest had succeeded to his father's post of Receiver-General of the special Jew taxes, and political representative of the French Jews, and the second had become a convert to Christianity. Solomon and his brothers enjoyed the same esteem at the Royal Court as their father. They were exempted from wearing the humiliating Jew-badge, and they diligently cared for the interests of their brethren. Among the Jews themselves, however, they do not seem to have obtained the same consideration that their father had enjoyed. On the death of the king, Charles V., their importance ceased altogether. The Regent, Louis Duke of Anjou, confirmed, for a consideration, the privileges which had been acquired by the French Jews (Oct. 14th, 1380), and prolonged their term of sufferance in the land for another five years. His protection, however, did not reach far, or rather it involved the Jews in his own unpopularity. The impoverished population of Paris, driven to despair by burdensome taxation, loudly and stormily demanded redress of the young king and the Regent. Egged on by the indebted nobility, they were induced to include the Jews in their outcry, and demanded that the king should expel from the country "these shameful usurers who have ruined whole families." But the people were not satisfied with mere words, and, at the instigation of the nobles, they attacked the houses of the Jews (Nov. 16th, 1380), robbed the exchequer of the Receiver-General (of the Vesoul family), pillaged their dwelling-houses, destroyed the bonds of the

debtors, appropriated the accumulated securities, then murdered a few Jews, and tore their children from the arms of the fleeing and weeping Jewish mothers in order to baptise them forthwith. A large number of Jews were killed during their flight to the fortified Châtelet. The Regent was much irritated by this violent outbreak, but for the moment was unable to punish the offenders in consequence of the excited state of the people. He ordered, however, that the Jews should be at once reinstated in their homes; and published a proclamation that the plunder should be restored to them. Few complied with the order. The Provost of Paris, Hugues Aubriot—a man of considerable energy, who had deserved well for his services in beautifying and enlarging the French capital—also interested himself in the Jews. In particular he brought about the restitution of the stolen and baptised children. For this he was violently attacked by men whose learning should have taught them better. Aubriot had, by his orderly administration, made enemies of the University professors and students, and these denounced as criminal his interference for the benefit of the Jews. He was accused before the Bishop of Paris with having held intercourse with Jewish women, and even with being in secret an adherent to Judaism. He was found guilty of heresy and infidelity, and made to pay with imprisonment for his manly conduct towards the Jews. Not only in Paris, but also in other towns where the people rose against the heavy taxation, Jews fell victims to the popular excitement. Four months later, similar bloody scenes were enacted in Paris and the provinces when the rising of the Maillotins (so called from the insurgents being armed with mallets) took place. For three or four days in succession Jews were again plundered, ill-treated, and murdered (March 1st, 1381). The king, Charles VII., or rather the Regent, attempted to protect the Jews

and to obtain for them some indemnification of their losses. They were, however, unable to recover from the blow they had received. In these tumults the sons of Manessier de Vesoul appear either to have lost their lives, or, at any rate, their position of importance.

This change in the fortunes of the French Jews brought in its train a violent communal dispute, the excitement from which extended far and wide. The Chief Rabbi, Matathiah Provenci, had also been gathered to his fathers. The communities had elected his eldest son, Jochanan, in his place, and the king had confirmed their choice. He had already been in office five years, and was projecting the establishment of a House of Learning, when a former pupil of his father, one Isaiah ben Abba-Mari, arrived in France from Savoy with an authority from the German Chief Rabbi, Meir ben Baruch Halevi, in virtue of which he alone was permitted to maintain a House of Learning and to ordain pupils as rabbis. Whoever exercised rabbinical functions without his authority and, especially, meddled with marriages and divorces was threatened with excommunication. All unauthorised documents so granted were declared null and void. By virtue of his authority, and in consequence of Jochanan's refusal to subordinate himself to him, Isaiah relieved him of his office (about 1380—90). The Vesoul family being either extinct or having lost its prestige, Jochanan found himself without influential support. Many of the French Jews, however, were extremely wrath at this violent and imperious behaviour of the immigrant rabbi. They condemned the presumption of the German Rabbi, Meir Halevi, in treating France as though it were a German province, and protested against his dictating laws to the French communities when it had always been the custom to regard each community, and certainly the Jews of each country,

as independent. The result was a storm of indignation, which increased considerably when Isaiah proceeded to appoint his own relatives to the various rabbinates. It being impossible to settle the dispute in the country itself, Jochanan turned with his grievance to the two foremost representatives of Spanish Judaism, Chasdaï Crescas and Isaac ben Sheshet. Both these "Catalonian Grandees," as they were called, pronounced in favour of Jochanan. This decision, however, was not destined to bring about a lasting peace, for the days of the Jews in France were already numbered.

The storm on this occasion arose in Spain, and convulsed for a time the entire Jewish race. The golden age of the Spanish Jews had passed away, but still they were more firmly established in the Peninsula than in any other country. It required a series of violent shocks, extending over an entire century, to completely uproot them, whilst in France they were swept away by a mere breath, like twigs planted in quicksand. For the sanguinary drama which commenced towards the end of the fourteenth century, and ended in the latter part of the fifteenth, the Spanish Jews were themselves largely to blame. It is true the many had to suffer for the few, for when the enemies of the Jews complained of their obsequious attendance at the Court and on the grandees, of their wealth accumulated by usury, and their flaunting in silks and satins, the blame was really only due to a few of the most prominent, for whose follies and extravagances the masses were not responsible. Indeed, there were Jews in those days who did not scruple to express how deeply their moral sense was wounded by the selfishness and covetousness of their high-placed brethren. "Of these weaknesses," says one, "the titled and wealthy Jews have a large share; their only consideration is for their position and money, whilst for their God they have no regard." In fact, a state of

things had come about among the Spanish Jews in which the union that had previously been their chief source of strength was broken up. Jealousy and envy among the Jewish grandees had undermined that fraternal feeling which formerly had induced each to merge his interests in those of the community at large, and all to combine for the defence of each. The generosity and nobility of mind which once so brilliantly distinguished the Spanish Jews had now become almost extinct. A contemporary writer pictures their degeneracy in the darkest hues, and if only one-half of what he tells us is true their decline must have been grave indeed.

"The majority of the high-placed Jews," says Solomon Alami in his "Mirror of Morals," or "Letter of Warning," "who are admitted to the Royal Courts, and to whom the keys of the public exchequer are confided, pride themselves on their dignities and wealth, but give no thought to the poor. They build themselves palaces, drive about in splendid equipages, or ride on richly caparisoned mules, wear magnificent apparel, and deck their wives and daughters like princesses with gold, pearls, and precious stones. They are indifferent to their religion, they disdain modesty, hate manual labour, and live in idleness. The wealthy love dancing and gaming, dress themselves in the national costume, and go about with sleek beards. They fill themselves with dainties, whilst scholars starve on bread and water. Hence the Rabbis are despised, for all classes prefer to have their sons taught the lowest of handicrafts rather than bring them up to the study of the Law. At sermon time the communal leaders resign themselves to a sweet slumber, or talk with one another, and the preacher is frequently disturbed by the bustling of men and women at the back of the synagogue. On the other hand, how devout are the Christians in their

houses of worship! In every town the leaders of the community live at variance with one another, and stir up discord on the most trivial questions. Still worse is the jealousy with which they regard each other; they slander one another to the king and the princes."

It is certainly true that at this period secret denunciations, once almost unknown among the Jews, were exceedingly rife, even Rabbis being occasionally the victims. In the same way as the aged Nissim Gerundi, Isaac ben Sheshet, Chasdai Crescas, and their friends were victimised by the conspiracy of some miserable calumniator, an attempt was made to ruin the Rabbi of Alkolea de Cinca, En-Zag Vidal de Tolosa, by representations to the queen of Aragon.

The Rabbis, who, with one or two assessors, were permitted to constitute courts of justice for criminal cases, dealt severely with such traitors, and even sentenced them to death. In the communities of Castile, Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, the privilege of passing death-sentences was of great antiquity. The Jewish courts certainly required for the execution of such sentences a special sanction from the king under a specially sealed decree (Albala, Chotam); but if by no other means, this was to be obtained through the medium of Jewish courtiers, or by bribery. Such proceedings, however, only increased the evil they were designed to cure. The accused were made short work of without exhaustive inquiry, or sufficient testimony, and this naturally infuriated their relatives and friends. It did not unfrequently occur that utterances were construed as treasonable which had no such character. The reckless proceedings of the Jewish Court of Seville (or Burgos) on an unfounded charge of disloyalty to the community preferred against an eminent and beloved co-religionist was, if not the actual cause, at any rate the occasion

of the first widespread and sanguinary persecution of the Jews in Spain, the final result of which was the total expulsion of the Jews from the Peninsula.

Joseph Pichon, of Seville, who had stood high in favour with the king of Castile, Don Henry II., and had been Receiver-General of Taxes, was accused of embezzlement by some jealous Jewish courtiers. He was imprisoned by the king, condemned to pay a fine of 40,000 doubloons, and eventually dismissed from his post. He afterwards retrieved his reputation, and became extraordinarily popular among the Christian population of Seville. To avenge his wrongs, or possibly with a view to his own vindication, he had just managed to entangle his enemies in the meshes of a serious accusation when Don Henry died. His son, Don Juan I., was crowned at Burgos, the capital of Old Castile (1379). During the coronation festivities a Jewish Court of Justice (at Burgos or Seville) condemned Pichon as an enemy to the community and a traitor (Malshin, Malsin), without affording him an opportunity of being heard in his defence. Some Jews, having access to the court, asked permission of the young king to execute a dangerous member of their own body without mentioning his name. Confidants of the king are said to have been bribed to obtain the royal signature to this decree. Provided with the king's warrant and the death sentence of the Rabbinical College, Pichon's enemies repaired to the chief of police (Alguacil), Fernan Martin, and obtained his assistance at the execution. Early on the morning of the 21st August two or three Jews, together with Martin, entered Pichon's house whilst he was yet asleep, and awoke him under the pretext that his mules were to be seized for debt. As soon as he appeared at the door of his dwelling he was arrested by the Jews entrusted with the carrying out of the sentence and, without a word, beheaded.

Whether Pichon had deserved death, even accord-

ing to Rabbinical law, or whether he fell a victim to the intrigues of his enemies, is not known. It is not difficult to understand, however, that so daring and reckless a proceeding should have stirred up widespread indignation. The anger of the young king knew no bounds when he learnt that his coronation festivities had been stained with the murder of one who had rendered his father such substantial services, and that his own sanction had been surreptitiously obtained for the deed. He immediately ordered the execution of the Jewish headsman who had carried out the sentence, and of one of the Jewish judges of Burgos. Even the Chief of Police, Fernan Martin, was ordered to be put to death, in consequence of the assistance he had given; but at the intercession of some of the nobles, his life was spared and his punishment commuted to the chopping off of one of his hands. This incident had also other and graver consequences. The king at once deprived the rabbis and Jewish Courts of Justice of the jurisdiction in criminal cases, which they had until then exercised, on the ground of their abuse of the privilege. At the first meeting of the Cortes at Soria (1380), he ordered the adoption of this restriction as a permanent statute. By its terms the rabbis and communal leaders were thenceforth prohibited from decreeing punishments of death, dismemberment, or exile, and in criminal cases were to choose Christian judges. One of the reasons assigned was that, according to the revelations of the Prophets, the Jews were to be deprived of all power and freedom after the advent of Jesus. The still exasperated king then arraigned the Jews on other charges. He accused them particularly of cursing Christians and the Christian Church in their prayers, and with receiving Mahometans, Tartars, and other foreign persons into the pale of Judaism, and causing them to be circumcised. Both these alleged practices

were forbidden under heavy penalties. The feeling against the Jews was not limited to the king and the court circle. The entire population of Castile was roused by the apparently unjust condemnation of Joseph Pichon, and by the circumstance that his death was not the work of an irresponsible individual, but of the foremost leader of the Jewish community. In Seville, where Pichon had been very popular, the fury against the Jews rose to such a height that, had the opportunity presented itself, summary vengeance would have been taken.

Accusations against the Jews and petitions for the restriction of their liberties became now the order of the day at each successive meeting of the Cortes, as they had formerly been at the councils of the Visigothic kings. The infuriated Don Juan acquiesced in this agitation, in so far as it did not tend to the detriment of the Royal finances. At the Cortes of Valladolid (1385), he granted the petition for the legalisation of the canonical restrictions which had been presented at the instigation of the clergy; and prohibited, in accordance with its terms, the living together of Jews and Christians, and the suckling of Jewish infants by Christian nurses, under pain of a public whipping. He also consented to the passing of a law excluding Jews (and Mahometans) from the posts of Treasurer to the king, queen, or any of the royal family.

It was the almost incredible lot of this monarch, whose attitude towards the Jews was of so doubtful a character, to have the crown of Portugal snatched from him at the moment that it was within his grasp, through a quarrel over the Chief Rabbinate of Spain. By a treaty with King Ferdinand of Portugal, it had been agreed that, failing heirs male to the crown, he, or rather his second wife, the Portuguese Infanta Beatrice (Brites), should have the first right to the succession. In Portugal the Jews were always tolerated, and, up to the time of

their expulsion from the country, suffered no persecution; but, during the reign of King Ferdinand (1367—1383), their position was exceptionally happy. Since the thirteenth century (1274), the government of the community had been more completely in its own hands than in any other European country. Some of their peculiar institutions dated even further back. At the head of the Portuguese Jews was a Chief Rabbi (Ar-Rabbi Mor), possessing almost princely functions. From the importance of this office he was always appointed by the king, who generally used this valuable piece of patronage to reward services rendered to the crown, or to add to the dignity of some particular favourite. The Chief Rabbi used a special signet, administered justice in all its branches, and issued decrees under his own sign-manual with the addendum: "By the grace of my Lord, the King, Ar-Rabbi Mor of the communities of Portugal and Algarve." It was his duty to make an annual circuit of all the Portuguese communities, in order to investigate their affairs, to invite individuals to lay before him their grievances, even against the Rabbis, and so remedy abuses wherever they existed. On these journeys he was accompanied by a Jewish judge (Ouvidor), a chancellor (Chancellor) with his staff, a secretary (Escrivão), and a Commissioner of Oaths (Porteiro jurado), to carry out the sentences of his court. This Chief Rabbi or Ar-Rabbi Mor, appointed, in each of the seven provinces of the kingdom, provincial rabbis (Ouvidores), who remained subject to him. These Rabbis were established in the seven principal provincial Jewish centres, Santarem, Vieu, Cavilhão, Porto, Torre de Montcorvo, Evora and Faro. They governed the provincial communities, and were the Judges of Appeal for their several districts. The lesser local Rabbis were elected by the general body of contributing members of the community; but the confirmation of

their election and their investiture were derived direct from the Chief Rabbi, under a special deed issued in the name of the king. The judicial authority of the rabbis extended to criminal cases, and they retained this privilege much longer than their Spanish brethren. Public documents had to be written in the vernacular. The Jewish form of oath was very simple, even in litigation with Christians; it required nothing exceptional but the presence of a rabbi and the holding up of the Torah.

The king, Don Ferdinand, had two Jewish favourites, who supervised his monetary affairs: Don Judah, his chief treasurer (*Tesoreiro Mor*), and Don David Negro, of the highly-respected Ibn-Yachia family, his confidant and counsellor (*Almoxarif*). When this frivolous and prodigal monarch died, and the Regency was undertaken by the queen, Leonora—a princess whose beauty rendered her irresistible, but who was hated for her faithlessness and feared for her vindictiveness and craft. The municipal authorities of Lisbon approached her with an urgent prayer for the abolition of sundry unpopular measures of the late king. Among other things they asked that Jews and Moors should no longer be allowed to hold public offices. To this the crafty Leonora replied that already during the lifetime of the king she had exerted herself to procure the exclusion of Jews from public offices, but her representations had always been unheeded. Immediately after the king's death, however, she had removed Judah and David Negro from the public service, and dismissed all the Jewish receivers of taxers. She nevertheless retained Judah in her immediate circle, anticipating that from his wealth and experience he might prove of use to her. Meanwhile, Leonora's scheme to obtain for herself absolute authority and to share the government with her paramour was frustrated by the still craftier bastard Infante Don João, Grand Master of Avis. In

the art of winning public favour, and turning it to account, Don João was a master, and he soon brought things to such a pass that the Queen Regent was forced to leave the capital. Burning for revenge, Leonora invoked the aid of her son-in-law, the King Don Juan of Castile, with the result that a sanguinary civil war was commenced. In opposition to the aristocratic faction, which ranged itself with the Queen Regent and the Castilians, there arose a popular party, which enthusiastically espoused the cause of Don João of Avis. Leonora was obliged to fly before the hatred of her people, and take refuge in Santarem. Among her escort on this occasion were the two Jewish grandees, Judah and David Negro, who had escaped from Lisbon in disguise. Hither soon came the King Juan of Castile; and Leonora, in order to be enabled to take full vengeance on her enemies, renounced in his favour the rights to the Regency, and placed at his disposal all her adherents, comprising the entire Portuguese nobility, together with a large number of fortresses. The idea of the Castilian king in undertaking this enterprise was to unite the crowns of Portugal and Castile; but for the realisation of this project a thorough understanding and an ungrudging co-operation between Leonora and her son-in-law were indispensable. It was this important harmony which was disturbed by a question as to the appointment of a Chief Rabbi, and owing to this dispute their agreement was transformed into bitter and disastrous enmity.

The Rabbinate of Castile became vacant in 1384. Leonora, desiring to obtain the appointment for her favourite Judah, made application to the king on his behalf. He, however, at the instance of his wife Beatrice, conferred the dignity upon David Negro. Leonora's anger at this rebuff was expressed with vehemence. She is reported to have said to her circle of adherents:—"If the king

refuses so trivial a favour, the first I have asked of him, to me, a woman, a queen, a mother, one who has done so much for him, what have I and what have you to expect further? Even my enemy, the Grand Master of Avis, would not have treated me thus. You will do better to go over to him, your legitimate master." Leonora now transferred to her son-in-law, the King Juan, all the hatred with which she had formerly regarded the Grand Master of Avis. She organised a conspiracy to murder him, the details of which she confided to the former treasurer Judah. The plot was, however, discovered by the Chief Rabbi-elect, David Negro, who thus saved the king's life. Don Juan immediately caused the Queen-Dowager to be arrested and thrown into prison. Judah also was imprisoned and ordered to be executed, but at the energetic intercession of his rival, David Negro, his life was spared. This quarrel with and imprisonment of his mother-in-law cost Don Juan all native support in Portugal. Thenceforth he encountered resistance on every side, and was obliged to resort to forcible measures for the subjugation of the country. His plans, however, all failed, and in the end he found himself compelled to renounce his hope of a permanent union of the two lands.

If at this period there were a few Rabbis whose intrigues to obtain Rabbinical office involved their several communities in much unseemly strife, as, for example, David Negro and Judah, Isaiah ben Abba-Mari and Jochanan in France, Solomon Zarfati and En-Vidal Ephraim Gerundi in the Island of Majorca, and Chasdaï ben Solomon and Amram Efrati in Valencia—it must be acknowledged that such incidents were of rare occurrence. To the majority the Rabbinate was as a holy priesthood, the duties of which they sought to discharge in all purity of heart and deed, with devotion and self-denial. They were generally examples to their

several communities, not only in learning and piety, but in high-mindedness, conscientiousness, and the purity of their morals. Even the less worthy of their number could not be charged with anything more serious than a desire for place, and a certain degree of irascibility, and it would be a gross libel on their memories to compare them with the servants of the Church during the same period. At no time in its history had Christianity more reason to be ashamed of its representatives than during the fourteenth and succeeding centuries. Since the Papacy had established itself at Avignon it had become a perfect hot-bed of vice, the contagion of which spread over the entire clergy, and was taken up even by the lowliest friar. Besides this there arose a passionate strife between Pope and anti-Pope, between one College of Cardinals and another, dividing the whole of Christendom into two huge camps, and adding war to the evils by which its whole extent was distracted. It was only natural that the clergy should infect the lay world with their immeasurable dissoluteness and vice. The degenerate, inhuman and degraded Christian communities of this period presumed to treat the modest, virtuous, and pious Jews as outcasts and accursed of God. Although superior to them in everything save wickedness and the virtues of a robber chivalry, they denied them the commonest rights of man. They baited and slaughtered them like beasts of the field. In Nördlingen the entire Jewish community, including women and children, were murdered (1384). All over Suabia they were persecuted, and in Augsburg they were imprisoned until a ransom of 20,000 florins was paid. A characteristic sign of the times is furnished by a circumstance doubtless not singular in the history of this period. The rabbis and communal leaders of Central Germany had determined to hold a Synod at Weissenfels, in Saxony, for the purpose

of deliberating upon certain religious questions, and adopting resolutions of public utility (1386). For their several journeys they had provided themselves with safe-conduct passes from the Saxon princes, it being then unsafe even for Christians to travel on the public highroads, and consequently much more so for Jews. Nevertheless, a party of German robber-nobles (anticipating a rich booty) waylaid the travellers on their return journey, and, having plundered and ill-used them, threw them into prison, and only liberated them on the payment of a ransom of 5,000 groschen. The Rabbis and their companions complained to the princes of this attack, and the latter, indignant at the disrespect with which their authority had been treated, summoned the noble marauders to give an account of themselves in respect of the charges alleged against them. The line of defence adopted by the spokesman of the accused was to this effect: They had had no idea of disregarding the safe-conduct passes of the princes, but they held the opinion that the Jews, being the enemies of the Church, did not deserve the protection of Christian authorities. The speaker continued that, for his own part, wherever he met the enemies of Christ he would give them no quarter. A defence of this kind could not fail to obtain applause. Its spirit was that of the majority of the Christians of that day. The accused were absolved of blame, and the Jews dismissed without redress, "for the defence captivated the princes."

At this time the art of poetry, which should beautify life, began to work like poison on the moral atmosphere of the Jews. For some centuries past the romantic works had portrayed in various fashions the character of a creditor, who, as equivalent for a debt due to him, claimed a certain portion cut from the body of his creditor, either a liege lord from his vassal, or a nobleman of a burgher.

At first this was a mere harmless fiction, but afterwards it was turned against the Jews, as though only a Jewish Shylock could be capable of such hardness of heart as to insist on the payment of a pound of flesh from a Christian. Thus a cannibal hatred of Christians was foisted on the Jews and received credence. Romances also took up the theme and made it popular.

The depraved and dissolute clergy—a class of men who, in an age of public decency, would have been objects of universal contempt, or might have earned for themselves the corrections of a Bridewell—affected to feel insulted by contact with the Jews, and, under the pretext that their cloth was thereby disgraced, promoted new scenes of horror and cruelty. In Prague, since the time of Charles IV. the chief city of Germany, a bloody persecution was set on foot by their agency. A local priest—perhaps one of those whom the Emperor Wenceslas had caused to be pilloried with their concubines—passed through the Jewish quarter with the host on Easter Sunday (April 18th, 1389), in order to visit a dying person. Jewish children playing in the street—it was one of the latter days of the Passover feast—were throwing sand at one another, and a few grains happened to fall upon the priest's robe. The attendants immediately turned upon the children and cruelly beat them. Their cries quickly brought their parents to their rescue, whereupon the priest fled to the market-place, loudly proclaiming that his holy office had been profaned by Jews. To invest the incident with the necessary importance, he described it as an attack of stone-throwing, which had been so severe as to force him to drop the host. The citizens and lower orders of Prague immediately banded themselves together, and, armed with murderous weapons of every description, made a violent attack upon the houses of the Jews. As usual, they offered their

victims the choice between death and baptism, but they found them steadfast in their faith. Many thousands perished in the massacre, which lasted a whole day and a night. Several of the Jews, among them their venerable Rabbi, first took the lives of their wives and children, and then their own, in order to escape the cruelties of their enemies. The synagogue was laid in ashes, and the holy books and scrolls torn and trodden under foot. Not even the burial ground escaped the fury of these Christian zealots. The corpses in the streets were stripped of their clothing, left naked, and then burnt.

For similar offences—that is, for no offence at all—the communities in the vicinity of the Bohemian capital were “confined, oppressed, ill-treated and persecuted.” The reigning Pope certainly issued a Bull condemning the outrages (July 2nd, 1389), and based his action upon the edict of Pope Clement IV., which enacted that Jews should be neither forcibly baptised nor disturbed in the observance of their festivals; but he failed to produce any impression on the consciences of the faithful. It was in vain, too, that the Jews appealed to their liege lord, the German Emperor Wenceslas, in whose own capital the persecution was centred. This prince—who, had he not been an emperor, would certainly have been a freebooter—was a man of but few ideas, and these few only showed themselves on rare occasions, when he was not intoxicated. His reply to the representations of his Jewish subjects was to the effect that they had deserved the attacks made upon them, inasmuch as they had had no right to show themselves outside their houses on Easter Sunday. For the goods and chattels they had left behind them, however, he exhibited more concern, promptly ordering them to be confiscated to his empty exchequer. This was the measure of his general attitude towards the Jews. During several years

he attempted to possess himself of their monetary claims on his Christian subjects, and to carry out his design he convened (1385) a conference of representatives of the Suabian cities, which met at Ulm. Throughout the impoverishment of the German communities he never once abstained from exacting from every Jew—even from every Jewish child, male and female—the so-called “golden penny” poll-tax, amounting to one gulden annually. He defined the position of the Jews in the State as his personal property, and forbade them binding themselves to other liege lords. And still the Emperor Wenceslas was not the worst of rulers in the eyes of the Jews. The Rabbi Avigedor Kara, of Prague, boasted of his friendship; and the Jews of Germany whispered significantly to one another that his allegiance to the teaching of Christ was of the weakest.

This storm of spoliation and persecution had no far-reaching consequences in the history of the German Jews, it could not increase their already abject condition, for they had been too long accustomed to turn their cheeks submissively to the smiter. Quite different were the effects of a contemporary persecution in Spain. Here the very heart of the Jewish race was attacked, and the results made themselves felt in the wider history of the whole Jewish people. The Spanish Jews had until then been more hated than despised; the horrors of this persecution, however, so thoroughly cowed their spirits, so paralysed their energies, and humbled their pride, that they too became the scorn of their oppressors. As in Prague, the outbreak was the work of an ecclesiastic and the mob, but here it assumed the vastest proportions, and developed permanent results, the operations of which were disastrous in the extreme. It arose in Seville through the agitation of a fanatical priest; Ferdinand (Ferrand) Martinez, who seemed to consider that

the essence of his religion consisted in an implacable hatred of the Jews. His discourses were devoted to stirring up the populace against them, and he thundered unceasingly against their hardened infidelity, their pride, their heaped-up riches, their greed, and their usury. In Seville he found the people only too ready to listen to him, for there the Jews were hated with special intensity. The citizens could not forgive them the important part they had played in the civil war between Don Pedro and Don Henry II., and particularly the suspicious circumstances of the death of Joseph Pichon, who had been so popular among them. As long as Don Juan I. lived, Martinez took care to restrain the mob from open violence, for though the king regarded the Jews with but little affection, he was in the habit of punishing lawless outbreaks with the utmost severity. No sooner was he dead, however, than the bigoted cleric thought he might dare his utmost. The circumstances of the government seemed more favourable to the development of his plans. The new monarch, Henry III., was a boy of only eleven years of age, and in the Council of Regency a discord reigned which threatened to involve the country in another civil war.

One day (March 15th, 1391)—a memorable day, not only for the Jews and for Spain, but for the history of the entire world, for on that day the first germ was laid of the monstrous Inquisition—Martinez, preaching as usual in the public streets, deliberately incited the mob to riot, with a view to forcing the Jews to an abjuration of their religion. The passions of the multitude became inflamed, and broke out in wild uproar. The authorities of the city, the Mayor (*Alguacil mayor*), Don Alvar Perez de Guzman, and two of the magistrates interposed to protect the Jews, arresting two of the ringleaders in the riot, and ordering them to be flogged. This proceeding only excited the fana-

tical mob the more. In their fury they put a large number of Jews to death and threatened with a like fate the governor of the city, Don Juan Alfonso, and the officials who were attempting to shield the unfortunate Hebrews. A few of the leading Jews of Seville, perceiving that the local authorities were not strong enough to grapple with the rising, hurried to the Court of the young king, and appealed to the Council of Regency to stop the slaughter of their brethren. Their representations were favourably received. Messengers were dispatched forthwith to Seville with instructions to summon the populace to abstain from further outrage. The local nobility seconded this action of the king, and, ranging themselves on the side of the Jews, succeeded in mastering the rioters. When, too, the Christian inhabitants of the neighbouring towns showed a disposition to imitate the scenes enacted in Seville, the Council of Regency also sent messengers thither armed with the same powers. Thus, for a brief moment, was the threatened Jew-hunt overcome, but it was by no means suppressed. It was soon renewed with greater violence, and on a far more extended scale. The young king and a few of the members of the Council of the Regency were probably earnest in their desire not to permit the massacres, but, unfortunately, they were not sufficiently interested to take adequate precautions against them. One such precaution should have been to silence the outrage-monger, Ferdinand Martinez, or at least to prohibit his inflammatory harangues; but they did nothing of the kind. They left him perfectly free to level his poisonous eloquence at the Jews, and he was not slow to take advantage of their inaction. Encouraged by the dissensions in the Government, and the disorder which consequently reigned throughout the entire land, he again set himself to stir up the rabble of Seville,

and this time with far more serious results than before. Hardly three months had elapsed since the last outbreak, when the mob resumed (June 6th, 1391) its holy work of massacre by setting fire to the Jewish quarter (Juderia) and slaughtering its inhabitants. The result of this attack was, that of the important and wealthy community of Seville, which had numbered 7,000 families, or 30,000 souls, but few remained. Murder counted not more than 4,000 victims, but to escape death the majority permitted themselves to be baptised. Women and children were sold by the blood-seeking rioters into Mahometan slavery. Of the three synagogues of Seville two were transformed into churches. Among the large number who sought in the baptismal font a refuge from fire and sword was Samuel Abrabanel, the ancestor of the afterwards celebrated Abrabanel family, and an ornament of his community in the reign of Don Henry II., with whom he possessed great influence. He adopted the Christian name of Juan de Sevilla.

From Seville the persecution swept like a raging torrent over a large portion of Spain. Its progress was stimulated more by a craving for plunder than by any fanatical eagerness to proselytise. Cordova, the parent community of the Peninsula, the mould in which the high character of Spanish Judaism had been cast, was the next scene of its activity. Here also many Jews were cruelly murdered, and a large number forced to embrace Christianity. On the fast day commemorating the fall of Jerusalem (Tammuz 17th—June 20th) the population of the capital, Toledo, rose against the largest Jewish community in Spain. The blood of the believers in the Unity of God who steadfastly refused to change their faith deluged the streets. Among the many martyrs who fell at Toledo were the descendants of the Asheri family. They met their death with the same unflinching courage as

their German brethren. Jehuda ben Asher II., one of Asheri's great grandsons, who lived in Burgos, but happened at that moment to be stopping at Toledo, took with his own hands the lives of his mother-in-law and wife, and then his own. Here also a large number went over to Christianity. About seventy communities were thus visited by this terrible persecution, among them those of Ecija, Huete, Logroño, Burgos, Carrion, and Ocaña. At Ascalona not a single Jew remained alive. The now thoroughly maddened Christian population meditated a similar fate for the Moors, or Mahometans, living in the kingdom of Seville. The more prudent among them, however, pointed out the danger of such a step, reminding them that the Christians living in the Mahometan kingdom of Granada, or held as prisoners by the Moors on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar, might be sacrificed in retaliation. The contemplated massacre of the Moors was consequently abandoned. The Jews alone were made to drain the cup of bitterness to the dregs, because they were too weak to protect themselves. Nothing demonstrates more impressively than this circumstance the thoroughness with which the clergy had succeeded in transforming the people into a race of cut-throats.

In the kingdom of Aragon, where both ruler and people were generally opposed to Castile, and, as a rule, held that to be wrong which in the latter State was considered right, the hatred and persecution of the Jews were promoted with the same zeal. Here the government of the country was in the hands of the weak but well-meaning king, Juan I., who, absorbed by his love of music and the chase, wielded but little authority, and was rather a laughing-stock of his generally uncultured subjects. About three weeks after the outbreak at Toledo the inhabitants of the province of Valencia

rose against the Jews (Ab 7th—July 9th). Of the 5,000 souls that constituted the Jewish community in the city of Valencia, not one was left. Some 250 were murdered, a few saved themselves by flight, and the rest embraced Christianity. Throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom the defenceless Jews were attacked with fire and sword, until the community of Murviedro alone remained intact.

The sanguinary madness then crossed the sea, and alighted on the Island of Majorca. In the chief town, Palma, a crowd of roughs and sailors paraded the Monte-Zion street, in which the Jews resided, and holding aloft a cross, rudely formed by tying together two cudgels, shouted "Death to the Jews" (August 2nd—Ellul 1st). One sturdy Jew, on being assaulted by the rabble, ventured to defend himself, and severely punished his assailants. Hereupon the mob broke out in uncontrollable violence, and 300 martyrs fell to its fury. Among the victims was the Rabbi En-Vidal Ephraim Gerundi, whose controversy with Solomon Zarfati has already been referred to. A large number of Jews here also sought safety in baptism.

Three days later, as if by previous arrangement, the Jew-massacres began in Barcelona, one of the proudest homes of Jewish intelligence. The great wealth which the Jews of this city had acquired by their extensive maritime commerce appears to have excited the envy of the Christian population, and tempted them to outrage. On the 5th August, a Sabbath, and the day of a minor festival held in honour of St. Mary, the mob attacked the Jews with a fury that seemed to betoken a desire to pay honour to their Queen of Heaven with human sacrifices. In the first assault fell close upon 250 victims. The larger portion of the community were harboured and cared for in the citadel by the governor of the town; but here again the rabble

set the authorities at defiance. They attacked the citadel with crossbows, laid siege to it in due form, and ultimately set it on fire. When the imprisoned Jews saw that there was no longer a chance of being saved, a large number slew themselves with their own hands, or threw themselves from the walls. Others sallied forth from the fortress to meet their assailants in the open field, and fell in honourable combat. Among the martyrs was the young and only son of the noble Chasdaï Crescas, then on the eve of his marriage. Eleven thousand Jews are said to have been baptised on this occasion. Only a very few escaped, and not a single one remained in Barcelona. The same fate befell the communities of Lerida, Gerona, and other towns, in each case a large number of Jews being murdered, others baptised, and a very few escaping by flight. Only in Gerona, where the community was distinguished for its rigid piety, was the number of converts to Christianity infinitesimal—the Rabbis setting their flocks an example by the steadfastness of their faith and their contempt for death. In Catalonia, as in Valencia, but few Jews were spared, and these few owed their good fortune to the protection they received—in exchange, of course, for large sums of money—in the castles of the nobility. In Aragon itself the outbreaks were not serious, as there the Jewish communities made a timely and prudent offer of all their wealth for the protection of the Court.

For three whole months fire and sword raged unresisted in the majority of the Spanish Jewries. When the storm abated, so thoroughly had it effected its purpose, that the few Jews who remained were so broken in spirit that they did not dare, for a long period, to venture from their places of refuge. The sad occurrences formed the burden of a heart-breaking and tearful epistle to the community of Perpignan, which Chasdaï Crescas, who had been

robbed of an only son and his entire fortune by the men of blood, penned in answer to their sympathetic inquiries. Thus, to the Spanish Jews came the same tragical fate which had befallen their German brethren, hardly half a century before, at the time of the Black Death. They also had acquired materials for the composition of bitter songs of lamentation, which they did not fail to insert in the Jewish liturgy. But to the Spanish Jews the consequences of the persecution were even more terrible than the persecution itself. Their pride became completely crushed, and their spirit permanently darkened. They who had formerly held their heads so proudly aloft now slunk timidly along, anxiously avoiding every Christian as a possible murderer or instigator of murderous assaults. If a hundred Jews were assembled, and one abusive boy came upon them, they fled in all directions like a flock of frightened birds. This persecution gave them their first experience of the bitterness of exile, for, notwithstanding a few touches of adversity, they had always, until then, imagined themselves secure and at home in Spain. Now, for the first time, their haughty demeanour was humbled. They were no longer the same men that, in the armies of Don Pedro, had so valiantly wielded the sword. In Portugal alone the Jews were free from fanatical attack. There, the king, Don João I., enjoyed a popularity to which, in such crises, he was able to appeal. His instructions were cheerfully obeyed, and he was consequently enabled to preserve order and put down outbreaks with a firm hand. The Chief Rabbi, Don Moses Navarro, brought under his notice the two Bulls of the Popes Clement VI. and Boniface IX., in which it was forbidden to use force in converting the Jews. The king immediately issued an order (July 17th, 1392) prohibiting any persecution. A wide publicity was also given to

the Bulls in every town in Portugal, and they were inserted among the statutes of the realm. Portugal thus became an asylum for the persecuted Jews of Spain.

The Jews of the South of France were not entirely exempted from the horrors of this persecution. The tempest which had crossed the sea to the Island of Majorca, now whirled, with undiminished force, over the snow-capped Pyrenees, and caught up the Jews of Provence in its deadly eddies. No sooner was intelligence received of the bloody massacres of the Jews of Spain than the populace of Provence rose and began to plunder and murder their Jewish neighbours.

The Jews in France had only been permitted to settle in the country for a specified time, and, although this term was frequently extended, their thoughts were necessarily always directed towards a possible banishment. They were compelled to amass and keep in readiness sufficient money to enable them at any moment to start life afresh in another land. Like their ancestors in Egypt their loins were always girded, their shoes on their feet, and their staffs in their hands, ready for another exodus. Although the acquisition of land was allowed them, they were obliged to concentrate themselves on the money business, and turn every moment to account. Necessity made them usurers. Some among them charged a higher rate of interest than was permitted by the law under which they lived, and from dilatory debtors exacted even as much as cent. per cent. But it was the king himself who forced them to an immoderate and exasperating usury, by the extravagant demands he made upon their purses to meet the expenses of his wars, and it was impossible for the Jews to find the sums of money he required except by transgressing the laws. Their exactions naturally rendered them hateful in the eyes of the general public.

Another circumstance tended to embitter this feeling. To force ill-intentioned or tardy Christian debtors to discharge their liabilities, Jewish creditors frequently caused them to be imprisoned. At that period, the exercise of this right was regarded as a triumph of "the children of the Devil over the children of Heaven." The public became so angered at the Jews possessing the privilege that the king, Charles VI., was obliged to abolish it. On the other hand, the necessity of maintaining the privilege was shown to be so imperative—the Jews without it being threatened with the entire loss of their outstanding debts—that a month later, the king and Parliament had to grant it again in a modified form. They permitted the Jews to imprison only the debtors who, in their bonds, specifically made themselves answerable with their bodies.

A trifling circumstance sufficed to kindle into a flame these embers of Jew-hatred in France. A wealthy Israelite, Denys Machault, of Villa-Parisis, became a convert to Christianity, and then suddenly disappeared. The affair became the subject of strange rumours. Some said that he had been murdered by the Jews; others that he had been hurried abroad with a view to providing him with an easy means of returning within the pale of Judaism. The clergy interested themselves in the mystery, fanatical appeals were made to the people, and, eventually, the Paris tribunals ordered an examination of seven prominent Hebrews. A commission of priests and lawyers subjected the accused to the rack, and extorted from them a confession to the effect that they had advised Denys Machault to abandon his new faith. As promoters of apostasy from Christianity, the Commission condemned them to the stake. The Parliament substituted an apparently milder punishment. They ordered that the accused should be scourged in three of the public places of Paris,

that they should be kept in gaol until Denys Machault reappeared, and that then, stripped of all their possessions, they should be expelled the country. From the publicity given to this affair it created an extraordinary sensation, and still further inflamed the popular passions against the Jews.

For about three months the court extended a protecting wing over the unfortunate Jews, but this was soon withdrawn in face of the stormy and menacing clamour of the clergy and people. At last the enemies of the Jews prevailed upon the king to promulgate the order of banishment. It was doubtless with malice aforethought that the day chosen for the issue of the decree was the solemn Fast of Atonement (September 17th, 1394), when the Jews were afflicting their souls during the entire day in the synagogues. The prolonged term which had been granted for their sojourn in the country not having expired, it became necessary to put forward an excuse for ignoring the convention. The royal decree, however, was not able to impute to the Jews any specific crimes or misdemeanours, and, consequently, it confined itself to vague generalities. It had been reported to his Majesty by trustworthy persons, including many of his lieutenants and other officials, that complaints had been made concerning offences committed by the Jews against the Christian religion and the special laws drawn up for their control. That meant that they had encouraged baptised Jews to recant, and had practised an extortionate usury—the latter Charles had partly approved and partly condoned. The decree then stated that his Majesty had resolved as an irrevocable law that thenceforth no Jews should be allowed to reside or tarry in any part of France, either in Languedoil or Languedoc (North and South France).

Thus, ninety years after their first expulsion by

Philip le Bel, and after a second sojourn in the land of thirty-four years, the French Jews were compelled once more to grasp the wanderer's staff. Charles, however, dealt more leniently with them than his heartless ancestor. They were not, as in his time, robbed of all their possessions and turned adrift stripped to the skin. On the contrary, Charles VI. issued orders to the Prevôt of Paris and his provincial governors, instructing them to see that no harm came to the Jews, either in their persons or their chattels, and that they crossed the frontier safely. Time was also allowed them up to the 3rd November to collect their debts. They did not leave France, however, until the end of 1394 and the beginning of the following year. To some of the nobility and towns the expulsion was not a welcome measure. Thus the Count de Foix wished, at all hazards to retain the community of Pamier in their homes, and had to be forced by the royal officers to expel them. In Toulouse twelve Jewish families remained behind, and in the vicinity seven more, but they had to receive special indulgences. Jews also remained in the provinces which were not directly dependent on the French Crown—in the Dauphiné, in the lesser Provence, and in Arles, these being fiefs of the German Empire. The flourishing seaport, Marseilles, possessed a Jewish community for a long time after the expulsion. Even the Popes of Avignon tolerated Jews in Avignon and Carpentras, the chief towns of the small ecclesiastical State of Venaissin; and here they remained until very recent times, practising a ritual of their own, which differed from those of their Spanish and French brethren. The Papacy had now little to fear from the helpless and enfeebled Jews; hence, doubtless, this parade of toleration.

The majority of the exiles who failed to find an asylum in the tolerant principalities of France

emigrated to Germany and Italy; only a few directed their steps towards Spain, formerly the most hospitable refuge for persecuted Jews. Since the massacres of 1391 that country had become a purgatory to the native Jews, and whilst their foreign brethren could find a shelter elsewhere, they naturally avoided its frontiers. Whole French communities migrated to Piedmont, and—settling bodily in the towns of Asti, Fossano, and Moncalvo—were enabled to maintain unchanged their old synagogue ritual. The fate of the larger number of the French exiles might, however, be described by the beautiful simile of Amos—"A man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him; he went into the house and leaned his hand on the wall and a serpent bit him." For almost everywhere they were met with a storm of barbarity, not unfrequently stirred up against them by baptised Jews. In Germany an apostate named Pessach, who, with his Christianity, had adopted the name of Peter, brought serious accusations against his brethren in race, with a view to bringing about another persecution. To the usual charges that the Jews called Jesus the Crucified or the Hanged, and that they were in the habit of cursing the Christian clergy in their prayers, Pessach-Peter added others. He stated that an abusive allusion to Jesus was contained in the sublime *Alenu* prayer, which pictures the future reign of God on earth, and the convert put forward other lying and ludicrous fictions. The result was that a large number of the Jews of Prague were arrested and imprisoned (August 3rd, 1399). Among them was the foremost, and, perhaps, only really learned German Jew of the Middle Ages, Lipmann (*Tab-Yomi*) of Mühlhausen, a scholar accomplished alike in Biblical and Talmudical lore, and who had not only studied Karaite authors, but also the New Testament in a Latin version. The clergy called

upon him to answer Pessach-Peter's charges. His defence was forcible, but it seems to have had little effect, for on the day the Emperor Wenceslas was deposed, and Rupert of the Palatinate elected his successor (August 22nd, 1400), seventy-seven Jews were executed, and three weeks later three more were led to the stake.

CHAPTER VI.

JEWISH APOSTATES AND THE DISPUTATION AT TORTOSA.

The Marranos—The Satirists—Pero Ferrus of Alcala, Diego de Valencia and Villasandino—The baptised Astruc Raimuch and Solomon Bonfed—Paul de Santa Maria and his zealous campaign against the Jews—Joseph Orabuena—Joshua Ibn Vives—Profiat Duran (Efodi)—Meir Alguadez—The Philosophy of Crescas—Death of Henry III. of Castile and unfavourable change in the position of the Jews—Messianic dreams of the Kabbalists—Jews seek an asylum in Northern Africa—Simon Duran—Geronimo de Santa-Fé, Vincent Ferrer and Benedict XIII.—Anti-Jewish edict of Juan II.—Special Jewish costume—Conversion of Jews owing to Ferrer's violent efforts—Disputation at Tortosa—The Jewish Spokesmen at the Conference—Incidents of the Meeting—Geronimo instigates the publication of a Bull for the burning of the Talmud—Pope Martin V. befriends the Jews.

1391—1420 C.E.

THE baptised Jews who had abandoned their faith during the terrible persecution of 1391 became a source of considerable trouble to their Spanish brethren. They had only embraced the Cross to save their lives, or the lives of those dear to them; and they had found no convincing demonstration of the truth of the Christian religion in the violence of its missionaries, or in the death agonies of their brethren in race who had perished rather than apostatize. Dazed and broken-hearted, these forced converts (Anusim) to Christianity felt a more intense antipathy to their new religion than when they had been openly opposed to it. What wonder that they should resolve to take the first opportunity of casting away their disguise, and returning to Judaism with renewed zeal. Many of these new Christians emigrated to the neighbouring Moorish countries; to Granada or across the straits to Morocco, Tunis, or Fez, where the people, wiser

and more tolerant than those in Christian Europe, gladly opened their doors to a wealthy and industrious race. The majority, unable to leave Spanish territory but still averse to wholly discarding their ancient faith, joined in Jewish ceremonies and celebrations whilst outwardly appearing to be Christians. The kings of Castile, Aragon, and Majorca, who had disapproved of the conversions forced by mob violence, allowed the Jews to do as they pleased. The authorities generally either did not or would not see their relapse into Judaism. The Inquisition had no power over them, for it had not yet been established in Spain. These forced converts gradually formed themselves into a peculiar class, outwardly Christians but at heart Jews. By the general population, who nicknamed them Marranos, or "The Damned," they were regarded with more distrust and hatred than even the openly observant Jews themselves, not so much perhaps because of their secret fidelity to Judaism as of their descent and inborn intelligence, energy, and skill. Baptised Jews, who had been glad to disencumber themselves of their Judaism, shared in these feelings of aversion. They were the worldlings who valued wealth, rank, and luxury above religion, or the over-educated whose philosophy had led them to scepticism, and whose selfishness induced them to welcome a change which brought them out of the narrow confines of a small community, and opened up a wider world to them. Their hearts had never been with Judaism, and they had only adhered to it out of respect or a certain compunction. To them forced baptism was a relief from chafing fetters, a welcome coercion to overcome scruples which had always sat lightly upon them. For their own advantage they simulated devotion to Christianity, but were not on that account either better or more religious men. The more hardened among them found a special pleasure

in the persecution of their former religion and its followers. To gratify their own personal grievances they brought charges against Rabbis and other representative Jews, and sometimes against obscure members of the community, thus endangering the very existence of the whole body of Jews in the country. It was not enough that the latter had been robbed of a large portion of their power by the defection of so many able and learned men—physicians, authors, poets—and that the Church had become enriched by their wealth and intelligence, but these very forces were used to inflict further mischief on the Jews that remained steadfast. The feebleness of their former brethren enabled these converts to carry on their attacks with comparative impunity. Don Pero Ferrus, a baptised Jew, used the community and Rabbis of Alcala as a target for his ridicule. In a poem he represents himself exhausted from want of sleep, finding repose at last in the synagogue of this town, when suddenly he is disturbed and scared away without mercy by “Jews with long beards and slovenly garments arriving to early morning prayer.” A sharp rejoinder to this effort of Ferrus’ “buffoon-tongue” was put forth by a Jewish poet in the name of the Alcala community. Spanish poetry reaped considerable advantage from these passages of arms. The verse which up to that period had been starched, solemm, and stately as the punctilious ceremonial of the Madrid Court, now acquired flexibility in the hands of Judeo-Christian satirists, sparkling with wit and merriment like the neo-Hebraic poetry at its best. This tone and style were also gradually adopted by Christian poets, who even borrowed expressions from the Jewish writers to give point to their epigrams. Thus it was not only the baptised monk, Diego de Valencia, who imparted Hebrew words into lampoons on the Jews, but the same practice was adopted with

surprising dexterity by the Christian satirist, Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino, the "Poet Prince" of his day. A malicious critic might, indeed, have easily justified the reflection that Spanish poetry was in process of being Judaised.

A few of the new-Christians showed as active a zeal in the propagation of Christianity as if they had been born Dominicans. Probably they felt isolated with their new faith among the old Christians, and yearned for the companionship of their former friends. A newly-baptised physician, Astruc Raimuch of Fraga, who, as a Jew, had been a pillar of orthodoxy, exerted himself to make converts, taking to himself the name of Francisco God-flesh (Dios-Carne). He spread his snares particularly with a view to entrapping one of his young friends. A fluent writer of Hebrew, Astruc-Francisco drew up a letter in that language dwelling emphatically on the decline of Judaism and enthusiastically propounding the dogmas of Christianity. His application of Biblical texts to the doctrines of the Trinity, Original Sin, Redemption, and the Lord's Supper, appears almost droll in its Hebrew form. His friend's answer was meek and evasive, every word carefully weighed so as to avoid offending the delicate sensibilities of the Church and its zealous servants. More spirited was the reply of the satirical poet, Solomon ben Reuben Bonfed, who in unsparing rhyme set himself to confute Astruc-Francisco's arguments. Apologising in his introduction for interfering between two friends, he proceeded to point out that as a Jew the questions discussed concerned him nearly, whilst the mis-statements that had been made rendered it impossible for him to remain silent. Solomon Bonfed examined somewhat minutely the dogmas of the Incarnation, Original Sin, and Transubstantiation, showing them to be irrational and untenable. In reference to the evidence conjured up by Astruc

from the Hebrew Scriptures Bonfed justly remarked: "You twist and distort the Bible text in order to establish the Trinity. Had you a Quaternity you would demonstrate it quite as strikingly and convincingly from the books of the Old Testament."

Of all the Jews baptised in 1391 none, however, inflicted so much injury on his former brethren as the Rabbi Solomon Levi of Burgos (born about 1351—52, died 1435), who as a Christian rose to very important ecclesiastical and political dignities under the name of Paul Burgensis, or de Santa Maria. Previous to his change of creed his condition had been that of a Rabbi, and he was well versed in Biblical, Talmudical, and Rabbinical literature. As a Jew he was extremely orthodox and punctilious, passing in his own circle for a pillar of the faith. His nature was, however, shrewd and calculating. Ambitious and vain to the last degree, he soon began to regard as narrow and confined the sphere of action available for his abilities within the walls of the college, which during a long period counted him amongst its students and teachers. He longed for a life of bustling activity. In order to obtain a State appointment, he sought access to the court, and played the grandee with his equipage and horses and numerous retinue. It was his ambition to become a Jewish Almoxarif or even to obtain a higher appointment. His occupations bringing him into daily contact with Christians, and frequently involving him in religious controversies, he devoted some attention to Church literature, in order to be able to make a display of learning. The massacres of 1391 dissipated his last hope of obtaining high preferment as a Jew, and he consequently resolved, when in his fortieth year, to be baptised. In order to derive the best advantage from his conversion the new Christian, Paul de Santa Maria, caused it to be understood that he had embraced Christianity willingly, and as a result of the con-

vincing arguments put forth in the theological writings of the schoolman Thomas of Aquinas. The Jews received such protestations with distrust, and those among them who were best acquainted with him did not scruple to ascribe his conversion to a craving for rank and power. As soon as his change of creed became known his family, wife and sons, renounced him.

For a commoner to reach high office at this period, the only road lay through the Church. Solomon-Paul knew this well, and he lost no time in preparing himself for his new profession. He proceeded to Paris and attended the University, where he pursued his studies in theology. His knowledge of Hebrew gave him a great advantage and helped him to distinguish himself. It was not long before the quondam Rabbi became a duly ordained Catholic priest. Then he betook himself to the Papal Court at Avignon, where the haughty, obstinate, and proselytising Cardinal Pedro de Luna reigned as Anti-Pope under the title of Benedict XIII. Here, during the stormy Church schism, favourable opportunities for intrigue and personal advancement presented themselves. Paul won the Pope's favour by his shrewdness, zeal, and eloquence. He was appointed Archdeacon of Trevinjo and Canon of Seville. These were his first steps on the ladder of the Catholic hierarchy. He now abandoned himself to the most ambitious dreams; he might become a bishop, a cardinal, and why not even Pope? The times were propitious. He asserted that he was descended from the most ancient and noble branch of the Hebrew race, the tribe of Levi, the same that had given birth to Mary, the mother of Jesus. He was consequently no ordinary priest sprung from the people, but had ancestors who were bound to be acknowledged and distinguished by the Church. On the recommendation of the Pope he was later on overwhelmed with

honours and favours by the king of Castile, Don Henry III., and his ambition was satisfied.

The apostasy of so respected a Rabbi as Solomon Burgensis not only created the greatest astonishment among the Jews, but filled them with anxiety. Would this example not find imitators in a time of so much trouble and temptation? Would it not bias waverers, or at least encourage pretending Christians to persevere in the course on which they had commenced? The prevailing disquietude was increased when it was found that after his own conversion Paul considered it his duty to endeavour to convert his former co-religionists. To this end he left no stone unturned. With voice and pen he assailed Judaism, seeking his weapons in Jewish literature itself. Not long after his conversion he addressed a letter to his former acquaintance Joseph (José) Orabuena, physician-in-ordinary to King Charles III. of Navarre, and Chief Rabbi of the Navarrese communities, in which he stated that he acknowledged and honoured Jesus as the Messiah whose advent had been foretold by the Prophets, and invited Orabuena to follow his example. To another Chief Rabbi, Don Meir Alguades, physician-in-ordinary to the Castilian king, Don Henry III., Paul de Santa-Maria addressed a Hebrew satire in prose and verse, in which he ridiculed the innocent celebration of the Jewish feast of Purim. The moderate pleasures in which the Jews indulge during this festival he did not affect to grudge them, but he took the opportunity of denouncing with superfluous energy their general drunkenness, and compared it with his own sobriety. Paul evinces in this satire considerable skill in handling the new-Hebrew language, but, notwithstanding his opportunities, he exhibits little wit.

As soon as he had acquired a position at the Papal court at Avignon, he devoted himself to

calumniating the Jews with a view to bringing about new persecutions. His purpose became so obvious that the Cardinal of Pampeluna himself, together with other ecclesiastics, ordered him to desist. It is true the Jews had to pay dearly for his silence. He also intrigued against Chasdaï Crescas. So far did this apostate carry his enmity to Judaism that he advised king Don Henry III. to abstain from employing both Jews and new-Christians in state capacities. Did he wish by this means to render impossible the rivalry of a more skilful and successful fellow-Hebrew? In his writings Paul de Santa-Maria exhibited as much hatred of Judaism as of Jews. While the Franciscan monk, Nicholas de Lyra, a born Christian, held up the works of Jewish commentators like Rashi, as models of simple exegesis, the former Rabbi found every observation of a Rabbinical writer insipid, nonsensical, and even scandalous. On the other hand, the most ridiculous commentary of a Church writer was to him either a lofty or unsurpassable work.

The more far-seeing Jews were not slow to recognise their bitterest foe in this new-Christian, and they prepared for a severe struggle with him, notwithstanding that their choice of weapons was limited. Christians were then not only free to say what they pleased in demonstration and defence of their doctrines, but had the summary authority of the sword and dungeon to appeal to for the same purpose. On the other hand, Jews were forced to all kinds of circumlocution and ambiguity in order to avoid provoking the violence of their adversaries. The gallant stand made under these circumstances by a mere handful of Jews, against overpowering and arrogant odds, should excite the admiration of all whose sympathies are with struggling right in preference to victorious tyranny.

The campaign against Paul de Santa-Maria was opened by a young man who had formerly sat at the feet of the renegade Rabbi, Joshua ben Joseph Ibn Vives of Lorca (Allorqui), a physician and an Arabic scholar. In an epistle, humbly couched as though addressed by a docile pupil to an illustrious master, Joshua Allorqui inflicted many a delicate sting upon his apostate teacher, and at the same time by his naïve doubts and inquiries dealt destructive blows at the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. He observes in his introduction that the conversion of his beloved teacher had been to him more than to others a source of astonishment and reflection, as his example had formerly constituted one of the main supports of his (the writer's) religious belief. He was at a loss to conceive the motives of his sudden change. He could not think that he had been led away by a desire for worldly distinction, "for I well remember," he says, "how when already surrounded by riches and attendants, thou didst yearn to return to thy former humble state with its life of retirement and study, and how it was thy wont to speak of thy high position as an empty mockery of happiness." Nor could he suppose that Paul's Jewish convictions had been disturbed by philosophic doubt, as up to the moment of his baptism he had conscientiously observed all the ceremonial laws, and had known how to discriminate between that kernel of philosophic truth which harmonised with religion and the pernicious shell which so often passed for the real teaching. Could it be that the sanguinary persecution of the Jews had led him to doubt the possibility of the enduring power of Judaism? But even this theory was untenable, for Paul could not have been unaware of the fact that only a minority of Jews lived under Christian rule, while the larger numbers sojourned in Asia, and enjoyed a certain degree of independence; so that if it pleased God to

allow the communities in Christian lands to become extirpated, the Jewish race would not by any means disappear from the face of the earth. There only remained for him, continued Joshua Vives of Lorca, the assumption that Paul had carefully studied Christianity and had come to the conclusion that its dogmas were well founded. He begged him therefore to impart to him the convictions at which he had arrived, and thus dissipate the doubts which he (Joshua) still entertained as to the truth of Christianity. Allorqui then detailed the nature of his doubts, while covertly but forcibly attacking the Christian system. Every sentence in this epistle was calculated to cut the Jew-hating new-Christian to the quick. The evasive and embarrassed reply, which Paul indited later on, indicated but too clearly how he had winced under this attack.

The philosopher, Chasdaï Crescas, also came gallantly forward in defence of the religion of his fathers. He composed (1396) a polemical treatise (*Tratado*) in which he tested philosophically the Christian articles of faith, and demonstrated their untenableness. This work was addressed to Christians more than to Jews, and was particularly intended for the perusal of high-placed Spaniards whose friendship Chasdaï Crescas enjoyed. Hence it was not written in Hebrew but in Spanish, the idiom of which the author employed with ease, and its tone was calm and moderate. Chasdaï Crescas indicated in this work the unintelligibility of the doctrines of the Fall, the Redemption, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Immaculate Conception, and Transubstantiation, and examined the value of baptism, the coming of Jesus, and the relation of the New Testament to the Old, with dispassionate deliberation, as if he did not know that he was dealing with questions, which might at any moment light the fires of an *auto-da-fé*.

About the same time an accomplished Marrano,

who had relapsed into Judaism, published, with galling effect, a pungent attack on Christianity and the new-Christians. In the entire history of Judæo-Christian controversy no such stinging satire had been produced from the Jewish side as that which was now issued by the physician, astronomer, historical student, and grammarian Profiat Duran. During the bloody persecutions of 1391 in Catalonia, Profiat Duran, otherwise Isaac ben Moses, or, as he called himself in his works, Efodi (Ephodæus), had found himself forced to simulate conversion to Christianity. In this he was joined by his friend David Bonet Buen-Giorno. Both resolved that they would at a convenient opportunity abandon their hated mask and emigrate to Palestine, where they could freely acknowledge their Judaism and atone for their temporary apostasy. Having arranged their affairs, Profiat Duran travelled to a seaport town in the South of France, and there awaited his friend. The latter however, in the meantime came across or was sought out by, the Jew-hating apostate, Solomon-Paul de Santa-Maria, and by him prevailed upon to remain a Christian. What was Profiat Duran's astonishment when he received from En Bonet a letter announcing, with much exultant vapouring, his definite acknowledgment of Christianity, and exhorting him also to remain within the pale of his adopted faith. The remainder of the letter was taken up with an enthusiastic panegyric of Paul de Santa-Maria, who in the meantime had been taken into the favour of the king of Castile. Profiat Duran could not remain silent. In reply he inflicted a punishment on his friend, and more particularly on the proselytising Paul, in an epistle characterised by the keenest irony, which is extant at the present day. It pretends to assent to everything advanced by Bonet, and to confirm him in his resolve of remaining a Christian. "Be not ye like your fathers" (Al-

tehi ka-Abotècha) is the refrain upon which it harps throughout, and so artfully is this admonition employed that many Christians (under the form of Alteca Boteca) really used it as a kind of Christian watchword. Whilst thus pretending to criticise the errors of the older faith, Profiat Duran dwells eulogistically on the Christian dogmas, naïvely describing them in their most reprehensible form, and then applauding his friend's resolution to abide by them. In this way he manages to concentrate on the naked weaknesses of Christianity the full light of Scriptural teaching and severe philosophic deduction, at the same time drawing conclusions absurdly favourable to Christianity. A portion of the satire is directed against the Jew-hater Paul de Santa-Maria, upon whom Bonet had bestowed unstinted praise. "Thou art of opinion that he may yet succeed in becoming Pope, but thou dost not inform me whether he will go to Rome or remain at Avignon"—an unkind reference to the Papal schism which was at the time distracting the Church. "Thou extollest him for having busied himself in freeing Jewish women and children from the obligation of wearing the Jew-badge. Take the glad tidings to the women and children. For myself, I have been told that he preached mischief against the Jews, and that the Cardinal of Pampeluna was compelled to order him to be silent. Thou art of opinion that he—thy teacher—will soon receive the mitre or a cardinal's hat. Rejoice, for then thou also must acquire honours, and wilt become a priest or Levite." Towards the end Profiat Duran exchanges his ironical style for a tone of seriousness: he prays his former friend not to bear as a Christian the name of his respected father who, had he been alive, would sooner have had no son than one who was faithless to his religion. As it is, his soul in Paradise will bewail the faithlessness of his son. This

satirical epistle was circulated as a pamphlet. Its author sent copies not only to his former friend, but also to the physician of the king of Castile, the Chief Rabbi Don MeİR Alguades. So telling was the effect it produced, that the clergy, as soon as they discovered its satirical character, made it the subject of a judicial inquiry and committed it to the flames. At the request of Chasdaï Crescas, Profiat Duran wrote later on another anti-Christian work, not, however, as a satire, but in the grave language of historical investigation. In this essay he showed, from his intimate acquaintance with the New Testament and the literature of the Church, how in course of time Christianity had degenerated.

Befriended and promoted by the anti-Pope Benedict XIII., of Avignon, Paul of Burgos in the meantime rose higher and higher; he became Bishop of Carthagená, Chancellor of Castile and Privy Counsellor to the king Don Henry III. His malice did not however, succeed in prejudicing the king against the Jews or in inducing him to bar them from State employment. Don Henry had two Jewish physicians, in whom he reposed especial confidence. One, Don MeİR Alguades, an astronomer and philosopher, he appointed, perhaps in imitation of Portugal, to the chief rabbinate of the various Castilian communities. He was always in the king's train, and it is probable that to some extent he influenced him favourably towards his co-religionists. The other was Don Moses Zarzal (Çarçal). He celebrated in rich Spanish verse the long wished for birth of an heir to the Castilian throne, borrowing the beauties of the neo-Hebraic poetry to do honour to the newly-born Infanta, in whose hands he prophesied that the various States of the Pyrenean Peninsula should be united. The calm, as between two storms, which the Spanish Jews enjoyed during the reign of Don

Henry was favourable to the production of a few literary fruits, almost the last of any importance brought forth in Spain. None of these works were epoch-making; they were useful, however, in keeping alive the spirit of better times, and in preventing the treasures of Jewish literature from being forgotten. Profiat Duran by some unknown means managed to make people forget his baptism and to settle down quietly in Spain or Perpignan, where he commentated Maimuni's philosophy, and a great deal of the work of Ibn Ezra. He also composed a mathematical and calendrical essay (*Chesheb-Efod*) and an historical account of the persecutions to which his race had been subjected since the Dispersion. His best work is a Hebrew grammar ("*Maase Efod*," written about 1403), in which he summarises the results of older writers, rectifies their errors, and even attempts to construct a method for teaching Hebrew syntax.

A production of more than common merit was left behind him by Chasdaï Crescas, now on the brink of the grave, his spirits shattered by persecution. He was a profound and comprehensive thinker, whose mind never lost itself in details, but was for ever striving to comprehend the totality of things. His scheme for a work treating in the style of Maimuni of all phases and aspects of Judaism, investigating the ideas and laws out of which Jewish teaching had gradually developed, and re-harmonising the details with the whole where the connection had ceased to be apparent, bears witness to the extraordinary range of his learning and the power of his mind. The work was to be at once a guide to Talmudical study and a practical hand-book of dogmatic and ethical teaching. Death appears to have prevented the accomplishment of this gigantic enterprise, only the philosophic portion, or introduction of which he was enabled to complete. In this introduction Chasdaï Crescas dealt on the

one hand with the principles of universal religion, the existence of God, His omniscience, and providence, human free-will, the design of the universe, and, on the other, with the fundamental truths of Judaism, the doctrines of the Creation, Immortality, and the Messiah.

Crescas was less dominated by the Aristotelian bias of mediæval philosophy than any of his predecessors. It had lost all glory for him; he perceived its weaknesses more clearly than others, and probed them more deeply. With unfaltering hands he shook the supports of the vast edifice of theory which Maimuni had constructed on Aristotelian grounds for the purpose of demonstrating the existence of God and his relation to the universe. Conversant with the whole method of scholastic philosophy he combated it with destructive force.

While the philosophy of his day appeared to him thus vague and illusory, he considered the foundations of Judaism as unassailable, and set himself to defend them against the criticisms of the former. The acknowledgment of the Divine omniscience led him to the daring conjecture that man in his actions is not quite free, that everything occurs as the necessary result of a preceding occurrence, and that every cause, reaching back to the very first, determines to some extent the character of the final action. The human will does not follow a blind choice, but is controlled by a chain of antecedent circumstances and causes. To what extent can the doctrine of Rewards and Punishments be admitted, if the will is not free? Chasdaï Crescas' answer to this is that rewards and punishments wait on intentions and not on actions. He who, in purity of heart, wishes to accomplish good—which must, of course, necessarily follow—deserves to be rewarded as much as the man who willingly promotes evil, deserves punishment. The highest good to which man can aspire, and the end of all

creation, is spiritual perfection, or bliss everlasting. This, however, is not to be obtained, as the philosophers imagine, by filling the mind with metaphysical theories, but only through the active love of God. Herein is the substance of all religion and particularly of Judaism. To this extent one may with justice say that "the world was created for the sake of the Torah," for the aim of the Law is to lead to immortality by means of ideas and commandments and the guidance of thoughts and actions.

Chasdaï Crescas, having distinguished at the outset between universal religion and specific forms, such as Judaism and Christianity, propounded, in opposition to Maimuni, only eight peculiarly Jewish tenets. He justly objected to the thirteen articles of faith of Maimuni, that they were either too many or too few, inasmuch as they blended indiscriminately truths common to all religions and teachings peculiar to Judaism.

Together with Profiat Duran and Chasdaï Crescas, Don Meïr Alguades, the Castilian Chief Rabbi, must also be mentioned as occupying himself with philosophic studies, during the brief pause in the Spanish persecutions, although these studies were not of an original kind. He translated the ethics of Aristotle (1405, in collaboration with Benveniste Ibn Labi) into Hebrew, making the work accessible to the Jews, who employed it in practical life to a greater extent than the Greeks, from whose land it sprang, or the Christians, who prided themselves so much on the moral doctrines of their faith and Church.

Throughout the reign of Don Henry III. of Castile, the existence of the Jews was tolerable. The young but vigorous monarch severely punished Fernan Martinez, the prime mover in the massacres of 1391, as a warning against further excesses. He permitted the Jews to acquire land, renewed the

law of his ancestor, Alfonso XI., and relieved his Jewish tax-farmers and finance administrators from restrictions. As soon, however, as he died (about the end of 1406) the affairs of the Jews again took an unfavourable turn, a forerunner of unhappy times. The heir to the crown, Juan II., was a child, barely two years old. The Regency devolved on the Queen-Mother Catalina (Catherine) of Lancaster, a capricious, arrogant and bigoted young woman, who imagined that she ruled, while she was herself ruled by her various favourites. The co-regent Don Ferdinand, who became later King of Aragon, was certainly intelligent and kind, but he allowed himself to be guided by the clergy. By his side in the Council of State sat the apostate Rabbi, Solomon *alias* Paul de Santa-Maria, another but more mischievous Elisha-Acher, who not only regarded Judaism with horror, but every Jew with hatred. The deceased king, Don Henry III., had appointed him executor of his will and tutor to his heir; he consequently had an influential voice in the council of the Regency. What a prospect for the Jews of Castile! It was not long before they were made to feel the hostile spirit of the court. First, it exhibited itself in attempts to humiliate the more notable Jews who, from their intercourse with the court circle and the grandees of the kingdom, occupied positions of distinction. From these positions they were dismissed with the reminder that they belonged to a despised caste.

An edict was issued (October 25th, 1408) in the name of the infant king, reviving the anti-Jewish statutes of the Code of Alfonso the Wise. "Whereas the exercise of authority by Jews may conduce to the prejudice of the Christian faith," their occupation of posts in which they might possess such authority was forbidden for all future time. Every Jew permitting himself to be invested with official functions, either by a nobleman or a municipality,

would be fined twice the amount of the revenue of such post, and, in the event of his fortune not sufficing to make up the required amount, it would be entirely confiscated and the delinquent become liable to a punishment of fifty lashes. A Christian appointing a Jew to a post of influence would also be punished with a money fine. In order to ensure the working of the edict, it was enacted that informers and courts of law concerned in the cases should secure one-third of the confiscated estates. Public officials were charged to make the edict known everywhere, and carefully to watch that its injunctions were carried out. It is impossible not to recognise the hand of Paul de Santa-Maria in this decree. No one knew better than he the strong and weak points in the character of the Spanish Jews, and he doubtless calculated that the Jewish notables, in danger of losing their official employment and high social position, would go over to Christianity, while the faithful, excluded from intercourse with Christian society, and from participation in the public life of the country, would suffer a decline similar to that of the German Jews.

At the same time he vented his hate on the former physician of the dead king, Meir Alguades. The queen-regent had no cause to injure this Jewish notable; only Paul could desire his ruin, because he was the mainstay of his opponents, and the leader of those who affected to regard him with contempt. With the object of procuring his downfall a vindictive accusation was trumped up against him. While the queen-mother, with the infant king, was staying at Segovia, some priests charged a Jew of the town with having bought the consecrated host of a sacristan, in order to blaspheme it. They further stated that the holy wafer had worked such terrible wonders while in the possession of the Jew, that in fear and trembling he had delivered it up to the prior of a monastery.

Whether this story was entirely fabricated, or whether there was really a grain of truth in a bushel of indubitable fiction, it is impossible to say; it sufficed, however, to attract the serious attention of the Bishop Velasquez de Tordesillas, who caused a number of Jews to be arrested as accomplices in the crime, and among them, Don Meïr Alguades. Criminal proceedings were formally commenced by order of the queen-regent, and Alguades and his fellow-prisoners were submitted to the torture and confessed their guilt. In his agony, Meïr Alguades is stated to have made a confession of another kind—that the king, Henry III., had come by his death at his hands. Although the whole world knew that the king had been ailing from his youth, Don Meïr—who must have been specially interrogated while under torture, as to whether he had poisoned the king—was put to death in the most inhuman manner. He was torn limb from limb. The same fate befell the other prisoners. Still dissatisfied with the results of his Jew-hunt, the Bishop of Segovia accused some Jews of having bribed his cook to poison his food, and they also were put to death. About this time one of the synagogues in Segovia was transformed into a church.

The troubled times, projecting shadows of a still more unhappy future, produced the melancholy phenomenon of another Messianic frenzy. Again it arose in the minds of mystics. The Kabbala, in consequence of the adroitness with which it was attempted to raise the Zohar to the dignity of a fundamental teaching, acquired daily more influence, although, as a matter of fact, it was not studied in proportion to the zeal with which its authority was advocated. Three Kabbalists were particularly active in exciting the emotions and turning the heads of the people—Abraham of Granada, Shem-Tob ben Joseph, and Moses Botarel. The first composed (between 1391 and

1409) a Kabbalistic work, a farrago of strange names of the Deity and the angels, of transposed letters, and jugglery with vowels and accents. Abraham of Granada had the hardihood to teach that those who could not apprehend God by Kabbalistic methods belonged to the weak in faith, were ignorant sinners, resembling the depraved and the sceptical, in not fearing God and in failing to recognise His special providence. He further opined that the relinquishment of their religion by cultured Jews was to be explained by their fatal application to scientific study, and their contempt for the Kabbala. At the same time he professed to see in the persecutions of 1391, and in the conversion of so many high-placed Jews to Christianity, the foretokens of the Messianic age, the suffering that would precede it, and the approach of the Redemption. Shem-Tob ben Joseph Ibn-Shem-Tob (died 1430) accused the Jewish philosophers, Maimuni, Gersonides, and others, of seducing the people into heresy and infidelity, and with being the real cause of the apostasy of so many in troubled times. In a work entitled "Emunot" he made violent attacks on Jewish thinkers and philosophic studies generally, and taught that the salvation of Israel lay in the Kabbala, which was the oldest Jewish tradition, and the only pure truth. The entire book is composed of grave charges against the more enlightened school of Jewish thinkers, and panegyrics of the Kabbalistic obscurities.

These two men, Abraham of Granada and Shem-Tob, though narrow-minded, were, however, sincere, differing in this respect from Moses Botarel (or Botarelo), also a Spaniard, from Cisneros, in Castile, who pursued his course with a deliberately fraudulent intent. He gave out that he was a thaumaturge and prophet; it even appears that he announced himself as the Messiah.

He prophesied that in the spring of 1393 the Messianic age would be ushered in by extraordinary marvels. Later on he wrote a work full of lies and delusions. He seems also to have been the author of a boastful and bombastic epistle addressed about this time to the various Rabbis of Israel, in which it was declared that the author was in a position to solve all doubts, and throw light on all mysteries, that he was the chief of the great Synhedrin, with a great deal more conceived in the same charlatanic strain.

As in the days of the oppression by the Visigothic kings, an asylum for the persecuted Jews was formed on that portion of the African coast immediately facing Spain. Many North African towns, such as Algiers, Miliana, Constantine, Buja, Oran, Tenes, and Tlemcen became filled with Jews fleeing from the massacres of 1391, and new-Christians anxious to get rid of the Christianity which they had been forced to embrace, but which they hated so cordially. Almost daily there came fresh batches of refugees from all parts of Spain and Majorca. They transplanted to their new fatherland their intelligence, wealth, industry, and commercial enterprise. The Mahometan Berber princes, then more tolerant and humane than the Christians, opposed no impediment to their settlement in the country. At first the Mahometan population grumbled a little at so sudden and considerable an increase in the number of inhabitants, fearing that it would have the effect of raising the price of provisions. When, however, the narrow-mindedness and selfishness of their complaints were pointed out to them by an intelligent Kadi they became satisfied, and the Jews were allowed to settle in their midst in peace. The small Berber communities which had been formed since the cessation of the Almohadic persecution a century before, acquired a greater

importance through this immigration. The newcomers, however, preponderated in numbers over the native Jews to such an extent that the latter were soon forced partially to adopt the Spanish communal organisation and the Sephardic ritual. The Spaniards, in fact, became the leading elements in the old African communities.

The distinguished Rabbi, Isaac ben Sheshet-Barfat, who had escaped from Spain and settled in Algiers, was recognised by the King of Tlemcen as Chief Rabbi and judge of the collective communities. This he owed to a great extent to the influence of one of his admirers, Saul Astruc Cohen, a popular physician and an accomplished man, who not only practised his art gratuitously, but spent his fortune in relieving indiscriminately both the Mahometan and Jewish poor. In the name of the king the local Rabbis were forbidden to assume clerical or judicial functions without the authority of the Chief Rabbi, Isaac ben Sheshet. This in no way detracted from the esteem in which Ben-Sheshet was held, and applications continued to pour in to him for final decisions of difficult questions. In Algiers he withstood all attempts at wrong-doing with the same conscientious and impartial severity that had always characterised him. Among the members of his particular community was a mischievous personage (Isaac Bonastruc?), who had considerable influence with the Algerian authorities. This individual, actuated by interested motives, was desirous of stopping the daily increasing immigration of Marranos, and to this end persuaded the Kadi to impose a tax of one doubloon on every immigrant. Not finding this expedient succeed, but that troops of fugitives continued to arrive, he set himself to work upon the selfishness of the community, so that they might oppose any further influx of their brethren. Fifty-five new-Christians,

who had recanted, from Valencia, Barcelona, and Majorca were one day waiting to land in the harbour of Algiers, but were refused permission by a number of Jews. This was tantamount to throwing them on the mercy of the Christian executioners. Such selfishness and injustice the Chief Rabbi, Isaac ben Sheshet, could not tolerate, and he laid his ban on the heartless Jews. These affected to make light of their punishment, and tried still to baffle the Chief Rabbi; but so determined was his attitude that, with the assistance of Astruc Cohen and his brother, the Marranos were ultimately brought safely to land. In Africa Ben Sheshet Barfat worked for nearly twenty years, promoting the welfare of his co-religionists and the interests of religion and morality. His declining years were, however, embittered by the persistent attacks of Simon ben Zemach Duran, a young Rabbi, but an able Talmudist, who had emigrated from Majorca.

Ben Sheshet was succeeded on his death by Simon Duran (born 1361, died 1444). The community of Algiers elected him on the condition that he did not seek a ratification of his appointment from the king, probably because the authority derived by his predecessor from the royal confirmation had been too uncontrolled. Simon Duran, an accomplished mathematician and physician, was the first Rabbi to take pay of an Hispano-Jewish community. He publicly excused himself for doing so on the ground of his necessitous circumstances. During the persecutions in Majorca a portion of his large fortune had been lost, and the remainder had been sacrificed in bribing the informers who desired to denounce him as a Judaising Christian to the Dominican Moloch. He had arrived in Algiers almost a beggar, and the healing art, by which he had hoped to earn a subsistence, had brought him nothing, physicians enjoying but little consideration among the Berbers. Subsequently Simon

Duran justified the payment of Rabbis on the authority of the Talmud. Were the abbots, bishops, and princes of the church equally conscientious?

As if the Jews of Spain had not already enough enemies in the poor and indolent burghers and nobles, who regarded their opulence with so much jealousy, in the clergy who proselytised among them to hide their own immorality, or in the upstart converts, who sought to disguise their Jewish origin by parading a hatred of their former brethren, there arose about the beginning of the fifteenth century three new Jew-haters of the bitterest and most implacable type. One was a baptised Jew, another a Dominican friar, and the third an abandoned anti-Pope. On these three men, Joshua Lorqui, Fray Vincent Ferrer, and Pedro de Luna, otherwise Benedict XIII., the responsibility must rest for the events which directly conduced to the most terrible tragedy in the history of the Jews of Spain. Joshua Lorqui of Lorca, who had declaimed against his teacher for apostatizing, assumed on his baptism the name Geronimo de Santa-Fé, became private physician to the Avignon Pope Benedict, and, like his teacher, Solomon-Paul de Santa Maria considered it his mission in life to endeavour to draw his former brethren over to Christianity by every possible means. Vincent Ferrer, afterwards a saint, was one of those gloomy natures to whom the world appears to be a vale of tears, and who would wish to make it one. He stood alone in his sanctity among the clergy and monks of his day. The pleasures of life had no charm for him; for gold and worldly distinction he thirsted not; he was penetrated with a true humility, and he entered on his work with earnestness. Unfortunately, the degeneracy and foulness of society had impressed him with the fantastic idea that the end of the world was at hand, and he concluded that mankind could only be saved by embracing the Christian

faith and adopting a monastic mode of life. Vincent Ferrer consequently revived the barbarous practice of penance by flagellation. He marched through the land with a troop of fanatics who scourged their naked bodies with knotted cords, and incited the masses to adopt the same form of shrift, in the belief that it would bring about the salvation of the world. Gifted with a sympathetic voice, an agreeable manner, and considerable eloquence, this Dominican friar soon obtained an ascendancy over the public mind. When amid sobs he recalled the sufferings of Jesus, and depicted the approaching end of the world, the emotions of his auditors became violently agitated, and he could do with them what he willed. He had given up important dignities at the Papal court, preferring the simple condition of a flagellant and bare-footed friar. This helped still further to increase the number of his admirers and disciples, for such a renunciation of position and wealth on the part of an ecclesiastic was at that time without parallel. Ferrer, however, abused his power by the promotion of sanguinary deeds of violence. He showered his fanatical denunciations not only upon Jews and heretics, but even upon friends who had helped to raise him from the dust. The terrible demoralisation of the Church is illustrated by the attitude of this monk. The wrangling and mutual excommunications of three contemporary Popes, each declaring himself to be the vicegerent of God, one of whom, John XXIII. (1410—1415), exhausted the catalogue of vices and deadly sins, was a pirate, a trafficker in indulgences, an assassin, and a debauchee—all this did not indicate so strikingly the prevailing degeneracy as the fanatical excesses of one really pure and moral nature like Vincent Ferrer. The dove had become transformed into a venomous snake, the lamb had taken to himself the passions of a rapacious beast. So much viciousness could

not have been spontaneous in human character, in the adherents of Christianity; it must have been derived from the Christian teaching itself.

Unlike Wycliffe and other reformers, Ferrer did not raise his voice against breaches of the institutions of the Church, but devoted himself to the Jews and heretics, whom he hated both as adversaries of Christianity and opponents of the Infallibility of the Pope. With pen and voice he opened a crusade against the Jews which he sustained for several years. His most vehement invective was aimed at the Spanish new-Christians, who during the massacres of 1391 had gone over to the Church, but still largely conformed to Judaism. Partly from fear of being called upon to pay the heavy penalty attaching to their apostasy, partly impressed by the fiery eloquence of the preacher, the Marranos began to abandon their secret connection with their ancient religion. Each such instance of enforced repentance Ferrer professed to regard as a great victory for the Church, a triumph for the truths of Christianity, which led him to hope that the conversion of the entire body of Jews might be vouchsafed to him. By his influence with the people, who honoured him as a saint, he was very useful to the king of Spain during the civil wars in putting down popular risings without bloodshed. Encouraged by the consideration paid to him by the Castilian royal family, Ferrer craved permission not only to preach in the synagogues and mosques, but to force an attendance of Jews and Mahometans to listen to his addresses. With a crucifix in his hands and the Torah in his arms, surrounded by flagellants and escorted by spearmen, he called upon the Jews "with a terrible voice" to enrol themselves under the shadow of the Cross.

Ingenuous as were his protestations, Vincent Ferrer was not averse to the employment of force for the attainment of his ends. He represented

to the Spanish rulers that the Jews should be strictly isolated, as their traffic with the Christian population was calculated to injure the true faith. His suggestions met with too ready a response. Through him and his two Jew-converting contemporaries such unspeakable sorrows were brought upon the Spanish Jews that the three years 1412 to 1414 may be reckoned among the saddest in the sorrowful history of the Jewish people. Shortly after Ferrer's appearance at the most Christian Court, the Regent Donna Catalina, the Infante Don Ferdinand, and the apostate Paul Burgensis de Santa Maria acting in the name of the child-king, Juan II., issued an edict consisting of twenty-four articles (January 12th, 1412), the aim of which was to impoverish and humiliate the Jews, and to reduce them to the lowest grade in the social scale. It ordered that they should live in special Jew-quarters (*Juderias*) provided with not more than one gate each, under pain of confiscation of fortune and personal chastisement. No handicraft was to be exercised by them; they were not to practise the healing art, and, above all, they were to transact no business with Christians. It goes without saying that they were forbidden the hiring of Christian servants and the filling of public offices. Their judicial autonomy was abolished, not only in criminal cases, which they had long ceased to enjoy, but also in civil disputes. The edict further defined a special costume for the Jews. Both men and women were to attire themselves in long garments, which, in the case of males, were to be of coarse stuffs. Whoever dressed in the national costume, or in fine materials, became liable to a heavy fine, and, on a repetition of the offence, to corporal punishment and confiscation of property. The wearing of the red Jew-badge was, of course, ordered in the strictest terms. Males were prohibited from shaving or clipping the beard, or cutting the hair of the head, under pain of one hundred

lashes. No Jew was to be addressed, either verbally or in writing, by the style of "Don," and to this prohibition also was attached the penalty of a heavy fine. They were interdicted from carrying weapons, and might no longer move from town to town, but were to be fixed to one place of abode. The Jew who was detected in an evasion of the latter restriction was to lose his entire property and be made a bondsman of the king. Grandees and burghers were sternly enjoined to afford not the slightest protection to Jews.

It is not an unwarrantable assumption to recognise the influence of the apostate Paul de Santa Maria in the particularisation of these Jew-hating laws. Their sting singled out the most sensitive features in the Jewish character, its pride and self-complacency. The wealthy Jews who had been in the habit of appearing in magnificent attire and with smoothly-shaved chins were now to don a disfiguring costume, and go about with stubbly or ragged beards. The cultivated, who as physicians and advisers of the grandees had enjoyed unrestricted intercourse with the highest ranks, were to confine themselves to their Jew-quarter, or allow themselves to be baptised. All the new restrictions were of the same hard character, and were enforced with merciless rigour. A contemporary writer (Solomon Alami) describes the misery of the several classes which resulted from the edict:—"Inmates of palaces were driven into wretched nooks, and dark and lowly huts. Instead of rustling apparel we were obliged to wear miserable clothes, which drew contempt upon us. Prohibited from shaving the beard we had to appear like mourners. The rich tax-farmers sank into want, for they knew no trade by which they could gain a livelihood, and the handicraftsmen found no custom. Starvation stared everyone in the face. Children died on their mothers' knees from hunger and exposure."

Amid this tribulation the Dominican Ferrer invaded the synagogues, crucifix in hand, preached Christianity in a voice of thunder, alternately offering his hearers enjoyment of life, and opportunities of preferment, and threatening them with damnation here and hereafter. The Christian populace, inflamed by the passionate eloquence of the preacher, emphasised his teaching by violent assaults on the Jews. The trial was greater than the unhappy Castilian Jews could bear. Flight from their misery was out of the question, for the law forbade it under a terrible penalty. It is not surprising then that the weak and luke-warm among them, the comfort-loving and worldly-minded, succumbed to the temptation, and saved themselves by baptism. Thus many Jews in the communities of Valladolid, Zamora, Salamanca, Toro, Segovia, Avila, Benvento, Leon, Valencia, Burgos, Astorga, and other small towns, in fact, wherever Vincent Ferrer preached, went over to Christianity. Several synagogues were turned into churches by Ferrer. In the course of his four months' sojourn (December, 1412—March, 1413) in the kingdom of Castile this proselyte-monger inflicted blows upon the Jews from which they never recovered.

When, however, he repaired to the kingdom of Aragon—summoned thither to advise on the rival claims of several pretenders to the throne—and when through his exertion the Castilian Infante, Don Ferdinand, was awarded the Aragonese crown (June, 1414) a trifling improvement took place in the condition of the Castilian Jews. The Regent, Donna Catalina, issued a new edict in the name of her son (17th July). In this document the Jews were still interdicted the exercise of handicrafts, but were allowed, under a multitude of conditions, to visit markets with their merchandise. The prohibition of the hiring of Christian or Mahometan domestics was also confirmed; but, on the

other hand, the employment of day-labourers and gardeners for the fields and vineyards of Jews, and shepherds for their flocks, was permitted. Frivolously enough the new law allowed the hair of Jewish heads to be trimmed and beards clipped, but not entirely removed, by shears; a row of hair was ordered to be left on the chin under any circumstances, and shaving with the razor was forbidden, as though the queen-regent and her sage counsellors were anxious that Jewish orthodoxy should not be wronged. The new decree conceded the wearing of dress materials of a value of sixty maravedis (under the former edict the value was fixed at half this sum), but imposed a funnel-shaped head-covering, to which it was forbidden to attach tassels. The vehemence with which the edict declaimed against the ostentation of the Jewish women disclosed its female authorship. Under this decree, freedom of domicile was once more accorded to the Jews. It was remarkable that the new edict only applied to Jews, whereas its predecessor restricted Mahometans as well.

With the transfer of the fanatical Ferrer to Aragon, the communities of that kingdom also began to experience trials and misfortunes. The newly-elected king, Don Ferdinand, owed his crown entirely to Ferrer, for as arbitrator between the rival pretenders he had warmly espoused his cause, proclaimed him king, and united the populace in his favour. Ferdinand consequently recognised his saintliness with quite exceptional veneration, appointed him his father-confessor and spiritual adviser, and granted him his every wish. Foremost among Ferrer's aspirations was the conversion of the Jews, and to advance it the king commanded the Jews of Aragon to give every attention to his discourses. Hereupon the zealous proselytiser made a tour of the kingdom, vehemently denouncing the

Jews in every town he visited. His intimidations succeeded in converting a large number, particularly in Saragossa, Daroca, Tortosa, Valencia, and Majorca. Altogether Ferrer's mission to the Jews of Castile and Aragon is said to have resulted in not less than 20,500 forced baptisms.

This, however, did not exhaust the woes of the Spanish Jews. Pope Benedict XIII. had still worse troubles in store for them, employing as his instrument his newly-baptised Jewish physician, Joshua Lorqui, otherwise Geronimo de Santa-Fé. This Pope who had been deposed by the Council of Pisa as schismatic, heretic and forsworn, and had even been deprived of his spiritual functions and put under ban, projected the conversion of the entire body of Jews in Spain to the Church, which at that time was the object of universal opprobrium. On the Pyrenean peninsula he was still regarded as the legitimate Pope, and thence he worked every available leverage to procure a general acknowledgment of his authority. He was not slow to perceive that the general conversion of the Jews would powerfully assist his design. If it were only vouchsafed to him, at last, to overcome the obstinacy, blindness and infidelity of Israel, and to bring them under the sovereignty of the Cross—would it not be the greatest triumph for the Church and for himself? Would it not put all his enemies to shame? Would not the faithful everywhere hasten to range themselves under the authority of the Pope who had so glorified the Church? What better proof could he give that he was the only true Pontiff?

To promote this scheme, Benedict, assisted by the king, Don Ferdinand, summoned (towards the end of 1412) the most learned Rabbis and students of Scripture in the kingdom of Aragon, to a religious disputation at Tortosa. There the apostate Joshua Lorqui, who was well read in Jewish litera-

ture, was to prove to the Jews out of the Talmud itself that the Messiah had already come, and that his incarnation had taken place in the person of Jesus. The design of the Papal court was to operate on the most prominent Jews, convinced that their conversion once gained, the rank and file would follow of their own accord. Geronimo carefully selected the names of those who were to be invited, and the Pope or the king attached a punishment to their non-attendance. What were the Jews to do? To come or remain away, accept or refuse, were equally dangerous. About twenty-two of the most illustrious of the Aragonese Jews eventually answered the summons. At their head was Don Vidal Ben-Benveniste Ibn Labi (Ferrer) of Saragossa, a scion of the old Jewish nobility, a man of consideration and culture, a physician and neo-Hebrew poet. Among his companions was Joseph Albo of Monreal, a pupil of Chasdaï Crescas, distinguished for his philosophic learning and his genuine piety; Sarachya Halevi Saladin of Saragossa, translator of an Arabic philosophic work; Matathias Yizhari (En Duran?) of the same town, also a polished writer; Astruc Levi of Daroca, a man of position in his day; Bonastruc Desmaëstre, whom the Pope wished most to be present, because he was a learned and distinguished person; Don Joseph, of the respected Ibn-Yachia family, himself a venerable personage, and others of lesser note.

Although the Jewish notables summoned to the disputation were men of liberal education, and Don Vidal even spoke Latin fluently, none of them possessed that stout-heartedness and force of character which impress even the most vindictive enemies, and which Nachmani so conspicuously displayed when he encountered alone two of the bitterest adversaries of Judaism—the Dominican General de Peñaforte and the apostate Pavlo

Christiani. The accumulated humiliations and persecutions had broken the manhood of even the proudest in Jewry, and had transformed them into weaklings. They were no match for perilous times. When Benedict's summons reached them they trembled. Although they had agreed together to deport themselves with circumspection and calmness, not to interrupt their opponent, and above all, to act in unison and concord, they soon abandoned these resolutions, exposed themselves to reverses, and eventually broke up into factions, each of which took its own course.

Duly commissioned by his schismatic master, the renegade Geronimo drew up a programme, by which the proceedings were to be governed. In the first place, he was to prove from the Talmud and cognate writings that the Messiah had already come, and that Jesus of Nazareth was he. The Papal Court believed that this alone would suffice to bring about a wide-spread conversion of the Jews, but, in case of failure, it was to be followed by a war of extermination against the Talmud on account of the abominations it contained, and of the support it afforded the Jews in their blindness. Geronimo de Santa Fé accordingly composed a treatise on the Messianic character and Divinity of Jesus, as illustrated in Jewish sacred writings. He collected all the specious absurdities, the sophistries and text twistings which his predecessors had developed from their obscure and senseless method of scriptural interpretation, added nonsense of his own, declared playful Agadic conceits to be essential articles of faith, and denied the accuracy of earlier Jewish views of the questions he discussed. He enumerated twenty-four conditions of the coming of the Messiah, and exerted himself to show that they had all been fulfilled by Jesus. His fundamental contention was that the Christians constituted the true Israel, that they had succeeded the Jewish people in Divine

favour, and that the Biblical terms, mountain, tent, temple, House of God, Zion and Jerusalem were allegorical references to the Church. An instance of his ridiculous arguments may be mentioned. Following the example of John of Valladolid, he affected to see in the irregular formation of a letter in one word in Isaiah a deep mystery, indicating the virginity of Mary, and the realisation of the Messianic period by the advent of Jesus. From another prophetic verse he expounded the immaculate conception of Jesus in so indecent a manner that it is impossible to repeat it. This treatise, which blended the spirit of Patristicism and Rabbinism, having been examined by the Pope and his cardinals, was ordered to serve as the theme of the disputation.

No more remarkable controversy was ever held. It occupied sixty-eight sittings, and extended, with few interruptions, over a year and nine months (from February, 1413, until the 12th November, 1414). Its circumstances presented a curious picture. In the foreground, a Pope, abandoned by almost the whole of Christendom, and hunted from his seat, anxious for a favourable issue, not for the glorification of the Faith, but for his own temporal advancement; by his side a baptised Jew, combating Rabbinical Judaism with Rabbinical weapons; and in the background, a frenzied Dominican preacher with his escort of flagellants, promoting a persecution of the Jews to give force to the converting zeal which filled Tortosa. The helpless and bewildered Jews could only turn their eyes to heaven, for on earth they found themselves surrounded by bitter enemies. When, on their first audience with Pope Benedict (6th February, 1413), they were asked to give their names for registration, they were seized with terror; already they imagined their lives in jeopardy. The Pope quieted them with the explanation that it was only a

customary formality. Altogether, he treated them at first with kindness and affability, the usual attitude of princes of the Church when they have an end to attain. He assured them that no harm would befall them; that he had merely summoned them to ascertain for himself whether there was any truth in Geronimo's statement that the Talmud attested the Messianic character of Jesus, and he promised them the fullest freedom of speech. At the end of the first audience he dismissed them graciously, assigned quarters to each of the notables, and gave instructions that their comfort should be cared for. A few prophesied from this friendly reception a successful issue for themselves and the duty they were called upon to discharge, but they knew little of Rome and the vicegerents of God.

A few days later the disputation began. When the Jewish notables entered the audience hall, they were awe-struck by the splendour of the scene. The Pope Benedict, on an elevated throne, clad in his State-robcs, around him the cardinals and princes of the Church, resplendent in jewelled vestments; beyond them nearly a thousand auditors of the highest ranks. The little knot of defenders of Judaism trembled before this imposing and confident array of the forces of Christianity. The Pope himself presided over the proceedings, and opened the sitting with an address to the Jews. He informed them that the truth of neither Judaism nor Christianity was to be called into question, for the Christian faith was above all discussion and indisputable, and Judaism had once been true, although it had been abrogated by the later dispensation. The disputation would be confined to the single question, whether the Talmud recognised Jesus as the Messiah? The Jews were consequently limited to a narrow line of defence. At a sign from the Pope, the convert Geronimo stood forth, and, after a prefatory salutation of the Papal toe, delivered

himself of a long-winded harangue, abounding in Christian, Jewish, and even scholastic subtleties, and full of praise for the magnanimity and graciousness of the Pope in endeavouring to bring the Jews into the way of salvation. His text, specifically applied to the Jews, was a verse from Isaiah—"If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword"—which significantly disclosed the final argument of the Church. In reply, Vidal Benveniste, who had been elected spokesman by the notables, delivered a speech in Latin, which evoked a compliment from the Pope. Don Vidal especially emphasised Geronimo's malignity in threatening the sword and other punishments before even the arguments on either side were heard. The Pope acknowledged the justice of the reproof, but expressed his opinion that Geronimo had still clinging to him a remnant of the boorishness which he derived from his Jewish origin. In the end, the notables plucked up courage to petition the Pope to release them from further controversy, giving as their reason that their opponent employed scholastic methods of reasoning into which it was impossible for them to follow him as their faith was not founded on syllogisms but upon tradition. The Pope naturally declined to accede to this request, but invited them to continue the discussion on the following day, and had them escorted to their quarters by officers of high rank.

Overwhelmed with anxieties, the Jewish notables and the entire community of Tortosa assembled in the synagogue on the same day to implore help of Him who had so often stood by their fathers in their hours of need, and to pray that acceptable words might be put in their mouths so that by no chance expression they should provoke the wild beasts who were seeking to devour them. Serachya Halevi

Saladin gave expression to the gloomy feelings of the congregation in his sermon.

For a time the controversy retained its friendly character. Geronimo quoted obscure Agadic passages from the Talmud and other Hebrew writings in order to establish his astounding contention that the Talmud attests in a certain measure that Jesus was the Messiah. Generally the Pope presided at the disputations, but occasionally grave matters of State necessitated his absence. The maintenance of his dignity was threatened by the convening of the Council of Constance by the Christian princes, who asserted its superiority over the three Popes, and consequently Benedict had to hold frequent consultation with his counsellors and friends. On these occasions his place was taken by the General of the Dominicans, or the Chamberlain of the Papal palace. The proofs adduced by Geronimo in support of his argument were so absurd that under any circumstances it would have been difficult to refute them seriously. As it was, the Jewish notables, in their timid avoidance of specific terms, so obscured their own meaning that in several instances it was recorded in the protocol that they had conceded the point under discussion. A few of them consequently felt themselves compelled to commit their refutations to writing; but they met with arbitrary treatment. Their arguments were condemned as not pertinent to the particular question, or as being outside the scope of the discussion. The Jewish delegates had entered on the controversy with unwilling hearts, but now they became thoroughly wearied by the ceaseless talking and taunting, and they resolved to make no further answer to their opponent. On this the Pope threw aside his mask of friendliness, and showed his true disposition by threatening them with death. Sixty-two days the war of tongues had lasted, and the representatives of Judaism showed no sign of the much-hoped-for

inclination towards Christianity. The strength of their resistance appeared rather to grow with the battle. So in the sixty-third sitting the Pope changed his tactics. At his command Geronimo now came forward as the censor of the Talmud, accusing it of containing all kinds of abominations, blasphemings, immorality and heresy, and demanding that it should be condemned. A few new-Christians, among them Andreas Beltran (Bertrand) of Valencia, the Pope's almoner, valiantly seconded this demand.

Geronimo had prepared, at the instance of the Pope, a treatise in support of his new proposition, in which he had collected all the extravagances accidentally uttered by one or two of the hundreds of Agadists figuring in the Talmud. He also put forward—whether from shameless malice or from ignorance is unknown—accusations against the Talmud which are manifestly false. Thus, he stated that it permitted the beating of parents, blasphemy, and the practice of idolatry, also the breaking of oaths, provided that on the previous Day of Atonement the precaution had been taken to declare them invalid. A conscientious reservation in respect to oaths and vows he thus construed into a means of perfidy, and, like Nicholas-Donin, drew from it the conclusion that the Jews did not fulfil the obligations they incurred towards Christians. Of course, he revived the calumny of Alfonso of Valladolid, that the Jews cursed the Christians in their daily prayers. Every inimical reference to heathens or Jewish Christians in the Talmud, Geronimo interpreted as applying to Christians, a fabrication which had disastrous consequences, inasmuch as the enemies of the Jews copied and repeated these deadly charges without further enquiry. When attacks on the Talmud unexpectedly became the subject for discussion, the Jewish representatives defended the arraigned points, but became so

divided in opinion that they split up into two parties. Don Astruc Levi handed in a written declaration, setting forth that he ascribed no authority to the Agadic sentences quoted as incriminating the Talmud; that he held them as nought, and renounced them. The majority of the notables supported him. To save the life of the whole they sacrificed a limb. Joseph Albo and Ferrer (Don Vidal) alone maintained their ground, declaring that the Talmudic Agada was a competent authority, and that the equivocal passages had a different meaning to that ascribed to them, and were not to be interpreted literally. So much, at least, was vouchsafed to the machinations of the Pope and his creatures—they succeeded in bringing about a division in the ranks of the defenders of Judaism.

The principal object of the disputation—to procure a conversion of the Jews *en masse* through the example of their most prominent leaders—remained, however, unattained. All the means that were employed failed—the benignant reception, the subsequent threats of violence, the final attack on Jewish convictions. An expedient had also been tried which was calculated entirely for effect, and which it was thought, would exercise so mortifying an influence on the notables that, dazed and overwhelmed, they would throw down their arms and surrender at discretion. The fanatical proselytiser Vincent Ferrer had returned from Majorca to Catalonia and Aragon, and, surrounded by his terrifying band of flagellants, had renewed his mission to the Jews, amid dismal chants and fiery exhortations, to embrace the Cross. Again he succeeded in winning over many thousands to Christianity. In the great Jewish communities of Saragossa, Calatajud, Daroca, Fraga and Barbastro, the conversions were limited to individuals; but smaller congregations, such as those of Alcañiz, Caspe, Maella, Lerida, Alcolea and Tamarite, hemmed in

as they were by hostile Christians, among whom there was no security for life or limb, went over in a body to Christianity. All these proselytes were gradually brought, in small and large batches, into Tortosa, and conducted, at the order of the Pope, into the audience hall, where, in face of the entire assembly, they made public profession of their Christian faith. As living trophies they were intended to shadow forth the impending victory of the Church, to dishearten the defenders of Judaism, and to press upon them the conviction that, as in their absence the Jewish communities were melting away, all resistance on their part was in vain. It is no small merit that, notwithstanding all these constraining influences, Don Vidal, Joseph Albo, Astruc Levi, and their companions refused to yield. The Pope saw his hopes shattered. Not a single notable wavered, and conversions of large masses did not take place. The great communities of Aragon and Catalonia remained true to their faith, with the exception of a few scholars, amongst them also the relations of Vidal-Benveniste, who, to the sorrow of the most important Jews, underwent baptism. The Council of Constance would soon meet, and Benedict would be unable to appear before it as the triumphant conqueror of Judaism—would have no special claim to preference over the other two competing Popes.

In his disappointment he vented his spleen on the Talmud and the already restricted liberties of the Jews. At the last sitting of the Tortosa disputation he dismissed the Jewish notables with black looks, from which they easily divined his evil intentions. Various obstacles prevented him from putting these into force for six months, when (May 11th, 1415) they were embodied in a Bull of eleven clauses. The Jews were forbidden to study or teach the Talmud and similar writings, all copies of which were to be sought out and con-

fiscated. Anti-Christian works, written by Jews, and especially one entitled "Mar Mar Jesu," were not to be read under pain of punishment for blasphemy. Every community, whether large or small, was prohibited from possessing more than one simple and poorly appointed synagogue. The Jews were to be strictly separated from Christians, were not to eat, bathe, or do business with them. They were to occupy no official posts, to exercise no handicrafts, and not even to practise medicine. The wearing of the red or yellow Jew-badge was also enjoined by this Bull. Finally, all Jews were to be forced to attend the delivery of Christian sermons three times a year—during Advent, at Easter, and in the summer. In the first sermon it was to be proved to them, out of the Prophets and the Talmud, that the true Messiah had already come; in the second, their attention was to be directed to the abominations and heresies contained (according to Geronimo's treatise) in the Talmud, which, they were to be further informed, was alone responsible for their infidelity; and in the third it was to be impressed upon them that the destruction of the temple and the dispersion of the Hebrew people had been predicted by the founder of Christianity. At the close of each sermon the contents of the Bull was to be read aloud. The strict execution of this malignant edict was confided by the Pope to the supervision of Gonzalo de Santa Maria, son of the apostate Paul, who had been taken over to Christianity by his father.

Fortunately, the vindictive schemes of Pope Benedict never came into active operation. While he was still engaged in tormenting the Jews, the Council of Constance decreed his deposition. As he had obstinately opposed himself to the advice of the king Don Ferdinand and the German Emperor Sigismund to lay aside the tiara of his

own initiative, he was now abandoned by his Spanish protectors. The weapons he had employed recoiled upon himself. His last adherents were drawn from him by Vincent Ferrer's fanatical preaching. The flagellant priest not only exhorted the king of Aragon to renounce "this unfrocked and spurious Pope," but he held forth everywhere—in the churches and the open streets—that "such a man as this Pope deserved to be pursued to the death by every right-thinking Christian." Deserted by his protectors, his friends, and even his protégés, there now remained to Pedro de Luna, of all his possessions, only the small fortress of Pensicola; and even here King Ferdinand, urged on by Santa Marie, the Pope's creature, threatened him with a siege. In the end this ambitious and obstinate man covered himself with ridicule by attempting to continue to play the part of Pope in his insignificant position. He appointed a college of four cardinals, and pledged them before his death not to recognise the Pope elected at Constance, but to choose a successor from among their own body. When at length he died, his college elected two Popes instead of one. Of such a nature was the infallibility of the Church, into the pale of which it was sought to force the Jews. What became of the wicked apostate Joshua Lorqui Geronimo de Santa Fé after the fall of his master is not known. In Jewish circles he was remembered by the well-earned sobriquet of "The Calumniator" (Megadef). King Ferdinand of Aragon, who had always allowed himself to be influenced by enemies of the Jews, quitted the scenes of his labours in 1416. He was followed, after a short interval, by the Jew-hating regent, Catalina of Castile, the instrument of Vincent's Jew-hunt (1418), and finally by Vincent himself (1419), who, before his death, had the mortification to see the flagellant movement, to

which he owed his saintly reputation, condemned by the Council of Constance, and himself compelled to disband his "white troop."

Meanwhile, although the chief persecutors of the Jews had disappeared, the unhappy situation created by them remained. The exclusive laws of Castile and the Bull of Pope Benedict were still in force. Ferrer's proselytising campaigns had severely crippled the Spanish, and even foreign communities. In Portugal alone they had found no echo. The Portuguese ruler, Don João I., had other interests to pursue than the conversion of Jews. He was then occupied in that first conquest on the opposite coast of Africa, which laid the foundation of the subsequent maritime supremacy of the Portuguese. When Vincent Ferrer petitioned King João for permission to come to Portugal in order to make the pulpits and streets resound with his rueful harangues on the sinfulness of the world and the blindness and obstinacy of the Jews, the Portuguese king caused him to be informed that "he might come, but with a crown of red-hot iron on his head." Portugal was the only refuge on the Pyrenean peninsula from the proselytising rage of the flagellant preacher, and many of the Spanish Jews who had the means of escaping him fled thither. Don Judah Ibn Yachya-Negro, who was held in high esteem by King João I., and, perhaps, appointed by him Chief Rabbi of Portugal, represented to him the horrors of enforced baptism, and the necessary insincerity of the professions of the unwilling converts. The king consequently issued his commands that the immigrant new-Christians should not be interfered with or delivered up to Spain.

On the other hand, in many parts of Europe, where either the fanatical Dominican had been, or whither reports of his deeds or misdeeds had penetrated, the Jews were forced to drain the cup

of bitterness to the dregs. In the Savoy, which Vincent Ferrer had visited, they were obliged to hide themselves with their holy books in mountain caves. In Germany persecutions of Jews had always found a congenial soil, and their growth was furthered by the anarchy which prevailed during the reign of Sigismund and the duration of the Council of Constance. Even the Italian communities, though for the most part undisturbed, lived in continual anxiety, lest the movement should strike a responsive chord in their own politically distracted land. They convened a great synod, first at Bologna and then at Forli (1416—1418), to consider what measures should be adopted to avert the threatened danger.

Happily at this moment, after a long schism of bitter strife and a plurality of anti-Popes, the Council of Constance elected a Pope, who, though full of dissimulation, did not belong to the most degraded in the College of Cardinals. Martin V.—who was said by his contemporaries to have appeared simple and good before his election, but to have shown himself afterwards very clever and not quite scrupulous—received the Jews with scant courtesy when, during his State progress through Constance, they approached him carrying lighted tapers in festive procession, and offered him the Torah with a prayer for the confirmation of their sufferance. From his white palfrey with its silk and gold trappings he answered them: “You have the law, but understand it not. The old has passed away, and the new has been found.” It was like a blind man finding fault with those who could see; yet he treated them with leniency. At the request of the Emperor Sigismund he confirmed the privileges granted to the Jews of Germany and the Savoy by the preceding Emperor, Rupert, denouncing attacks on their

persons and property, and the practice of converting them by force. The Emperor, whose oppression of the Jews—his demand upon them to pay the expenses of the Council of Constance and his frequent exactions from the communities—arose from an inconsiderate fondness for money rather than from a spirit of persecution, thereupon issued his commands to all the German princes and magistrates, cities and subjects, that they should allow his chamber-serfs the full enjoyment of the privileges and immunities in which they had been confirmed by the Pope (February 26th, 1418). A deputation of Jews, duly commissioned by the Italian Synod, also waited upon the now generally acknowledged Pope and craved his protection. Even the Spanish Jews appear to have despatched an embassy to him, consisting of two of their most distinguished men, Don Samuel Abrabalia and Don Samuel Halevi. When the Jews complained of the insecurity of their lives, the attacks on their religious convictions, and the frequent desecration of their sanctuaries, the Pope issued a bull (January 31st, 1419) with the following preamble:

“Whereas the Jews are made in the image of God, and a remnant of them will one day be saved, and whereas they have besought our protection, we, following in the footsteps of our predecessors, command that they shall not be molested in their synagogues; that their laws, rights, and customs shall not be assailed; that they shall not be baptised by force, constrained to observe Christian festivals, nor to wear new distinctive badges, and that they shall not be hindered in their business relations with Christians.”

What could have induced Pope Martin to show such friendly countenance to the Jews? Probably he had some idea of checkmating by this means the Jew-hating Benedict, who still played at being Pope in his obscure corner. The principal consideration was, however, the rich gifts with which the Jewish representatives approached him. Although at the Coun-

cil of Constance no Cardinal was poorer than Martin, and his election was in great measure owing to this fact, on the throne of St. Peter he showed no aversion to money. On the contrary, everything might be obtained from him if money were paid down ; without it nothing.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HUSSITES: PROGRESS OF JEWISH LITERATURE.

The Hussite Heresy—Consequences for the Jews who became involved in the struggle—Installation of German Rabbis by the Government—Jacob Mölin—Abraham Benveniste and Joseph Ibn Shem-Tob in the Service of the Castilian Court—Isaac Campanton, the poet Solomon Dafiera—Moses Da Rieti—Anti-Christian polemical literature—Chayim Ibn Musa—Simon Duran and his son Solomon—Joseph Albo as a Philosopher of Religion—Jewish Philosophical Systems—Edict of the Council of Basle against the Jews—The Sons of Paul de Santa Maria continue to instigate the persecution of the Jews—Fanatical Outbreaks in Majorca—Astruc Sibili and his conversion to Christianity.

1420—1442 C.E.

MEANWHILE the progress of events received a fresh impulse, which, although coming from weak hands, produced none the less a forward movement. The spreading corruption in the Church, the self-deifying arrogance of the Popes and the licentiousness of priests and monks revolted the moral sense of the people, opened their eyes and encouraged them to doubt the very foundations of the Roman Catholic system. No improvement could be expected from the princes of the Church, the jurists and diplomats who met in Council at Constance to deliberate on a scheme of thorough reform. They had only a worldly object in view, seeking to gloss over the prevailing rottenness by transferring the Papal power to the high ecclesiastics, substituting the rule of an aristocratic hierarchy for the Papal absolutism. A Czech priest, John Huss, of Prague, inspired by the teachings of Wycliffe, spoke the magic word which was to loosen the bonds in which the Church had ensnared the minds of men. "Not this or that

Pope," he said in effect, "but the Papacy and the entire organisation of the Catholic Church constitute the fundamental evil, from which Christendom is suffering." The flames to which the Council of Constance condemned this courageous priest only served to light up more clearly the truth he had uttered. They fired a multitude in Bohemia, who entered on a life and death struggle with Catholicism. Whenever a party in Christendom opposed itself to the ruling Church it invariably assumed a tinge of the Old Testament, not to say Jewish spirit. The Hussites regarded Catholicism, not unjustly, as heathenism, and themselves as Israelites who had to wage holy war against the Philistines, Moabites, and Ammonites. Churches and monasteries were to them the sanctuaries of a dissolute idolatry, temples to Baal and Moloch, and groves of Ash-taroth, which they consumed with fire and sword. The Hussite war, although largely due to the mutual race-hatred of Czechs and Germans, as well as to a rising religious indignation, began in a small way the work of clearing the Church doctrine of its mephitic elements.

Still, to the Jews, this movement, so far from being an advantage, was decidedly calamitous. For this the direct responsibility must rest, not on the wild Hussites, but on the Catholic fanaticism which was stirred up against the new heresy. The former went little beyond denunciations of Jewish usury, and at the most sacked Jewish in common with Catholic houses. Of specific hostility to the Jews on the part of the Hussites no evidence is forthcoming. On the other hand, the Catholics accused the Jews of supplying the Hussites secretly with money and arms; and in the Bavarian frontier towns, bordering on the Bohemian forest, persecuted them unmercifully as friends and allies of the heretics. The Dominicans—the "army of anti-Christ" as they

were called—included the Jews in their fierce pulpit denunciations of the Hussites, and inflamed the people and princes against them. The Crusades against the Hussites, like those against the Mahometans and Waldenses, commenced with massacres of Jews. The revived fanaticism first came in contact with the Jews in Austria—a land, which like Spain, passed from a liberal tolerance of the Jews to persecution, and which in its bigotry approximated so closely to the Iberian kingdom that it ultimately joined it in political union. The Archduke Albert, an earnest and well-intentioned prince, was deliberately wrought up against the “enemies of God.” Fable after fable was invented, which, although devoid of the single merit of originality, sufficed to drive to extremes a man of strong character, who had no suspicion of the lying devices of the Jew-haters. Three Christian children went on the ice in Vienna, fell through, and were drowned. When the anxious parents failed to find them, a malicious rumour was set on foot that they had been slaughtered by Jews, who required their blood for the ensuing Passover celebration. Then one of them was charged with a crime calculated in a still greater degree to incense the populace. The wife of the sacristan of Ems was said to have purloined the consecrated Host from the Church, and sold it to a wealthy Jew named Israel, who had sent it to a large number of Jewish communities in and out of Austria. Public opinion in the fifteenth century was peculiarly susceptible to the charges of Jewish murders of Christian children and Jewish profanations of Hosts, and it was possible for their inventors to calculate their effect with accuracy. By order of the Archduke the sacristan’s wife and her two accomplices or instigators, Israel and his wife, were brought to Vienna, examined and induced to confess. The records of the case are silent as to the means em-

ployed to obtain the avowal of guilt; but one does not require to be informed of the procedure of mediæval Christendom in such trials.

Archduke Albert immediately issued his commands that in the early morning of the 23rd May, 1420 (10th Sivan), all the Jews in his realm should be thrown into prison, and this was promptly done. The moneyed Jews were at the same time stripped of their possessions, but the poor were forthwith banished the country. In the gaols wives were separated from their husbands, and children from their parents. When from helplessness they fell to hopelessness, Christian priests came to them with crosses in their hands and honeyed words on their lips to convert them. A few of the poorer-spirited saved their lives by accepting baptism. The more resolute slew themselves and their kinsfolk by opening their own veins with straps and cords, or whatever they found to hand for this purpose. The spirit of the survivors was broken by the length and cruelty of their imprisonment. Their children were finally taken from them and immured in cloisters. Still they remained firm, and on the 13th March, 1421 (9th Nisan), after nearly a year's confinement, they were committed to the flames. In Vienna alone more than a hundred perished in one field close by Eidelburg on the Danube. A further order was then issued by Archduke Albert, forbidding Jews to stay thenceforth in Austria.

The converts proved no gain to the Church. The majority seized the first opportunity of emigrating, in order to relapse into Judaism. They bent their steps to Bohemia, rendered tolerant by the Hussite schism, or northwards to Poland and southwards to Italy. How attached the Austrian Jews were to their religion is shown by the conduct of one clever youth. Having received baptism, he had become the favourite of Duke Frederick,

afterwards the German Emperor, but, although surrounded by every luxury, he became seized with remorse for his apostasy, and boldly expressed his desire to return to Judaism. Frederick exerted himself to dissuade his favourite from this idea. He begged, entreated, and even threatened him; he sent a priest to advise him; all, however, in vain. Finally the duke handed the "obstinate heretic and backslider" over to the ecclesiastical authorities, who condemned him to the stake. Unfettered and with a Hebrew song on his lips the Jewish youth mounted the scaffold.

In the meantime the devastating war broke out between the fierce Hussites and the not less barbarous Roman Catholics, the Czechs, and the Germans. A variety of nationalities participated in the sanguinary struggle as to the use of the cup by the laity in the sacrament of the Eucharist. The Emperor Sigismund, who found it impossible to subdue the insurrection with his own troops alone, summoned the Imperial army to his standard. Wild free-lances, men of Brabant and Holland were taken into his pay. From all quarters armed troops poured into the Bohemian valleys and against the capital, Prague, where the blind hero, Zisca, bade defiance to a world of foes. On the way the German Imperial army exhibited its courage by attacks on the defenceless Jews. "We are marching afar," exclaimed the mercenaries, "to avenge our insulted God, and shall those who slew him be spared?" Wherever they came across Jewish communities, on the Rhine, in Thuringia and Bavaria, they put them to the sword, or forced them to apostatise. The Crusaders threatened that on their return from victory over the Hussites they would wipe the Jewish people from the face of the earth. Jewish fathers of families, who remained true to their faith, gave orders in their homes that, at a certain signal, their children

should be killed so as to avoid falling into the hands of the bloodthirsty soldiery. Letters of lamentation over the threatened disaster, calling upon him to implore the intervention of heaven, were addressed from far and near to the illustrious Rabbi of Mayence, Jacob ben Moses Mölin Halevi (Maharil, born 1365, died 1427), the most pious Rabbi of his time. His arrangement of the synagogue ritual and melodies is used to this day in many of the German communities, and their colonies in Poland and Hungary. Jacob Mölin ordered that a general fast, accompanied by fervent prayer, should be observed, and his instructions were circulated from one community to another throughout the land. The German congregations forthwith assembled for solemn mourning and humiliation, and fasted during four days between New Year and Atonement (8th—11th September, 1421), and for three successive days after Tabernacles, the observance being as strict as on the most sacred fast days of the Jewish calendar. It was a time of feverish tension for the German Jews. In their despair they even prayed that victory might be vouchsafed to the Hussites, and it seemed as if their supplications were heard. For, shortly afterwards, the Imperial army and its mercenary allies, which had assembled near Saaz, were stricken with so much terror at the news of Zisca's approach, that they sought safety in a disorderly flight, disbanding in all directions, and hurrying home by different routes. Famished and footsore, a few of the very men who had vowed death and extirpation to the Jews, appeared at the doors of their houses, begging for bread, which was gladly given them. Privation had so reduced the fugitives that they could not have harmed a Jewish child.

The Dominican clergy, who were commissioned to preach against the Hussites, did not cease

to foster the Catholic hatred of the Jews. From their pulpits they thundered against heretics and Jews alike, cautioning the faithful against holding intercourse with them, and both consciously and unconsciously inciting to attacks on their persons and property. The Jews flew for help to the Pope, Martin V.—doubtless not with empty hands—and again obtained from him a very favourable Bull (23rd February, 1422), in which Christians were enjoined to remember that their religion had been inherited from Jews, and that the latter were necessary for the corroboration of Christian truth. The Pope forbade the monks from preaching against intercourse between Jews and Christians, and declared null and void the ban with which transgressors had been threatened. He recommended to the Catholics a friendly and benevolent attitude towards their Hebrew fellow-citizens, severely denounced violent attacks upon them, and confirmed all the valuable privileges which had from time to time been granted by the Papacy. This Bull was, however, as ineffectual as the protection which the Emperor Sigismund had so solemnly promised the Jews. A persecuting spirit continued to inspire the Christian Church. The monks did not cease to declaim against the “accursed” Jewish nation; the populace did not refrain from tormenting, injuring or murdering Jews; even succeeding Popes ignored the Bull, and restored the odious canonical restrictions in all their stringency. Turning a deaf ear to both Pope and Emperor, the citizens of Cologne expelled the Jewish community, perhaps the oldest in Germany, from their midst. The exiles took up their abode at Deutz (1426). In the South German towns, Ravensburg, Ueberlingen and Lindau, the Jews were burnt because of a lying Blood Accusation (1431).

The literary work of the German Jews at this

period was, as a consequence, poor and inconsiderable. Anxiety and persecution had deadened their intellect. Even in Talmudical study the German Rabbis hardly rose above mediocrity, and gave nothing of consequence to the world. A few Rabbis were installed by the reigning prince; at least the Emperor Sigismund commissioned one of his Jewish agents, Chayim of Landshut, "to appoint three Rabbis (Judenmeister) in Germany." Under such auspices the selections and appointments were necessarily determined less by merit than by money. For the maintenance of a College, in which students were prepared for the Rabbinate, a heavy tax had to be paid, notwithstanding that the instruction was given gratuitously. Besides Jacob Mölin, only one single name of importance emerges from the darkness of this period, Menachem of Merseburg, or, as he was generally called, Meil Zedek. He wrote a comprehensive work on the practice of the Talmudic Marriage and Civil Law, which the Saxon communities adopted for their authoritative guidance. He, at least, departed from the beaten track of his older contemporaries or teachers, Jacob Mölin and Isaac Tyřnau, who employed the fruitless and mind-warping practice of attaching value to every insignificant detail of the liturgy. Gradually Menachem of Merseburg became recognised as an authority, and an excellent regulation drawn up by him received in his time universal assent. Among the Jews at that period, as also in the princely families, marriages took place at a very early age; girls in their teens were hurried into matrimony. According to Talmudical law a girl, under age, who had been given in marriage by her mother or brothers and not by her father, was permitted, on attaining her majority, after her twelfth year, and even much later under some circumstances, to dissolve her union without further ceremony than a declaration of her intention to do so, or the contracting of

another marriage (Miun). Menachem of Merseburg felt the indecency of so sudden and often capricious a dissolution of marriage, and he consequently decided that in such cases formal bills of divorce should be required.

The achievements of the Spanish Jews during this period were not of a high character; they exhibited unmistakable signs of decay, notwithstanding that their situation had become more tolerable since the death of the bigoted and wanton Queen Regent, Catalina, and the fall of the Anti-Pope, Benedict XIII., and his Jewish accomplices. Don Juan II., or rather his favourite, Alvaro de Luna, to whom the management of the State was confided, stood too much in need of the assistance of Jewish financiers during the frequently recurring civil wars and insurrections to do anything to offend them. Hence, during his reign, restrictive laws against the Jews seem to have been enacted only to be broken. Jews were again admitted to public employment, regardless of the fact that such appointments had been sternly forbidden both by kings and popes. An influential Jew, Abraham Benveniste, surnamed Senior, distinguished for his intelligence and wealth, was invested with a high dignity at the court of Don Juan, and was thus in a position to frustrate threatened persecutions of his co-religionists. Also Joseph ben Shem-Tob Ibn Shem-Tob, a cultivated and fruitful writer, proficient in philosophic studies, was in the service of the State under Juan II. Although, on the one hand, the Cortes did not fail to remind the king that by his father's laws and Papal decrees the Jews were excluded from public offices, and, on the other hand, Pope Eugenius IV., successor to Martin V., strained every effort to humiliate the Jews and harden their lot, even forbidding Don Juan to befriend them, these representations were of no avail. To the Cortes of Burgos the king replied evasively

that he would cause an examination to be made of the laws promulgated in regard to the Jews by his father and of the Papal Bulls, and he would take care to observe everything calculated to promote the service of God and the welfare of the State. Against the Pope's interference with his crown-rights he entered a protest.

This king gave permission to the no less noble than wealthy Rabbi, Abraham Benveniste, to hold a meeting of delegates from various communities in the royal palace of Avila (1432). These delegates were to bring harmony into the state of moral and religious disorders which had been caused by the attacks of the masses in 1412-14. The smaller communities were without teachers, the large ones without Rabbis and preachers. Many of them had been reduced to poverty, and the richer members were unwilling to contribute to the support of religious institutions. Evil ways and denunciations by the unscrupulous had acquired the upper hand, because the representative men and few Rabbis did not venture to punish the evildoers. Abraham Benveniste, therefore, framed a statute (the law of Avila), which compelled people to establish schools and colleges, to introduce a certain order in the communities, and to punish miscreants. Juan II. confirmed this statute.

The literature of the Spanish Jews, however, was powerless to recover itself. In the midst of the dead calm it seemed to wither like autumn leaves. The decline was most marked in the department of Talmudic study. After the departure of Isaac ben Sheshet and the death of Chasdaï Crescas, no Spanish Rabbi exercised more than local authority or obtained a reputation of consequence. The only upholder of the traditions of the Rabbinate at this period was Isaac ben Jacob Campanton, who lived to be more than a hundred years old (born 1360, died at Peñafiel 1463); and he produced nothing

beyond a work (*Darke ha-Talmud*), which exhibited neither genius nor learning. Still Campanton passed in his day for the Gaon of Castile. The neo-Hebraic poetry, which had blossomed so fairly on Spanish soil, faded and drooped. Of those who cultivated it during this period only a few are remembered—Solomon Dafera, Don Vidal Benveniste, the leading speaker on the Jewish side at the Disputation of Tortosa, and Solomon Bonfed. The most gifted of these three was the latter. He was ambitious to emulate Ibn Gebirol; but he possessed little more than the sensitiveness and moroseness of his great exemplar, like him, imagining himself to be the sport of fortune, with a prescriptive right to lamentation.

Jewish poetry was scarcely more flourishing in Italy during the Medici period, in spite of a high culture which, with the Hussite movement, was eating away the foundations of mediæval catholicism. Since Immanuel Romi the Jews of Italy had produced but one poet: even he was not, strictly speaking, a poet in the noblest sense of the word. Moses ben Isaac (Gajo) da Rieti of Perugia (born 1388, died after 1451), a physician by profession, a dabbler in philosophy, and a graceful writer in both Hebrew and Italian, might also have passed for an artist if poetry were only a thing of metre and rhyme, for in his marvellously elaborate verses both were faultless. His desire was to glorify in poetry, not only Judaism and Jewish antiquity, but also the sciences and the illustrious men of all previous ages, and for this purpose he employed an ingenious form of verse in which the stanzas were connected in threes by means of cross-rhymes. But da Rieti's language is often rough, many of his allusions show a want of taste, and where he should rise to lofty thought he sinks into puerilities. Only in one respect does his style mark an advance in neo-Hebrew poetry. He

breaks entirely with the traditional Judæo-Arabic method of a single rhyme. There is variety in his versification; the ear is not wearied by a monotonous repetition of the same or similar sounds, and the lines fall naturally into stanzas. He also avoids the ugly trick of playing on Biblical verses, then so much in vogue with the Judæo-Spanish poets. In a word, da Rieti supplied the correct external form for neo-Hebrew poetry, but he was unable to vivify it with an attractive spirit. Yet the Italian Jews adopted some of his poems in their liturgy, and at one time recited extracts from them daily.

From the Apennine Peninsula let us turn back to the Pyrenean, where the pulsation of historic life among the Jews, though gradually becoming weaker, was still stronger than in the other countries in which they were dispersed. The two branches of intellectual activity which formerly, in their palmy days, exercised every mind—the severe study of the Talmud and the airy pursuit of the poetic muse—had lost their predominance in the Spanish Jewries. The systematic study of the Scriptures was also no longer properly cultivated. The literary activity of this period was almost exclusively directed towards combating the intrusiveness of the Church, in repelling its attacks on Judaism, and withstanding its proselytising zeal. Faithful and strong-minded Jewish thinkers held it a duty to proclaim their convictions aloud, and to admonish waverers, and strengthen them against falling away. The more the preaching monks, and especially apostates of the stamp of Paul de Santa Maria, Geronimo de Santa Fé, and Pedro de la Caballeria exerted themselves to prove that the Christian Trinity was the true God of Israel, taught and typified in Bible and Talmud, and the more the Church stretched forth its hungry tentacles towards the Jews, straining every nerve to fold them in its fatal

embrace, the more necessary was it for the Synagogue to watch over its sacred trust, and guard its holy of holies from idolatrous desecration. It was especially necessary that the weaker-minded should not be allowed to puzzle themselves over the complication of religious conceptions and doctrines presented by the controversy. Hence Jewish preachers devoted themselves more than ever to expounding the doctrine of the Unity of God in their pulpits. They did not hesitate to point out the essential and irreconcilable difference between the Jewish and Christian conceptions of the Deity, and characterised attempted identification of them as false and impious. The time resembled that other epoch in Jewish history when a Hellenised Jewish faction tried to induce their brethren to deny God, and were supported in their efforts by the secular arm. Some preachers, in their zeal, were carried to extremes. Instead of relying exclusively on the convincing demonstrations in the Bible text or on the fanciful and attractive illustrations of the Agada they resorted to the armoury of scholasticism, employing the arts of philosophy and, in presence of the Torah quoted side by side, Plato, Aristotle, and Averroes, the Hebrew prophets, and the Talmudical sages.

The controversial literature of this period, cultivated on a large scale, was designed more to defend Judaism against calumny and abuse than to convert a single Christian soul. Its aim was to open the eyes of Jews, so that they should not fall into the snares prepared for them through their own ignorance or credulity. It doubtless also desired to exercise an awakening influence on the new-Christians, and to reanimate their Jewish spirit beneath the disguise they had assumed in order to save their lives. Hence the majority of the polemical writings of the day were merely vindications of Judaism in face of revivals of the

charges fulminated by Nicholas de Lyra a century before, or replies to the more recent indictments drawn up by Geronimo de Santa Fé and others, and widely circulated by the Christian clergy under the title of "Searching the Scriptures" (*Scrutinium Scripturarum*). The now aged Solomon Paul of Burgos, who had been appointed bishop of his native town, wrote, in his eighty-second year (1434, a year before his death), a venomous tract against Judaism, in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and his pupil, the unbelieving Saul and the converted Paul. Solomon Paul does not seem to have retained in his old age much of the wit which, according to Jewish and Christian panegyrists, at one time distinguished him—it had probably become blunted amid the luxurious ease of the episcopal palace—for his tract, although devoutly Christian and Catholic in tone, is in other respects pointless and dull. Another ex-Rabbi who devoted himself to attacking Judaism was Juan de España, also called Juan "the Old" (at Toledo), a convert who had embraced Christianity in old age under the influence of Vincent Ferrer's proselytising efforts. He wrote a treatise on his own conversion and a Christian commentary on the seventy-second Psalm, in both of which he asserted the genuineness of his change of creed, and urged the Jews to abjure their errors. How many weak-minded Jews must have been imposed upon by the zeal, earnest or hypocritical, of such men as these, belonging to their own race, and learned in their literature!

It is impossible to exaggerate the services of the men who, deeply impressed with the gravity of the crisis in Judaism, threw themselves into the breach at this juncture, with exhortations to their co-religionists to remain faithful to their creed. In defiance of the dangers which menaced them, they scattered their inspiring discourses far and wide. Foremost among them were the men

who most prominently distinguished themselves at the Tortosa disputation by their unyielding attitude and their courage in withstanding the unjustifiable attacks upon the Talmud—Don Vidal (Ferrer) Ibn Labi, and Joseph Albo. The former drew up a refutation in Hebrew of Geronimo's impeachment of the Talmud (*Kodesh ha-Kodashim*), and the latter circulated, in Spanish, an account of a religious controversy he had sustained with an eminent Church dignitary. A Provençal Jew, who associated a great deal with learned Christians, and had frequently to defend his religious standpoint, Isaac ben Kalonymos, of a learned Provençal family named Nathan, wrote two polemical works, one entitled "Correction of the False Teacher," directed against Geronimo's libellous essay, and the other, called "The Fortress," of unknown tendency. He also compiled a laborious work of reference intended to assist others in defending Judaism from attack. Isaac Nathan, in his intercourse with Christians, had often to listen to criticisms of Judaism, or evidences drawn from the Hebrew Bible, in favour of Christian dogmas, which he always found were based on false renderings of Hebrew words. To put an end to these illusory outgrowths of the prevailing ignorance of the original text of the Scriptures, or, at least, to lighten the labours of his brethren in refuting them, he resolved to compile a comprehensive digest of the linguistic materials of the Bible, by which the actual meaning of each word should be made clear. According to the plan he adopted any one might ascertain, at a glance, both how often a certain word occurred in the Bible, and its varying meanings according to the contexts. The work thus undertaken by Isaac Nathan was of colossal scope, and occupied a long series of years (Sept. 1437—1445). It was a Bible Concordance in which the verses were grouped

alphabetically under the reference words according to roots and derivations. The existing Latin concordances served in a measure as models, although their purpose was the less ambitious one of assisting preachers to find texts. Isaac Nathan, who also produced various other works, rendered inestimable and lasting services to the study of the Bible by this Concordance, although the labour involved was of a purely mechanical kind. Proceeding from the permanent necessities of the polemical situation, it has also been, and will ever remain, a powerful weapon for ensuring the triumph of Judaism in its struggles with other religious systems.

The philosopher, Joseph Ibn Shem-Tob (born 1400, died a martyr 1460), who was a voluminous writer, a popular preacher, and a frequenter of the Castilian court, also entered the lists against Christianity to expose the fallacy and unreasonableness of its dogmas. In his frequent intercourse with Christians of distinction, both clerical and lay, he found it necessary to make himself thoroughly acquainted with Christian theology. He was thus enabled to adduce cogent arguments in reply to those who wished to convert him, or who repeated in his presence the oft-reiterated statement of the falsity of Judaism. Occasionally a regular controversy in defence of his creed was forced upon him. The fruits of his studies and thought he committed to writing in the shape of a small treatise, entitled "Doubts of the Religion of Jesus," in which he criticised with unsparing logic the dogmas of Original Sin, Salvation, and Incarnation. Besides this he wrote, for the instruction of his brethren, a detailed commentary on Profiat Duran's Satires on Christianity, and made available for them, by means of a Hebrew translation, Chasdaï Crescas' polemical work against the Christian religion which had been originally written in Spanish. Strange to say, the Spanish Jews preferred, as a

rule, reading Hebrew books to those written in the language of their adopted country.

Among the authors of polemical works against Christianity a contemporary of Joseph Ibn Shem-Tob deserves special mention, although his name has hitherto been forgotten. Chayim Ibn Musa, from Bejar, in the neighbourhood of Salamanca (born about 1390, died about 1460), a clever physician, versifier and writer, had access to the Spanish court and grandes in consequence of his medical skill. To him also frequent opportunities occurred of discussing questions of doctrine with ecclesiastics and learned laymen. A colloquy preserved by Chayim Ibn Musa illustrates the spirit which prevailed in Spain at this period before the hateful Inquisition had silenced all freedom of speech. A learned ecclesiastic once asked Ibn Musa if Judaism, as he maintained, was the true faith, why could not the Jews possess themselves of the Holy Land and Jerusalem? Ibn Musa replied that they had lost their country through the sins of their fathers, and they could only regain it by perfect atonement and purgation. He then, on his part, propounded a question: Why, he asked, are the Christians no longer in possession of the Holy Sepulchre? and why does it, together with all the sites associated with the Passion, continue in the hands of Mahometan infidels, notwithstanding that Christians can, by means of Confession and Absolution, and, through the medium of the nearest available priest, free themselves at any moment from sin? Before the ecclesiastic could bethink himself of a suitable reply, a knight, who was present, and who had formerly been in Palestine, interposed. The Mahometans, he remarked, were the only people who deserved to possess the site of the Temple and the Holy Land, for neither Christians nor Jews held houses of prayer in so much honour as they. The Christians, during the night before Easter (Vigils), perpetrated shame-

ful abominations in the churches at Jerusalem, abandoned themselves to debauchery, harboured thieves and murderers, and carried on bloody feuds within their precincts. They dishonoured their character in the same way as the Jews formerly profaned their Temple. Therefore God, in His wisdom, had deprived the Jews and Christians of the Holy City, and had entrusted it to the Mahometans, because, in their hands, it was safe from desecration. To this observation the Christian priest and Jewish physician could only submit in abashed silence.

Chayim Ibn Musa devoted himself to the task of finally discrediting the chief sources of the materials of Christian attacks on Judaism, the writings of the Franciscan Nicholas de Lyra. He aimed not merely at refuting the assertions put forward in those works, but at sterilising the very grounds on which they fed. The ever-recurring controversies between Jews and Christians led to no conclusion, and left both parties in the belief that a victory had been gained, because they generally turned on secondary questions, and especially because the disputants never started on fundamental grounds, but contented themselves with wrangling over undemonstrated postulates. Chayim Ibn Musa was resolved to introduce some method into these controversies, and to lay down clearly the principles on which the defence of Judaism should be conducted. Accordingly, he drew up certain rules, which, if strictly observed, were bound to lead to a definite result. In the first place, he advised Jews who might be challenged to a disputation invariably to hold fast to the simple meaning of the Scriptures, always taking the context into account, and especially to avoid meddling with allegorical or symbolical methods of interpretation, which afforded the Christian polemics just the opportunities they required for their arbi-

trary theories. Further, the Jewish disputants were to announce from the outset that they ascribed no authority in matters of belief either to the Chaldaic translation of the Bible (Targum) or to the Greek (Septuagint), these being the sources of the pretended proofs adduced by Christians. He even counselled them to abandon the Agadic exegesis, urging that they should not hesitate to declare that it had no weight in determining the doctrines of Judaism. With these and similar rules Chayim Ibn Musa systematically undermined the writings of Nicholas de Lyra from beginning to end, successfully carrying out his scheme in a comprehensive work, which he justly entitled "Sword and Shield."

The anti-Christian polemical literature of this period was further enriched by two writers, father and son, who, although living in Algiers, and far removed from the scenes of the Christian propaganda, were Spaniards by birth and education, Simon ben Zemach Duran, and his son Solomon Duran. In his philosophic exposition of Judaism the former devoted a chapter to Christianity, maintaining, in answer to Christian and Mahometan objections, the inviolability of the Torah. This chapter, entitled "Bow and Buckler," and described as "for defence and attack," reiterates the contention of older writers, and more recently of Profiat Duran, that Jesus' intention was not to abolish Judaism. The Rabbi of Algiers exhibits an extraordinarily wide acquaintance with the literature of the New Testament and a thorough familiarity with Church doctrine, each of which he combats with its own weapons and criticises unsparingly.

Solomon Duran I. (born about 1400, died 1467), who succeeded his father in the Algerian Rabbinate, combined with profound Talmudic knowledge a decided tendency to a rationalistic apprehension of Judaism. Unlike his father and his ancestor, Nachmani, he was a sworn enemy of the

Kabbala. During his father's lifetime, and at his request he wrote a refutation of the shameless and lying accusations brought against the Talmud by Geronimo de Santa Fé. In an exhaustive treatise ("Letters on the War Imposed by Duty") he deals sharply with Geronimo's coarser charges. He repels the accusation that the Talmud teaches lewdness, and proves that it really inculcates continence with extreme severity. Jews who regulate their lives according to Talmudical prescriptions scrupulously abstain from carnal sins, holding them in great abhorrence, and pointing with scorn to persons who are guilty of them. How, asks Solomon Duran, can Christians reproach Jews with unchastity—they, whose holiest men daily commit sins which dare not be mentioned to modest ears, and which have become proverbial as "Monkish vices" (*peccato dei frati*).

Religious philosophy, which by the Judæo-Spanish thinkers alone had been raised to the perfection of a science, had its last cultivators in Spain during this period. The same men who protected Judaism against the onslaughts of Christianity defended it also against the benighted Jews who wished to banish from it all light, and, like the Dominicans, desired to establish blind faith in the place of reasoning judgment. Zealots like Shem-Tob Ibn Shem-Tob and others, biased by the narrowness of their Talmudical education, and misled by the Kabbala, saw in scientific inquiry a bye-road to heresy. Perceiving that for the most part cultivated Jews succumbed to the proselytising efforts of Vincent Ferrer and Pope Benedict, men of the stamp of Shem-Tob became firmly convinced that philosophic culture, nay, each inquiring thought on a religious topic, led irretrievably to apostasy. The logical result of this religious impeachment of science was the condemnation of Maimuni and all the Jewish thinkers who had allowed reason

to have weight in religious questions. Against this form of bigotry Joseph Albo entered the lists with a complete religio-philosophical work (*Ikkarim*, "fundamental teachings"), in which he attempted to separate the essential doctrines of Judaism from the non-essential, and to fix the boundary line of belief and heresy.

Joseph Albo (born about 1380, died about 1444) of Monreal, one of the principal representatives of Judaism at the Tortosa Disputation, and who—perhaps through the intolerance of Pope Benedict—had emigrated to Soria, was a physician and a pupil of Chasdaï Crescas, and hence well acquainted with the physical sciences and philosophic thought of his time. Although a strict adherent of Talmudical Judaism, he was, like his teacher, not averse to philosophic ideas. Indeed, he tried to reconcile them, without, of course, making Judaism yield a jot to philosophy. Albo had not, however, the profundity of his teacher; as a thinker he was superficial and commonplace, and was incapable of a severe arrangement of ideas. On the advice of his friends he undertook to investigate in how far freedom of inquiry in religious matters was possible within the limits of Judaism. At the same time he wished to fix the number of articles of faith and to bring to an end the question whether the number thirteen adopted by Maimuni was correct, and whether it could be increased or lessened without incurring a charge of heresy. Thus originated his religio-philosophical system, the last put forward on Spanish soil. Albo's style differs widely from that of his predecessors. He was a preacher—one of the cleverest and most graceful—and this circumstance exercised a marked influence on his method of exposition. It is easy, comprehensible, popular, and captivating. Albo has the knack of explaining every philosophic idea by a striking illustration, and of developing it by a skilful employ-

ment of Bible verses and Agadic aphorisms. What, however, his style thus gained on the one hand in intelligibility and popularity, it loses on the other through a certain redundancy and shallowness.

It is a remarkable fact that Albo, who professed to develop his religio-philosophical system exclusively from the native spirit of Judaism, yet placed at its head a principle of indubitably Christian origin; so powerfully do surroundings affect even those who exert themselves to throw off such influence. First and foremost, the religious philosopher of Soria propounded the idea that salvation was the whole aim of man, which aim was to be accomplished in this life, and that Judaism strongly emphasized this aspect of religion. His teacher, Chasdaï Crescas, and others, had identified man's aim with the bliss of an after-life, which they thought was to be found in proximity to the Deity and in the union of the soul with the all-pervading spirit of God. According to Albo the highest happiness does not consist so much in the exaltation of the soul as in its deliverance from evil. The whole aim and outcome of Albo's religio-philosophical system may be thus described: Man attains only after death the perfection for which he is destined by God; for this higher life his mundane existence is but a preparation. How can he best utilise his term of preparation? Three kinds of institutions exist, having for their object the reclamation of man from barbarism and his advancement to civilisation. The first is Natural Law, a sort of social compact to abstain from theft, rapine and homicide; the second is State Legislation, which cares for order and morals; and the third is Philosophical Law, which aims at promoting directly the enduring happiness of man, or, at least, at removing obstacles in the way of its realisation. All these institutions, even when highly developed, are powerless to assist the real welfare of man, in the redemption of

his soul, his beatitude; for they concern themselves only with actions, with the formation of an external civilisation, and they do nothing to cultivate ideas or to shape the disposition which would be the main spring of action. If the highest aim of man be eternal life or beatitude after death, then there must be a Divine Legislation guiding to it, and without it man in this world must always be groping in darkness and missing his highest destiny. This Divine Legislation must supply all the perfections lacking in its mundane counterpart. It must have for its postulate a perfect God who both wishes and is able to assist the redemption of man; it must further bear witness to the certainty that this God has revealed an unalterable Law calculated to secure the happiness of man; and finally it must appoint a suitable requital for actions and intentions. Hence this Divine Legislation can have but three fundamental principles: the Existence of God, the Revelation of His Will, and a just Retribution after Death. These are the three pillars on which it rests, and it requires none other.

Judaism is then, according to Albo, a preparatory discipline for eternal salvation. It is "the Divine Legislation" (*Dat Elohit*), and, as such, comprises so many religious laws—613 according to the customary calculation—in order to enable each individual to promote his own salvation. For even one single religious precept fulfilled with intelligence and devotion, and without mental reservation or hidden motive may entitle man to salvation. Consequently the Torah, with its multiplied prescriptions, is not intended as a burden for its disciples, nor are the Jews threatened, as Christian teachers pretend, with a curse in the event of their not observing the entire number of the Commandments. On the contrary, the whole object is to render easy the path to a higher perfection. Therefore, it is stated in the *Agada* that every Israelite

has a share in Eternal Life (Olam ha-ba), for each one can obtain this end by the fulfilment of a single religious duty.

Arrived at this point, the religious philosopher of Soria propounds the question whether Judaism can ever be so altered as were previous Dispensations by the Sinaitic Revelation? This question required specially careful consideration, inasmuch as Christians always maintained that Christianity was a new Revelation, precisely in the same way as Judaism had been in its time; that the "New Covenant" took the place of the "Old," and that by the Gospel the Torah had been fulfilled, *i.e.*, abrogated. Albo had already acknowledged the existence of rudimentary revelations previous to that of Sinai, and to avoid being entrapped by the consequences of his own system he put forward a peculiar distinction. That which God had once revealed by His own mouth direct to man was, by virtue of that fact, unalterable and binding for all time; but that which had been communicated only by a prophetic intermediary might well suffer change or even annulment. The Ten Commandments which the Israelite people had received direct from God, amid the flames of Sinai, were unalterable; in them the three cardinal principles of a divine legislation were laid down. On the other hand, the remaining prescriptions of Judaism, which had been imposed on the people solely through the mediation of Moses, were open to change or even revocation. Nevertheless, this instability of a portion, and perhaps of a large portion, of the Jewish religious law, was only a theory, and propounded simply as a possibility. In practice the obligations of the Torah were to be regarded as binding and unalterable until it should please God to reveal other laws through the medium of a prophet as great as Moses, and in as open and convincing a manner as on Sinai.

Hitherto no prophet had so far made good his claim as to render necessary the rescinding of any portion of Judaism.

Albo's religious system is far from satisfactory. Based upon the Christian doctrine of salvation, it was compelled to regard faith, in a Christian sense, as the chief condition of the soul's redemption, and the ordinances of Judaism as sacraments, similar to baptism or communion, upon which salvation was dependent. Nor is the development of his theory strictly logical. Too often the arts of the preacher take the place of severe reasoning, and for the illustration of his ideas he indulges in prolix sermons in exposition of Biblical and Agadic texts.

A bolder thinker than Albo, though also a preacher, was his junior contemporary, Joseph Ibn Shem-Tob. At one time, when in disgrace with the king of Castile, and leading a wandering life, he held forth every Sabbath to large audiences. He had been well schooled in philosophy. His Kabbalistical, gloomy and fanatical father, who denounced philosophy as a primary source of evil, damned Aristotle to hell, and even accused Maimuni of heterodoxy, must have been scandalised when his son Joseph plunged deeply, and with all his heart, into the study of Aristotle and Maimuni. But Joseph did not hesitate to stigmatise the error of his father and of those who thought with him when they averred that the employment of philosophic methods was opposed to the interests of religion. On the contrary, he held that they were essential for the proper apprehension of the higher destiny to which all men, and especially the Israelites, are called. The cultured and philosophical Jew who intelligently discharged all the religious duties of Judaism would obviously realise his highest aim much sooner than the Israelite who practised his ceremonial blindly, and without

wisdom or understanding. Science was also of great value in enabling the human intelligence to discriminate error. It was in the nature of an imperfect intellect to foster truth and error side by side; only educated perceptions possessed the clue to the dividing line between the true and the false. On the other hand, gaps in philosophical teaching were bridged over by the Sinaitic Law. In so far as the latter conceived the happiness of man in the survival of the spirit after the destruction of the body, it was immeasurably the superior of philosophy. Judaism also prescribed the means of attaining eternal happiness in the shape of the conscientious fulfilment of religious obligations. On this point Joseph Shem-Tob's view approximates to that of Joseph Albo. In his eyes also the commandments of Judaism have a sacramental character, but he does not emphasise salvation so much as Albo. Joseph Ibn Shem-Tob went so far, however, as to deny that the objects of the religious laws were knowable, and, to a certain extent, ascribed to them a mystical influence.

None of these writings of the first half of the fifteenth century, whether philosophical or polemical, was the fruit of leisure or of an unfettered spirit. All were stimulated into existence by the urgent necessities of the times, and were put forth to protect the religious and moral treasure-house from pressing danger. In order not to succumb, Judaism was forced simultaneously to strengthen itself from within, and to ward off attacks of exceeding cowardliness from without.

It was, indeed, more than ever necessary that Judaism should arm itself, doubly and trebly, for its darkest days were approaching. Again the grim church fiend arose, and the gruesome shadow of its extended wings swept anxiously across Europe. As in the time of Innocent III., so again at this period the Church decreed the degradation

and proscription of the Jews. The old enactments were solemnly renewed by the appointed representatives of Christendom, assembled in Œcumenical Council at Basle, where they had already declared their infallibility, and had even sat in judgment on the Papacy. Wonderful, indeed! The Council could not arrange its own domestic concerns, was powerless to bring the mocking Hussites back to the bosom of the Mother Church, despaired of being able to put an end to the dissoluteness and vice of the clergy and monks, but yet gave its attention to the Jews in order to lead them to salvation. Leprous sheep themselves, they yet sought to save unblemished lambs! The Basle Church Council which sat for thirteen years (June, 1431—Mây, 1443), judicially examining all the great European questions, gave no small share of its attention to the Jews. Their humiliation was necessary for the strengthening of Christian faith—such was the ground on which the Council proceeded at its nineteenth sitting (7th Sept., 1434), when it resolved to revise the old restrictions and devise new ones. The canonical decrees prohibiting Christians from holding intercourse with Jews, from rendering them services, from employing them as physicians, excluding them from offices and dignities, imposing on them a distinctive garb, and ordering them to live in special Jew-quarters, were renewed. A few fresh measures were adopted, new in so far as they had not previously been put forward by the highest ecclesiastical authorities. These provided that Jews should not be admitted to University degrees, that they should be required, if necessary by force, to attend the delivery of conversionist sermons, and that at the Colleges the means should be provided for combating Jewish heresy by instruction in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic. Thus the Œcumenical Council, which gave itself out as inspired by the Holy Ghost, designed

the collective conversion of the Jews. It adopted the programme of Peñaforte, Pablo Christian, and Vincent Ferrer, who had counselled a systematic application of pressure on the Jews to induce them to abandon "their infidelity." Also on the already baptised Jews the Basle Church Council bestowed special attention. They had to be favoured, but also carefully watched, lest they should intermarry and keep the Sabbath and Jewish feasts, and bury their dead according to Jewish rites, or, in fact, follow any Jewish observances.

A fanatical paroxysm broke out afresh in various towns of Europe, commencing in the Island of Majorca. The remnant of the congregation of Palma was hated alike by the priests and the mob, and both gave a willing ear to the rumour that the Jews, during the week of Lent, had crucified the Moorish servant of a Jew and had put him to the torture. The reputed martyr was still living, but, nevertheless, Bishop Gil-Nunjoz caused two Jews to be imprisoned as the ringleaders. Thereupon arose a contest between the bishop and the governor, Juan Desfar, the latter maintaining that as the Jews were the property of the king, he alone could condemn them. The bishop was obliged to hand over the Jews, who were locked up in the town jail. The priests however incited the mob against the governor and the Jews, and when Juan Desfar claimed a hearing, the people were already prepossessed against him. A court composed chiefly of Dominicans and Franciscans was called together, and employed the rack as the most effectual means of obtaining the truth from the witnesses. One of the accused having been put to the torture acknowledged all that was desired, and pointed out the Jews who were accused as his accomplices. An unprincipled Jew named Astruc Sibili, who lived in strife with many members of the community, and feared to be involved in the blood accusation,

came forward as the denouncer of his co-religionists. Apparently of his own accord Astruc Sibili acknowledged that the servant had been crucified, and pointed out several Jews as the murderers. Although he kept himself clear from all complicity in the matter, Astruc Sibili was soon punished for his denunciations—he was thrown into prison as an accomplice. The result of his story was the flight of several Jewish families from Palma to a mountain in the vicinity, as they justly feared a repetition of massacres, and this excited the Christian inhabitants yet more. The fugitives were pursued, placed in fetters, and brought back to the city, their flight being considered a proof of their guilt, and of that of the entire community. Astruc Sibili and three others were condemned to be burnt at the stake, but their punishment was commuted to death by hanging, on condition that they were baptised. To this they agreed, considering baptism as the last straw by which their lives might be spared. The whole community of men, women and children, two hundred in all, went over to Christianity to escape a horrible death. The priests had ample employment in baptising the converts. How little they believed in the imputed crime of the condemned was shown when the gallows was reached, and when the priests, together with the mob, demanded the pardon of the condemned. The governor yielded to the voice of the people, and with a procession and singing they were escorted to the church, where a *Te Deum* was chanted. Thus ended the community of Majorca, which had lasted over a thousand years, and had so greatly contributed to the well-being of the island. With it disappeared also the prosperity of this fruitful and favoured island. Simon Duran, deeply grieved at the secession of the community of Palma, which he had lovingly cherished, comforted himself with the thought that he had not failed in his exhortations to them.

CHAPTER VIII.

CAPISTRANO AND HIS PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS.

Pope Eugenius IV. changes his attitude towards the Jews under the influence of Alfonso de Cartagena—His Bull against the Spanish and Italian Jews in 1442—Don Juan II. defends the Jews—Pope Nicholas V.'s Hostility towards them—Louis of Bavaria—The Philosopher Nicholas of Cusa and his Relation to Judaism—John of Capistrano—His Influence with the people is turned against the Jews—Capistrano in Bavaria and Wurzburg—Expulsion of the Breslau Community—Expulsion of the Jews from Brünn and Olmütz—The Jews of Poland under Casimir IV.—Capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II.—The Jews find an Asylum in Turkey—The Karaites—Moses Kapsali—The German School of Rabbis—Synods—Decadence of the Jews of Spain—Proscription of Science—Isaac Arama, Abraham Bibago—The Kabbala in the Service of Christianity—Persecutions directed by Alfonso de Spina—The Condition of the Marranos.

1442—1474 C.E.

ABOUT the middle of the fifteenth century the venomous hatred of the Jews, native to Spain and Germany, began to increase wherever it found an outlet, and towards the end of that period it reached its highest development. In Spain it was stimulated principally by envy of the influential positions still enjoyed by Jews in spite of misfortune and humiliation; in Germany, on the contrary, where the Jews moved like shadows, it arose from a sinister race-antipathy, of which religious differences formed only one aspect. An unfortunate event for the German communities was the death of the Emperor Sigismund (towards the end of 1437), just at the moment when the Council of Basle was casting a threatening glance in their direction. This prince was not actually a protector of the Jews. Often enough he bled them to relieve his ever-recurring pecuniary

embarrassments, and he even charged them with the expenses of the Council of Constance. But so far as lay in his power he set his face against the bloody persecuting movement of which his Hebrew subjects were the objects. He was succeeded as German King and Emperor by the Austrian Archduke Albert, who had already distinguished himself by his inhumanity towards the Jews. Albert II. was a deadly enemy of Jews and heretics. It is true, he could not exterminate either, for the Hussites had courage and arms, and the Jews possessed an equally needful supply of money; but on every occasion that it was sought to injure them he gladly assisted. When the Council of Augsburg decided to expel the local Jewish community (1439) the emperor joyfully gave his consent. Two years were granted them by the Council wherein to dispose of their houses and immovables; but at the end of that time they were one and all exiled, and the grave-stones in the Jewish cemetery were used to repair the city walls. To the good fortune of the Jews, Albert reigned only two years, and the rule of the German-Roman Empire, or rather the superintendence of the anarchy by which it was convulsed, devolved on the good-natured, weak, indolent, and tractable Frederick III. As a set off, two fanatical Jew-haters now arose—the Pope Eugenius IV. and the Franciscan monk, John of Capistrano, the latter a cut-throat in the guise of a lowly servant of God.

Eugenius, whom the Council of Basle had degraded step by step, depriving him of his dignities and electing another Pope in his place, ultimately triumphed through the treachery of one of the principal members of the Council and the helplessness of the German princes, and was again enabled to befool the Christian nations. Eugenius was at first not unfavourably disposed towards the Jews, although a man of narrow monkish views. At the beginning of his Pontificate he confirmed

the privileges granted to the Jews by his predecessor, Martin V., promised them his protection, and forbade their forcible baptism. But he was soon influenced in an opposite direction, and developed an extraordinary zeal in the work of degrading the Jews, and withdrawing all protection from them. The prime mover in this conversion seems to have been Alonso de Cartagena, the son of the Apostate Paul de Santa Maria. Appointed Bishop of Burgos on the death of his father, Alonso warmly espoused the cause of the Pope Eugenius at the Council of Basle, and hence rose high in the favour of the Pontiff. He alone could have been the author of the complaints against the pride and arrogance of the Castilian Jews, which induced the Pope to issue the Bull of 1442. This document was addressed to the Bishops of Castile and Leon (10th August, 1442), and was to the following effect: It had come to the knowledge of his Holiness that the Jews abused the privileges granted them by former Popes, blaspheming and transgressing to the vexation of the faithful and the dishonour of the true faith. He felt himself consequently compelled to withdraw the indulgences granted by his predecessors—Martin and other Popes—and to declare them null and void. At the same time Eugenius abolished the canonical restrictions, but only to promulgate them anew in a severer form. Thus he decreed that Christians should not eat, drink, bathe or live with Jews (or Mahometans), nor use medicines of any kind purveyed by them. Jews (and Mahometans) should not be eligible for any office or dignity, and should be incompetent to inherit property from Christians. They were to build no more synagogues, and, in repairing the old, were to avoid all ornamentation. They were to seclude themselves from the public eye during Passion Week, to the extent even of keeping their doors and windows closed. The testimony of Jews (and Mahometans) against Chris-

tians was declared invalid. Eugenius' Bull emphatically enjoined that no Christian should stand in any relations of servitude whatever to a Jew, and should not even kindle fire for him on the Sabbath; that Jews should be distinguished from Christians by a peculiar costume, and that they should reside in special quarters. Furthermore, every utterance of a Jew which might appear blasphemous of Jesus, of the "Mother of God," or of the saints, was to be severely punished by the civil tribunals. This Bull was ordered to be made known throughout the land, and to be put in force thirty days later. Heavy penalties were to be exacted for offences under it. In the event of the culprit being a Christian he was to be placed under the ban of the Church, and neither king nor queen was to be exempt. Should he be a Jew, then the whole of his fortune, personal and real, was to be confiscated by the bishop of the diocese, and applied to the purposes of the Church. By means of autograph circulars, Eugenius exhorted the Castilian ecclesiastics to enforce the restrictions without mercy. He dared not be outdone in Jew-hatred by the Council of Basle. About the same time, or perhaps earlier, Eugenius issued a Bull of forty-two articles against the Italian Jewish communities, in which, among other things, he ordered that, together with confiscation of property, Jews so punished should be forbidden to read Talmudic literature.

The Papal Bull for Castile was proclaimed in many of the towns, as it would appear, without the consent of the king, Juan II. In this circumstance the fanatics perceived the fulfilment of their wishes—they were winning the game. The misguided people at once assumed that all Jews and Mahometans were outlawed, and proceeded to make violent attacks on their persons and property. Pious Christians interpreted the Papal ordinances to mean that they were not to continue commercial relations of

any kind with the Jews. Christian shepherds forthwith abandoned the flocks and herds committed to their charge by Jews and Mahometans, and ploughmen turned their backs upon the fields. The union of towns (Hermandad) framed new statutes for the more complete oppression of the proscribed of the Church. In consternation the Jews appealed to the King of Castile. Their complaints had all the more effect upon him, as damage to them meant damage to the royal exchequer. Accordingly, Juan II., or rather his favourite, Alvarode Luna, issued a counteracting decree (6th April, 1443). He expressed his indignation at the shamelessness which made the Papal Bull an excuse for assaults on Jews and Mahometans. Canonical, royal and imperial law agreed in permitting these communities to live undisturbed and unmolested among Christians. True, the Bull of Pope Eugenius placed Jews and Mahometans under certain specific restrictions; but it did not follow that they should be robbed, damaged or maltreated, that they should not engage in trade or industry, that they should not act as weavers, goldsmiths, carpenters, barbers, shoemakers, tailors, millers, coppersmiths, saddlers, rope-makers, potters, cartwrights or basket makers, or that Christians should not serve them in these pursuits. Such service involved neither relaxation of Christian authority nor dangerous intimacy with Jews. It also did not appear that the avocations mentioned conferred any of that prestige which the Bull was solely designed to deny to Jews.

Christians should certainly abstain from the medicines of Jewish or Moorish physicians, even though they could be prepared for use by Christian hands; but this did not mean that skilful doctors of the Jewish or Mahometan faiths should not be consulted or their medicines used when no Christian physician was available. Juan II. consequently

imposed upon the magistracy the duty of safeguarding the Jews and Mahometans, as objects of his special protection, and instructed them to punish Christian offenders with imprisonment and confiscation of goods. He furthermore ordered that his pleasure should be made known throughout the land by the public criers, in the presence of a notary.

Whether this sophistical decree was of any real use to the Jews is doubtful. For Don Juan II. had not much authority in his kingdom, and he was obliged to make frequent concessions to hostile parties, with whom his own son occasionally made common cause. The Castilian Jews were consequently abandoned to the arbitrary authority of the local magistrates during the remainder of the reign of this well-meaning but weak monarch, and were obliged to come to terms with them each time that protection was required against violence or false accusations. Did any misfortune threaten a Jew, then the tailor would fly to his princely patron, or the goldsmith to a high-placed grandee, and seek to avert it by supplications or gold. It was truly no enviable situation in which the Jews found themselves at this period.

Eugenius' successor, Pope Nicholas V. (March, 1447—March, 1455) carried the system of degrading and oppressing the Jews yet further. As soon as he ascended the throne of St. Peter he began to devote himself to the task, by abolishing the privileges of the Italian Jews, which Martin V. had confirmed and Eugenius had not formally revoked, and by submitting them to exceptional laws. In a Bull, dated June 23rd, 1447, he repeated for Italy the restrictions which his predecessor had formulated for Castile, re-enacting them in the fullest detail, not even omitting the prohibition of Christians lighting domestic fires for Jews on the Sabbath. But though Nicholas' Bull was only a copy; it had much more

real force than the original; for its execution was confided to the pitiless Jew-hater and heretic-hunter, John of Capistrano. On him devolved the duty of seeing, either in person or through his brother Franciscans, that the provisions of the Bull were literally obeyed, and that infractions of them were strictly punished. If for example, a Jewish physician provided a suffering Christian with the means of regaining health, Capistrano was authorised to confiscate the whole of the offender's fortune and property. And the saintly monk, with his heart of stone, was just the man to visit such a transgression with unrelenting severity.

The active Jew-hatred of the Council of Basle and the Popes spread contagiously over a wide area. The fierce and bigoted Bavarian Duke of Landeshut, Louis the Rich—"a hunter of game and Jews"—had all the Jews of his country arrested on one day, shortly after his accession to power (Monday, October 5th, 1450). The men were thrown into prison, the women shut up in the synagogues, and all the property and jewellery of both confiscated. Christian debtors were directed not to pay their Jewish creditors more than the capital they had originally borrowed, and to deduct from that the amount of interest they had already paid. After four weeks of incarceration the unhappy Jews were obliged to purchase their lives from the turbulent duke for 30,000 gulden, and then, penniless and almost naked, they were turned out of the country. Gladly would Louis have meted out the same treatment to the large and rich community of Ratisbon, which was within his jurisdiction. As, however, his authority was only recognised there to a limited extent, and as the Jews of the city were under the protection of the Council and its privileges, he was obliged to content himself with levying upon them a monetary contribution. Many Jews are said, at

this period, to have been driven by anxiety and want into embracing Christianity.

While the European Jews regarded their Spanish brethren as an exalted and favoured class, the Papacy directed special attention to them in order to put an end to their favourable position in the State. Either on the proposition of the king that the severe canonical restrictions of the Jews should be modified, or on the petition of their enemies that they should be confirmed, the Pope Nicholas V. issued a new Bull (March 1st, 1451). In this he confirmed the old exclusions from Christian society and from all honourable walks of life, and entirely abolished the privileges of both the Spanish and Italian Jews. The unpitying harshness of the canonical legislation in respect to the children of Israel was unconsciously based to a very great extent on fear. All-powerful Christianity dreaded the influence which the Jewish mind might exert on the Christian population by too familiar intercourse. What the Papacy, however, concealed in the incense-clouds of its official decrees was disclosed by a philosophical writer and Cardinal standing in close relationship with the Papal Court.

Nicholas de Cusa (from Cues on the Moselle), a late product of the Scholastic school, who endeavoured to blend philosophy and mysticism, abandoned himself, in face of the dissensions of Christendom, to the philosophical chimera of a union of all religions in one single creed. The Church ceremonies he was prepared to sacrifice, nay, he was ready to accept circumcision, if, by such means non-Christians could be won over to the belief in the Trinity. He feared, however, as he expressly stated, the stiffneckedness of the Jews, who clung too stubbornly to their simple monotheism; but he consoled himself with the reflection that an unarmed handful, such as they, could not disturb the peace of the world. It is true the Jews were in a literal sense

unarmed; but, mentally, they were still powerful, and Nicholas resolved to devote himself to the task of depriving them of any influence in this respect. The Pope had appointed him Legate for Germany, principally in order to effect a reform of the corruptions of church and cloister in that country (1450—51). But the Cardinal also occupied himself with the Jewish Question. At the Provincial Council of Bamberg he put into force the canonical statute concerning the Jew's dress, which provided that men should wear round red badges on the breasts of their clothing, and women blue stripes on their head-dresses—as if the branding of Jews could heal the dissolute clergy and their demoralised flocks of their uncleanness. The only result of the isolation of the Jews was that they were more completely protected from the taint of the prevailing immorality. The Cardinal was not successful in his chief task of purifying the clergy, or in putting an end to the frauds of bleeding hosts and miracle-working images, against which he exclaimed so loudly. The Church remained corrupt to the core. It is not surprising that the Jews should have been feared when they might so easily have probed the suppurating wounds.

Especially troublesome to the Church were the thousands of baptised Jews, who, in Spain, had been driven into its fold by the massacres, pulpit denunciations, and legal restrictions to which their race was exposed. Not only the lay new-Christians, but also those who had taken orders or had assumed the monk's garb, continued to observe, more or less openly, the Jewish religious laws. The sophistries of the converts, Paul de Santa Maria and Geronimo de Santa Fé, regarding the corroborations in the Old Testament and the Talmudic Agada of the doctrines of the Messianic character of Jesus, the Incarnation of God, the Trinity and other Church dogmas, impressed the Marranos but little. In

spite of baptism, they remained "stiffnecked and blind," *i.e.*, true to the faith of their fathers. Don Juan of Castile, at the instigation of his favourite, Alvaro de Luna, who was anxious to strike his arch-enemies, the new-Christians, complained to Pope Nicholas V. of the relapses of the Marranos, and the Pontiff knew of no other remedy to propose than Force. He addressed rescripts to the Bishop of Osma and the Vicar of Salamanca (November 20th, 1451) empowering them to appoint Inquisitors to inquire judicially into cases of new-Christians suspected of Judaizing. The Inquisitor-judges were to be authorised to punish the convicted, to imprison them, confiscate their goods and disgrace them, and, in the event of their being priests, to degrade them, and even to hand them over to the secular arm—a church euphemism for condemning them to the heretic's stake. This was the first spark of the hell-fire of the Inquisition, which, in its time, perpetrated more inhumanity than all the tyrants and malefactors branded by history. At first this Bull seems to have been ineffectual. The times were not ripe for the great Institution of Blood. Besides, the Christians themselves helped to keep up the connection of the baptised Jews with their brethren in race. They denied equal rights to new-Christians of Jewish or Mahometan origin, and wished to exclude them from all posts of honour. Against this antipathy, inherent in the diversity of the national elements, the Pope was compelled to issue a Bull (November 29th, 1451), but it was powerless to uproot the prejudice. Only a higher culture, and not the dictation of a Church chief, even though he boasted of infallibility, could remove it.

How absurd was it, then, to continue driving such proselytes into the Church! This, however, was done by the Franciscan monk, John of Capistrano (of Neapolitan origin), who was responsible for immense injury to the Jews of many lands.

This mendicant friar, though of gaunt figure and ill-favoured appearance, possessed a winning voice and iron will, which enabled him to obtain unbounded influence not only over the silly multitude, but also over the cultivated classes. With a word he could fascinate, inspire, or terrify, persuade to piety or incite to cruelty. Like the Spanish Dominican, Vincent Ferrer, the secret of Capistrano's power lay not so much in an irresistible eloquence as in the sympathetic modulations of his voice, and the unshakable enthusiasm with which he clung to his mistaken convictions. He himself firmly believed that, with the blood he had gathered from the nose of his master, Bernard of Sienna, together with his saintly *capuche*, he could cure the sick, awake the dead and perform all kinds of miracles, and the misguided people not only believed his professions, but even exaggerated them. His strictly ascetic life, his hatred of good living, luxury and debauchery, made the deeper impression from its striking contrast to the sensuality and dissoluteness of the great bulk of the clergy and monks. Wherever Capistrano appeared the people thronged in their thousands to hear him, to be edified and agitated, even though they did not understand a syllable of his Latin. The astute Popes, Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V., recognised in him a serviceable instrument for the restoration of the tottering authority of the Chair of St. Peter. They rejoiced in his homilies on the infallibility of the Papacy, and his fiery harangues on the extermination of heretics, and the necessity of withstanding the victoriously advancing Turks; and they offered no objection if, at the same time, he thought proper to vent his monkish gall against harmless amusements, pastimes and the elegancies of life, seeing that they themselves were not disturbed in their enjoyments and pleasures. Among the standing themes of Capistrano's exciting discourses—second only to

his rancour against heretics and Turks and his capucinades against luxury and merry-making—were his denunciations of the impieties and usury of the Jews. This procured his appointment by Pope Nicholas to the post of Inquisitor of the Jews, his duty in this capacity being to superintend the enforcement of the canonical restrictions against them. He had already occupied in Naples the position of Inquisitorial judge for the Jews, on the nomination of Queen Joanna, who had empowered him to punish with the severest penalties any failure to observe the ecclesiastical law or to wear the Jew badge.

When this infuriate Capuchin visited Germany, he spread everywhere terror and dismay among the Jews. They trembled even at the mention of his name. In Bavaria, Silesia, Moravia, and Austria, the bigotry of the Catholics, already at a high pitch through the Hussite schism, was further stirred by Capistrano, and, the Bohemian heretics being beyond its reach, vented itself upon the Jews. The Bavarian dukes, Louis and Albert, who had already driven the Jews out of their territories, were urged on yet further by Capistrano. The former demanded of certain local counts, and of the city of Ratisbon, that they should expel the Jews. The burgomaster and Town Council, however, refused, and would not withdraw the protection and rights of citizenship which the Jews had enjoyed from an early period. But they could not shield them from the hostility of the clergy. Eventually even the Ratisbon burghers, with every good-will for their Jewish fellow-citizens, fell under the influence of Capistrano's fanaticism, and allowed themselves to be incited to acts of unfriendliness. In the midwife-regulations, promulgated during the same year, occurs a clause prohibiting Christian midwives from attending Jewish women under any circumstances,

not even in cases where the lives of the patients might be at stake.

The change of public feeling in respect to the Jews, brought about by Capistrano, is strikingly illustrated by the conduct of one eminent ecclesiastic towards them, before and after the appearance of the Capuchin in Germany. Bishop Godfrey, of Würzburg, reigning Duke of Franconia, had, shortly after his accession to the government of the duchy, granted the fullest privileges to the Jews. More favourable treatment they could not have desired. For himself and successor he promised special protection to all within his dominions, both to those already settled and those who might settle there at any later period. They were to be freed from the authority of the ordinary tribunals, lay and ecclesiastical, and to have their disputes inquired into and adjudicated upon by their own courts. Their Rabbi (Hochmeister) was to be exempt from taxes, and to be allowed, at his discretion, to receive pupils in his *Yeshiba*. Their movements were to be unrestricted, and those who might desire to change their place of residence were to be assisted to collect their debts, and provided with safe-conducts on their journeys. It was further promised that these privileges should never be modified or revoked, and the Dean and Chapter unanimously recognised and guaranteed them "for themselves and successors in the Chapter." Every Jew who took up his abode within Bishop Godfrey's jurisdiction was provided with special letters of protection. But, after Capistrano had begun his agitation, how different was the attitude towards the Jews! We soon find the same Bishop and Duke of Franconia issuing, "on account of the grievous complaints against the Jews in his diocese," a statute and ordinance (1453) decreeing their banishment. They were allowed until the 18th January of the following year to sell their immove-

ables, and then, within fourteen days they were to leave, for "he (the bishop) would no longer tolerate any Jews in his diocese." The towns and local barons, lords, and justices were enjoined to expel the Jews from their several jurisdictions, and Jewish creditors were deprived of a portion of the debts owing to them. Thus, when Jews were concerned, could an inhuman fanaticism beguile a noble-hearted Prince of the Church and an entire chapter of ecclesiastics to a flagrant breach of faith.

Most mischievous was Capistrano's influence with regard to the Jews of Silesia. Here he showed himself in truth the "Scourge of the Jews," as his admirers called him. The two chief communities in this province, which belonged half to Poland and half to Bohemia, were at Breslau and Schweidnitz, and the Jews composing them, not being permitted to possess real property, and being, besides, largely engaged in the money traffic, had considerable amounts of money at their command. The majority of the nobles were among their debtors, and also several towns which were either themselves debtors or had become security for their princes. Hence it is not unlikely that some debtors of rank secretly planned to evade their liabilities by ridding themselves of the Jews. At any rate the advent of the fanatical Franciscan afforded an opportunity for carrying out such a design.

Capistrano came to the Silesian capital on the invitation of the Bishop, Peter Novak of Breslau, who found himself unable to control his subordinate ecclesiastics. Summoning the clergy to his presence, the Franciscan preacher upbraided them for their sinful, immoral, and sensual lives. The doors of the Church in which the interview took place were securely bolted, so that no lay ear should learn the full extent of the depravity of the ministers of the Gospel. But nearer to his heart than the reclamation of the clergy, was the extermination of the

Hussites, of whom there were many in Silesia, and the persecution of the Jews. The frenzied fanaticism with which Capistrano's harangues inspired the people of Breslau directed itself principally against the Jews. A report was spread that a Jew named Meyer, one of the wealthiest of the local Israelites, in whose safe keeping were many of the bonds of the indebted burghers and nobles, had purchased a Host from a peasant, had stabbed and blasphemed it, and then distributed its fragments among the communities of Schweidnitz, Leignitz, and others for further desecration. It need hardly be said that the wounded Host was alleged to have effused blood. This imbecile fiction soon reached the ears of the municipal authorities, where it found ready credence. Forthwith all the Jews of Breslau, men, women and children, were thrown into prison, their entire property in the "Judengasse" seized, and, what was of most importance to the authors of the catastrophe, the bonds of their debtors, which reached a value of about 25,000 Hungarian gold florins, were confiscated (2nd May, 1453). The guilt of the Jews was rendered the more credible by the flight of a few of them, who were, however, soon taken. Capistrano assumed the direction of the inquiry into this important affair. As Heretic-Inquisitor the leading voice in the prosecution of blasphemers of the consecrated wafer belonged of right to him. He ordered a few Jews to be stretched on the rack, and personally instructed the torturers in their task—he had experience in such work. The tortured Israelites confessed. In the meantime another infamous lie was circulated. A wicked baptised Jewess declared that the Breslau Jews had once before burnt a Host, and that, on another occasion, they had kidnapped a Christian boy, fattened him, and put him in a cask studded inside with sharp nails, which they had then rolled about until their victim gave up the ghost. His blood had

been distributed among the Silesian communities. The bones of the murdered child were even alleged to have been found. The manifold guilt of the Jews appeared established, and a large number, in all 318 persons, were arrested in various localities, and brought to Breslau. Capistrano sat in judgment upon them and hurried them to execution. In the Salzring—now the Blücherplatz—where Capistrano resided, forty-one convicted Jews were burnt on one day (2nd June, 1453). The Rabbi (Phineas?) hanged himself; he had also counselled others to take their own lives. The remainder were driven from Breslau and outlawed, all their children under seven years of age having previously been taken from them by force, baptised, and given over to Christians to be brought up. In this way Capistrano thought, and he explained his object to the King Ladislaus in a learned treatise, to make them conform to the Christian religion and to orthodoxy. The honest town-clerk, Eschenloer, who did not venture to protest aloud against these barbarities, wrote in his diary, "Whether this is godly or not, I leave to the judgment of the ministers of religion." The ministers of religion had, however, transformed themselves into savages. The goods of the burnt and banished Jews were, of course, seized, and with their proceeds the Bernardine Church was built. It was not the only church erected with blood-money. In the remaining Silesian towns the Jews fared no better. Some were burnt, and the rest chased away, stripped almost to the skin.

When the young king Ladislaus was petitioned by the Breslau Town Council to declare by decree that from that time forward no Jew should be allowed to settle in Breslau, not only did he assent "for the glory of God and the honour of the Christian faith," but, he added, in specific approval of the outrages which had been committed, "that they (the Silesian Jews) had suffered according to their

deserts," a remark worthy of the son of Albert II., who had burnt the Austrian Jews. The same monarch also sanctioned—doubtless at the instigation of Capistrano, who passed several months at Olmütz—the expulsion of the Jews from the latter place and Brünn.

The echoes of Capistrano's venomous eloquence reached even as far as Poland, disturbing the Jewish communities there from a tranquillity they had enjoyed for centuries. Poland had been for a long period a place of refuge for the hunted and persecuted Jews. The exiles from Germany, Austria and Hungary, found a ready welcome on the Vistula. The privileges generously granted them by the Duke Boleslav and renewed and confirmed by King Casimir the Great were still in force. The Jews were, in fact, more indispensable in that country than in other parts of Christian Europe; for in Poland there were only two classes, nobles and serfs, and the Jews supplied the place of the middle class, providing merchandise and money, and bringing the unworked resources of the land into circulation. During a visit which Casimir IV. paid to Posen, shortly after his accession to the throne, a fire broke out in this already important city, and, with the exception of a few brick houses, it was totally destroyed. In this disaster the original documents of the privileges, which Casimir the Great had granted the Jews a century before, perished. Accordingly Jewish deputations from a number of Polish communities waited upon the king, lamenting the loss of these to them important records, and praying that new ones might be prepared according to existing copies, and that all their old rights might be renewed and confirmed. Casimir did not require much persuasion. "In order that they might live in security and contentment under his happy reign," he granted them privileges such as they had never before enjoyed in

any European State (14th August, 1447). This king was indeed no slave of the Church. So strictly did he keep the clergy within their own bounds that they charged him with persecuting and robbing them. He forbade their meddling in affairs of State, on the ground that in such matters he preferred to rely on the proper authorities.

Whether the king was misled by a false copy of the original charters, or whether he desired to avail himself of the opportunity of enlarging their scope without appearing to make fresh concessions, the privileges accorded under the new statute were, in many respects, more considerable than those formerly enjoyed by the Jews. Not alone did it permit unrestricted trading and residence all over the then very extensive kingdom of Poland, but, to this end, it annulled canonical laws which had been often laid down by the Popes, and which had only recently been re-enacted by the General Church Council of Basle. Casimir's charter specifically allowed Jews and Christians to bathe together, and abolished all impediment to their free intercourse. It emphatically decreed that no Christian should summon a Jew before an ecclesiastical tribunal, and that in the event of his being so summoned he should not be forced to appear. The Palatines in their several provinces were enjoined to see that the Jews were not molested by the clergy, and generally to extend to them a powerful protection. Furthermore, no Jew might be accused of using Christian blood in the Passover ceremonies, or of desecrating Hosts, "the Jews being innocent of such offences, which are repudiated by their religion." If a Christian came forward to charge an individual Jew with using Christian blood, his accusation must be supported by native and trustworthy Jewish witnesses and four similarly qualified Christian witnesses, and then the accused should suffer alone for his crime without his co-

religionists being dragged into it. In the event, however, of the Christian accuser not being in a position to substantiate his charge by credible testimony he should be punished with death. This was a check placed on the ever-recurring calumny with its train of massacres of the Jews. Casimir also recognised the judicial autonomy of the Jewish community. In criminal cases among Jews, or between Jews and Christians, the ordinary tribunals were not to interfere, but the Palatine, or his representative, assisted by Jews, should adjudicate. In minor law-suits the decision was to rest with the Jewish elders (Rabbis), who were further permitted to inflict a fine of six marks in cases where their summonses were not obeyed. In order to keep the authority of the Jewish courts within reasonable bounds, Casimir's charter enacted that the ban should not be pronounced on a Jew without the concurrence of the entire community. Truly in no part of Christian Europe were the Jews possessed of such important privileges. They were renewed and issued by the king with the assent of the Polish magnates. Also the Karaite communities of Troki, Luzk, etc., received from Casimir a renewal and confirmation of the privileges granted them by the Lithuanian Duke Witold in the thirteenth century.

The clergy looked with jealous eyes on all this complaisance to the Jews, and zealously worked to induce the king to change his friendly attitude. At the head of the Polish priesthood thus hostile to the Jews stood the influential bishop and cardinal of Cracow, Zbigniew Olesnicki. To him the protection accorded to the Jews and Hussites by the king was a source of deep chagrin, and in order to be able to give effective vent to his feelings, he sent in hot haste for the heretic-hunter Capistrano to come to Poland. Capistrano entered Cracow in triumph, and was received by the king and clergy

as though he were a divine being. During the whole period of his stay in Cracow (August 28th, 1453, to May, 1454) he endeavoured, in unison with Bishop Zbigniew, to stir up King Casimir against the Hussite heretics and the Jews. He publicly remonstrated with him on the subject, threatening him with hell-fire and an unsuccessful issue to his war with the Prussian orders of chivalry if he did not abolish the privileges enjoyed by the Jews, and abandon the Hussite heretics to the Church. It was easy to predict a defeat at the hands of the Prussian knights, seeing that the Pope and the whole of the Polish Church were secretly assisting them against Casimir.

When, therefore, the Teutonic knights took the field against Poland in aid of their Prussian allies, and the Polish army, with King Casimir at its head, was ignominiously put to flight (September, 1454), the game of the clerical party was won. They spread the rumour that the disaster to Poland was a consequence of the king's favour to Jews and heretics. To retrieve his fallen fortunes, and to undertake a vigorous campaign against the Prussians, Casimir needed the assistance of the Bishop Zbigniew, and the latter was in a position to make his own terms. The Jews were sacrificed—the king was compelled to give them up. In November, 1454, Casimir revoked all the privileges he had previously granted the Jews on the ground that “infidels should not enjoy a preference over the worshippers of Christ, that the servants should not be better placed than the sons.” By public criers the king's resolve was made known throughout the land. Besides this, Casimir ordered that the Jews of Poland should wear a special costume to distinguish them from Christians. Capistrano was victorious all along the line. Through him the Jews were abased even in the land where they had formerly been most exalted. The results of this

misfortune were not long in showing themselves. The Jewish communities mournfully wrote to their brethren in Germany, "that 'the monk' had brought grievous trouble," even to those who lived under the sceptre of the King of Poland, and whose lot had formerly been so happy that they had been able to offer a refuge to the persecuted of other lands. They had not believed that an enemy could reach them across the Polish frontier; and now they had to groan under the oppression of the king and the magnates.

Meanwhile a heavy but deserved judgment had descended on Christendom. After an existence of more than a thousand years the sin-laden Byzantine Empire, which had stood its ground for centuries in spite of its internal rottenness, had at length collapsed with the fall of Constantinople (May 29th, 1453). The Turkish conqueror, Mahomet II., had given New Rome over to slavery, spoliation, massacre, and every horror and outrage, but had still far from requited the wrongs she had inflicted on others and herself. From Constantine, the founder of the Byzantine Empire, who placed a blood-stained sword in the hands of the Church, to the last of the emperors, the Paleologus, Constantine Dragosses, everyone in the long series of rulers (with the exception of Julian, who renounced Christianity) was more or less inspired by falsehood and treachery, and an arrogant, hypocritical and persecuting spirit. And the people, as well as the servants of both State and Church, were worthy of their rulers. From them the German, Latin and Slavonic peoples had derived the principle that the Jews ought to be degraded by exceptional laws, or even altogether exterminated. Now, however, Byzantium itself was shattered in the dust, and wild barbarians were raising on its site the new Turkish Empire. A heavy vengeance had been exacted. Mahomet II., the conqueror of Con-

stantinople, threw a threatening glance at the remainder of Europe, the countries of the Latin Church. The whole of Christendom was in danger, and yet the Christian rulers and nations were unable to organise an effective resistance against the Turkish conquerors. The perfidy and corruption of the Papacy now bore bitter fruit. When the faithless Pope Nicholas V. called upon Christendom to undertake a crusade against the Turks, his legates at the assembly of Ratisbon were compelled to listen to an unsparing denunciation of his corruption. Neither the Pope nor the emperor, they were told, had any real thought of undertaking a war against the Turks; their sole idea was to squander upon themselves the money they might collect. When the Turks made preparations to invade Hungary, and threatened to carry the victorious Crescent from the left to the right of the Danube, Capistrano preached himself hoarse to kindle enthusiasm for a new crusade. His Capucinades had ceased to draw. Their only effect was to assemble a ragged mob of students, peasants, mendicant friars, half-starved adventurers and romantic fanatics. The ghost of mediævalism was beginning to fade before the dawn of a new day.

It seems almost providential that, at a moment when the persecutions in Europe were increasing in activity, the new Turkish Empire should have arisen to offer an hospitable asylum to the hunted Jews. When, three days after the chastisement which he inflicted on Constantinople, the Sultan Mahomet II. proclaimed that all the fugitive inhabitants might return to their homes and properties without fear of molestation, he gave a benevolent thought to the Jews. He permitted them to settle freely in Constantinople and other towns, allotted them special dwelling-places, and allowed them to erect synagogues and schools. Soon after his capture of

Constantinople, he permitted the election of a Greek patriarch, whom he invested with a certain political authority over all the Greeks in his new dominions, and he at the same time nominated a Jewish Chief Rabbi to preside over the Hebrew communities. This was a pious, learned, and high-spirited Israelite, named Moses Kapsali, and Mahomet even summoned this Rabbi to the divan and singled him out for special distinction, giving him a seat next to the mufti, the Chief Ulema of the Mahometans, and precedence over the patriarch. Moses Kapsali (born about 1420, died about 1495,) also received from the Sultan a kind of political suzerainty over the Jewish communities in Turkey. The taxes imposed upon the Jews he had to apportion among communities and individuals; he had to superintend their collection and to pay them into the Sultan's exchequer. He was furthermore empowered to inflict punishments on his co-religionists, and no Rabbi could hold office without his sanction. In short, he was the chief of a completely organised Jewish communal system and its official representative.

This favourable situation of the Jews had a stimulating effect on the degenerate Karaites, who also migrated in considerable numbers from Asia, the Crimea and South Poland, to take up their abode with their more happily placed brethren in Constantinople and Adrianople. The Karaites, whose fundamental principle consists in the study and reasonable interpretation of the Bible, were at this period in so lamentable a state of ignorance, that their entire religious structure had become even more a system of authorised dogmas and traditions than that of the Rabbanites. The extent of their intellectual decline may be measured by the fact that in the course of an entire century they had failed to produce a single moderately original theological writer.

Those of their body who had a bent for study were compelled to sit at the feet of Rabbanite teachers and receive from them instruction in the Scriptures and Talmud. The vaunted masters of the contents of the Bible had become the humble disciples of the once despised Rabbanites. The petrification of Karaism is illustrated by another event which took place in European Turkey. A Karaite college, consisting of Menachem Bashyasi, his son Moses Bashyasi, Menachem Maroli, Michael the Elder, his son Joseph, and a few others, had introduced an innovation by which it was permitted to prepare on Friday the lights necessary for the Sabbath eve, so that no portion of the holiday should be spent in darkness. The college gave adequate reasons for the new departure. According to a Karaite principle, not only an ecclesiastical authority, but any individual is justified in abolishing ancient customs, or annulling former decisions if he can cite sufficient exegetical authority. Nevertheless a stormy opposition arose (about 1460) against this decision which was aimed at a custom derived, perhaps, from Anan, the founder of Karaism, and hence possessing the sanction of the sacred rust of seven centuries. Schism and heart-burning were the result. The section of the community who permitted themselves to prepare beforehand the lights required for the Sabbath eve were abused and charged with heresy. At the same time the schism relating to the commencement of the festivals was still unhealed. The Palestinian and neighbouring Karaite communities continued to calculate their simple and leap-years according to the state of the barley harvest, and to regulate their festivals by the appearances of the new moon. On the other hand the communities in Turkey, the Crimea, and South Poland, observed the calendar of the Rabbanites. These hereditary differences were eating deeper and deeper into the solidarity of

the sect, for there were no means of composing them or of agreeing upon uniform principles.

The conspicuous decrepitude of Karaism, and the ignorance of its followers, afforded the Rabbanites in the Turkish Empire an opportunity for attempting to reconcile them to Talmudic Judaism, or, at least, to overcome the bitter hostility of their attitude towards it. Rabbanite teachers, Enoch Saporta, an immigrant from Catalonia, Eliezer Kapsali, from Greece, and Elias Halevi, from Germany, stipulated with their Karaite pupils, whom they instructed in the Talmud, that they should thenceforward abstain both in writing and speech, from reviling Talmudic authorities, and from desecrating the festivals of the Rabbanite calendar. In the difficult position in which studiously inclined Karaites found themselves they could not do otherwise than give this undertaking. The Turkish Chief Rabbi, Moses Kapsali, was however of opinion that, as the Karaites rejected the Talmud, they should not be taught it. But he was a disciple of the strict German school; which, in its gloomy ultra-piety, would allow of no concessions, even though by such means the gradual conversion of a dissenting sect could be effected.

When contrasted with the miserable condition of the Jews in Germany, the outcome of which no one could foresee, the lot of those who had taken up their abode in the newly-risen Turkish Empire must have seemed one of unalloyed happiness. Jewish immigrants who had escaped the ceaseless extortions to which they had been subjected in Germany expressed themselves in terms of rapture over the happy condition of the Turkish Jews. Unlike their co-religionists under Christian rule, they were not compelled to yield up the third part of their fortunes in royal and municipal taxes; nor were they in any way hindered in the conduct of their business. They were permitted to dispose of their property as they pleased, and they had

absolute freedom of movement throughout the length and breadth of the empire. They were subject to no sumptuary laws, and were thus able to clothe themselves as they pleased, and to go about clad in silk and gold if they chose to do so.

The fruitful lands which had been taken from the slothful Greek Christians were occupied by them, and offered a rich reward to their industry. Turkey was, in short, correctly described by an enthusiastic Jew as a land "in which nothing, absolutely nothing, was wanting." Two young immigrants, Kalmann and David, have placed on record the opinion that if the German Jews had only realised a tenth part of the happiness to be found in Turkey they would have braved any hardships to get there. These two young men also persuaded a man who had journeyed into Turkey in earlier times, and whose name, Isaac Zarfati, was by no means unknown in Germany, to write a circular letter to the Jews of the Rhineland, Styria, Moravia and Hungary to acquaint them with the happy lot of Jews under the Crescent as compared with the hard fate endured by them under the shadow of the Cross, and to call upon them to escape from the German House of Bondage and to migrate into Turkey. The lights and shadows of his subject could not have been more sharply defined than they are by the lively, though often somewhat strained style of Zarfati's letter (written in 1454)—a style which unfortunately loses much of its character in translation.

"I have heard of the afflictions, more bitter than death, that have befallen our brethren in Germany—of the tyrannical laws, the compulsory baptisms and the banishments which are of daily occurrence. I am told that when they flee from one place a yet harder fate befalls them in another. I hear an insolent people raising its voice in fury against the faithful; I see its hand uplifted to smite them. On

all sides I learn of anguish of soul and torment of body; of daily exactions levied by merciless extortioners. The clergy and the monks, false priests that they are, rise up against the unhappy people of God and say: Let us pursue them even unto destruction; let the name of Israel be no more known among men. They imagine that their faith is in danger because the Jews in Jerusalem might, peradventure, buy the Church of the Sepulchre. For this reason they have made a law that every Jew found upon a Christian ship bound for the East shall be flung into the sea. Alas! how evilly are the people of God in Germany entreated; how sadly is their strength departed! They are driven hither and thither, and they are pursued even unto death. The sword of the oppressor ever hangs over their heads; they are flung into the devouring flames, into swift flowing rivers and into foul swamps. Brothers and teachers! friends and acquaintances! I, Isaac Zarfati, though I spring from a French stock, yet I was born in Germany, and sat there at the feet of my teachers; and I proclaim to you that Turkey is a land wherein nothing is lacking. If ye will, all shall yet be well with you. The way to the Holy Land lies open to you through Turkey. Is it not better for you to live under Moslems than under Christians? Here every man may dwell at peace under his own vine and his own fig-tree. In Christendom, on the contrary, ye dare not even venture to clothe your children in red or in blue, according to your taste, without exposing them to insult and yourselves to extortion; and, therefore, are ye condemned to go about meanly clad in sad-coloured raiment. All your days are full of sorrow, even your Sabbaths and the times appointed for feasting. Strangers enjoy your goods; and, therefore, of what profit is the wealth of your rich men? They hoard it but to their own sorrow, and in a day it is lost to them for ever. Ye

call your riches your own—alas! they belong to your oppressors. They bring false accusations against you. They respect neither age nor wisdom; and, though they gave you a pledge sealed sixty-fold, yet would they break it. They continually lay double punishments upon you, a death of torment and confiscation of goods. They prohibit teaching in your schools; they break in upon you during your hours of prayer; and they forbid you to work or conduct your business on Christian feast days. And now, seeing all these things, O Israel, wherefore sleepest thou? Arise, and leave this accursed land for ever!”

Isaac Zarfati's appeal had the effect of determining many Jews to emigrate forthwith to Turkey and Palestine. Arrived there, their grave demeanour, extreme piety, and peculiar apparel at once distinguished them from the Jews of Greece and the Orient, and ere long the new comers began to exercise a considerable influence upon the other inhabitants of the countries in which they settled.

It should here be mentioned that there were special circumstances connected with the prohibition of the emigration of Jews to Palestine. These circumstances were as follows: The Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem had obtained permission from one of the Pashas to build a synagogue on one of the slopes of Mount Zion. The site of this synagogue adjoined a piece of land owned by the Franciscan monks. That is to say, it contained the ruins of one of their chapels, known as David's chapel. On this permission being given to the Jews, the monks raised as much clamour as though all Palestine, including the Holy City, had been their peculiar inheritance since the beginning of time. They forthwith carried their complaints to the Pope, and represented that, if the Jews were permitted to take such liberties as this, it would not be long before they took possession of the Church of

the Holy Sepulchre itself. On receipt of this complaint the Pope at once issued a Bull directing that no Christian shipowner should convey Jewish emigrants to the Holy Land. As the Levantine trade was at that time almost entirely in the hands of the Venetians, the Doge was prevailed upon to issue stringent orders to all the shipmasters of the mainland and the islands not to give passage to any Jews to Palestine.

It is, indeed, somewhat strange that, while the Christian powers were under the impression that they had hemmed in the children of Israel on all sides like hunted animals, the Turks of Eastern Europe opened a way of escape to them. Ere another half century had passed, their Spanish brethren, savagely hunted from the Peninsula, were destined to seek the same asylum.

It must, however, be admitted that under the sway of the Castilian king, Henry IV., and that of John II., of Aragon, the condition of the Spanish Jews was one of comparative peace and comfort, although this temporary tranquillity was, after all, only the calm that went before the storm. The doubly impotent Castilian king was afflicted by a feebleness of character that ill-befitted a ruler of men. Although as Infante Don Henry had allowed himself to be persuaded by his partizans to plunder the houses, not only of the Jews, but also of the new-Christians or converts from Judaism, in order to replenish his exhausted coffers, he had no personal antipathy to the people of Israel. A Jewish physician was his confidential minister; and not long after his accession to the throne he had even sent him to the Portuguese Court on a most delicate mission, the object being to obtain the hand of the young and beautiful princess of Portugal for his sovereign. The Jewish diplomatist brought his mission to a successful conclusion, but was assassinated in the hour of his success.

In spite of the Papal Bull and the repeated ordinances of the cities, Don Henry also employed a Jewish surveyor of taxes, one Don Chacon, a native of Vitoria; and he too fell a sacrifice to his office. Another Rabbi, Jacob Ibn-Nuñez, his private physician, was also appointed by Henry to apportion and collect the tribute of the Jews of Castile; while Abraham Bibago, yet another Jew of eminence, stood high in the favour of John II. of Aragon.

The example of the courts naturally affected the greater nobles, who, when their own interests were not concerned, troubled themselves very little about ecclesiastical edicts. The practice of medicine was still entirely in the hands of the Jews, and it opened to them alike the cabinets and the hearts of both kings and nobles. It was in vain that Papal Bulls proclaimed that Christians should not employ Jewish physicians. There were few or no Christians who understood the healing art, and no recourse was left to the sick, save to the skill of the Jews. Even the higher clergy had but little regard for the Bulls of Eugenius, Nicholas, and Calixtus. They had too much care for the health of the flesh to refuse the medicinal aid of the Jews on account of a canonical decree. Most of the tyrannical restrictions belonging to the minority of John II. and the times of the Regent Catalina were now completely forgotten. Only on one point did Henry insist with any rigour. He would not permit the Jews to clothe themselves luxuriously. This was partly on account of his own preference for simplicity of dress, and partly because he was desirous that the envy of the Christians should not be excited against them. Under the mild rule of Don Henry most of the Jews who had been more or less compulsorily baptised either returned to their original faith, or at least observed their own ritual unmolested. During the Feast of the Passover they lived upon

vegetable food in order, on the one hand, to partake of nothing leavened, and on the other to avoid the suspicion of Judaism.

The hatred of the Christian for the Jew, a hatred which, as might be expected, burnt most fiercely in the great towns, naturally made it impossible for the orthodox to behold without indignation this preference for and leniency towards the supposed enemies of their faith, and they consequently avenged themselves by the use of a weapon whose efficacy had often been proved in other times and other lands. The cry went forth: The Jews have put Christian children to death ! Then came the report that "a certain Jew in the neighbourhood of Salamanca had torn the heart out of a child"; and hard upon this came others: "Certain Jews in another city have cut pieces of flesh out of a living Christian child," and so on. By means of such rumours as these the fanaticism of the mob was speedily inflamed, the magistrates took the matter up, and the accused Jews were thrown into prison.

The king, who was well aware of the origin and object of these accusations, had them thoroughly sifted, with the result that the innocence of the accused was completely established. Notwithstanding this fact, however, the enemies of the Jews still maintained their guilt. Some insinuated that the judges had been corrupted; while others asserted that the new-Christians had exerted themselves in favour of their kinsmen, and that the king himself had, for party purposes, espoused their cause.

Among all their enemies the man who raged most bitterly and fiercely against the Spanish Jews was Alfonso de Spina, a Franciscan monk, and a man of the same order and opinions as Capistrano. He was a preacher of Salamanca, and he, it was who set the venomous tongue and poisoned pen in action against them. This man enjoyed a certain notoriety in consequence of the fact that he happened to have

accompanied Alvaro de Luna, the once all-powerful minister of John II. to the scaffold as his confessor. This bigoted priest thundered unceasingly from the altar steps against the Jews and their patrons, and especially against the new-Christians as secret adherents of their former faith. As his preaching did not appear to him to produce sufficient effect, De Spina issued in 1460 a grossly virulent work written in Latin, and directed against all Jews, Moslems, and other heretics under the title " *Fortalitium Fidei*." In this book he collected everything that the enemies of the Jews had ever written or said against them in their bitterest moods. He reproduced every discreditable legend and idle tale that he could procure, from whatever source, and seasoned the whole collection with every device of rhetoric that his malice could suggest. In his opinion it was only right and natural that all Moslems and heretics should be exterminated root and branch. Against the Jews, however, he proposed to employ what seemed to be comparatively lenient measures. He would simply take their younger children from them and bring them up as Christians. For this idea he was indebted to the scholastic philosopher, Duns Scotus, and his fellow Franciscan, Capistrano. What De Spina seems most deeply to deplore in this regard is the fact that the various laws for the persecution of the Jews, which were promulgated during the minority of John II., were no longer in force under his successor. In the most bitter terms he rebuked king, nobles and clergy for the favour that they had shown to the Jews; and in order to inflame the mob, he untiringly retailed all the old fables of child-murder, theft of the Host, and the like, in the most circumstantial narrative, and insinuated that in consequence of the partizanship of the king these abominable crimes now passed unpunished.

This fanatical outcry of Alfonso de Spina was by

no means without effect, and, indeed, the most lamentable consequences ere long resulted from it. Almost immediately on its appearance a monk, crucifix in hand, proclaimed a general massacre of the Jews of Medina del Campo, near Valladolid, and his words bore instant effect. The inhabitants of the town fell *en masse* upon the Jews and burnt several of them alive with the sacred books which they happened to find in their possession. The murders were naturally followed by plunder of their victims' goods. The king had the ringleaders of this outrage arrested and punished; but this was all that he could do. He was unable to take any steps to prevent a recurrence of such scenes. Added to this he had officially recognised the abject position of the Jews in the statute-book, which he directed to be prepared by his advisers and secret enemies, Don Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, and the Count of Valencia. Don Pacheco, who ultimately brought both king and country to confusion by his intrigues, was himself of Jewish blood—his mother, who had married a Spanish noble, being the daughter of a Jew named Ruy Capron. Notwithstanding this fact, he included the most odious enactments in the revised statute-book of Don Henry. All the earlier disabilities were revived; the exclusion of Jews from all offices even from practice as apothecaries, besides the wearing of distinctive badges, restriction to the Jewries of towns, and even confinement to their houses during Holy Week.

The Peasant War which was kindled by the intrigues of Don Pacheco and other courtiers through the burlesque deposition of Don Henry in Avila, and the coronation of his younger brother, Alfonso, bore far more heavily on the Jews than it did even on the general population of Castile.

In 1467 Alfonso's party had made themselves masters of Segovia, which city had, in fact, been given up to them by treason, and here there imme-

diately began a crusade against the Jews. The enemies of this unhappy people spread the report that, on the suggestion of their Rabbi, Solomon Picho, the Jews of the little township of Sepulveda, not far from Segovia, had during Holy Week so cruelly tortured a Christian child that it died upon the cross (April, 1468). On the motion of Bishop Juan Arias of Avila, of Jewish race, several Jews (eight or sixteen, according to different accounts), whom the popular voice had accused, were haled from Sepulveda to Segovia, and there condemned to the stake, the gallows and the bowstring, whereupon the Christians of Sepulveda fell upon the few remaining Jews of the community, massacred some, and hunted the rest from the neighbourhood. Is it not strange that in Castile and Silesia, in Italy and Poland, the self-same accusations were raised, to be followed by the same sentences?

Scarcely was Alfonso's party dissolved by the death of its puppet king than there sprang up another, which professed to maintain and defend the rights of the Infanta Isabella, sister of Don Henry. The utter weakness which Henry betrayed towards the rebels encouraged them to make the most outrageous assaults upon his prerogatives. The Cortes convened at Ocaña in 1469 took up the Jewish question as a means of humiliating their king. They reminded him of the laws of his ancestors, and told him to his face that he had violated these laws by endowing Jews with the chief offices in the collection of the royal revenues. They further asserted that, owing to this distinguished example, even princes of the Church had farmed out the revenues of their dioceses to Jews and Moslems, and that the tax-farmers levied their contributions in the very churches themselves. In conclusion, they insisted that the edicts should be once more stringently enforced, and that heavy penalties should be imposed for their transgression.

The finances of this monarch, who, in consequence of his liberality and the expense of putting down the ever-recurring revolts against his authority, was in constant need of money, would have been in but a sorry condition had he entrusted them to Christian tax-farmers. These people only desired the office for the sake of the commission, and, further, they may have made use of the rebellious factions in order to entirely throw off their allegiance. A king who said to his treasurer: "Give to these that they may serve me, and to those that they may not rob me; to this end I am king, and have treasures and revenues for all purposes"—such a king could not dispense with Jewish financiers.

Thus there existed in Castile an antagonism between the edicts against the Jews and the interests of the State; and this antagonism roused the mob, inspired alike by ecclesiastical fanaticism and envious greed against their Jewish fellow-townsmen, to the perpetration of constant and bloody outrages. In addition to this bitterness of feeling the fury of the orthodox was also excited against the new-Christians, or Marranos, because these enjoyed a happier lot than their former fellow-believers, and because, on account of their superior talents, they had been promoted to the highest offices in the State.

The marriage of the Infanta Isabella with Don Ferdinand, Infante of Aragon, on the 19th of October, 1469, marked a tragical crisis in the history of the Spanish Jews. Without the knowledge of her royal brother, and in open breach of faith—since she had solemnly promised to marry only with his consent—she had followed the advice of her intriguing friends, and had given her hand to that Prince of Aragon, who, both in Jewish and Spanish history, has left, under the title of "The Catholic," an accursed memory behind him. Don

Abraham Senior had promoted this marriage. Many new developments arose in Castile out of this union. Isabella's partisans, anticipating that under her rule and that of her husband the persecution of the Jews would be raised to a legal status, took up arms in Valladolid, Isabella's capital, and fell upon the new-Christians (September, 1470). The victims assumed the defensive, but were soon compelled to surrender. Thereupon they sent a deputation to Henry, begging him to protect them. The king did, indeed, collect troops and march against the rebellious city, but in the result he was only too pleased to find that the citizens received him well, and could not even think of punishing the ringleaders.

Two years later the new-Christians underwent a persecution, which must surely have caused them to repent having taken shelter at the foot of the Cross. The superstitious populace blamed the Marranos, and not altogether without reason, for confessing Christianity with their lips while in their souls they despised it. It was said that they either did not bring their children to be baptised, or when baptised, took them back to their houses and wiped the waters of baptism off their foreheads. They used no lard at their tables, but only oil; they abstained from pork, they celebrated the Jewish Passover, and contributed oil for the use of the synagogues. They were further said to have but small respect for the cloister, and were supposed to have profaned sacred relics and debauched nuns. The new-Christians were, in fact, looked upon as a cunning and ambitious set of people, who sought eagerly for the most profitable offices, thought only of accumulating riches, and avoided all hard work. They were believed to consider themselves as living in Spain as Israel did in Egypt, and to hold it to be quite permissible to plunder and outwit the orthodox. These accusa-

tions were not by any means merited by the new-Christians as a body, but they served to inflame the mob, and caused them to hate the converts even more bitterly than they hated the Jews themselves.

The outbreak above referred to arose as follows:—On the occasion of a progress made by a certain princess through the streets of Cordova with the picture of the Virgin carried under a canopy, a new-Christian girl, either by accident or design, poured some water out of a window on to the canopy. The consequence was a frenzied rising against the converted Jews. A worthless smith incited the Christian mob to avenge the insult offered to the holy picture—for it was said that the girl had poured upon it what was unclean—and in an instant her father's house was in flames. As the nobles sought to defend the Marranos the riot merged into a fight; and this so enraged the already furious mob that the men-at-arms were forced to retire. The houses of the new-Christians were now broken into, plundered, and then reduced to ashes; while those of their inhabitants who had not been able to save themselves by flight were massacred in the most barbarous manner (March 14th-15th, 1472). The fugitives were hunted like wild beasts in the chase. Wherever they were seen, the most horrible death inevitably awaited them. Even the peasant at work in the field struck them down without further ado. The slaughter which thus began at Cordova spread rapidly from town to town. Those of the Cordovan fugitives who had found a temporary refuge in Palma lost no time in seeking a stronghold which should afford them protection from the tempest of persecution. One of their company, Pedro de Herrera, a man who was held in the highest respect both by his fellow-sufferers and the Governor of Aguilar, went with this object in view to Seville to seek an interview with the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, Lieutenant of

the Province. He asked for the fortress of Gibraltar as a City of Refuge for himself and his brethren. As a return for the sole command of this stronghold he promised to pay a yearly tribute of considerable amount. The duke had signified his consent to this proposition, and the new-Christians had in consequence betaken themselves to Seville to sign the contract, when the friends of the duke raised the alarm. They believed that the Marranos were not to be trusted, and expressed the fear that they might enter into an alliance with the Moors, and deliver the key of the Spanish coast into their hands. The duke, however, insisted upon completing the contract, whereupon the opponents of the scheme gave the signal to the mob of Seville, which instantly rose against the new-Christians in an outburst of fanatical frenzy. It was only with difficulty that the governor protected them within the precincts of the city; and when, at length, they betook themselves in haste back to Palma, they were waylaid by the country people, and ill-treated and plundered (1473).

Thus the plan of Pedro de Herrera and his friends served, after all, only to bring greater misery upon them. It, indeed, endangered the whole body of the new-Christians as well as the Jews themselves; and already large numbers, both of the converted and the unbaptised, began to form the idea of leaving the now inhospitable Peninsula, and emigrating to Flanders or Italy.

Attacks upon the new-Christians were now of such daily occurrence that they suggested to the cunning and ambitious Pacheco the means of carrying out a *coup d'état*. This unscrupulous intriguer, who, for two decades, had kept Castile in constant confusion, saw with secret chagrin that the reconciliation of Don Henry with his sister and successor bade fair to completely annul his influence. In order, therefore, to bring about new

complications he determined to gain possession of the citadel (Alcazar) of Segovia, at that time occupied by the king. With this end in view he instigated, through his dependants, yet another assault upon the baptised Jews, during the confusion of which his accomplices were to seize Cabrera, the governor of the castle, and, if possible, the king himself. The conspiracy was betrayed only a few hours before it was to be carried into action; but the attack upon the new-Christians was perpetrated all the same. Armed bands perambulated the streets of Segovia, broke into the houses of the Marranos, gutted them completely, and slew every man, woman and child that fell into their hands (May 16th, 1474).

As the crowning misfortune of the Jewish race in Spain came the death of Don Henry in the following December. The rulers of the United Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were now his sister, the bigoted Isabella, who was approached only by advisers hostile to the Jews, and her husband, the unscrupulous Ferdinand—a man who openly gloried in his bigotry. Sad and terrible indeed was the fate that now impended over the sons of Jacob throughout the length and breadth of the Pyrenean Peninsula.

CHAPTER IX.

THE JEWS IN ITALY AND GERMANY BEFORE THE EXPULSION FROM SPAIN.

Position of the Jews of Italy—The Jewish Bankers—Yechiel of Pisa—His relations with Don Isaac Abrabanel—The Jewish doctors, Guglielmo di Portaleone—Revival of learning among the Italian Jews—The first Jewish Printers in Italy—Messer Leon and Elias del Medigo—Pico di Mirandola becomes the disciple of Medigo—Predilection of Christians for the Kabbala—Jochanan Aleman—Religious views of Del Medigo—The Jews of Sicily—German Rabbis immigrate into Italy—Joseph Kolon, his character and his feud with Messer Leon—Judah Menz an antagonist of Del Medigo—The latter is forced to quit Italy—The Monks—Bernardus of Feltre—Jews banished from Trent because of a false charge of child-murder—The Doge of Venice and Pope Sixtus IV. befriend the Jews—Sufferings of the Jews of Ratisbon—The Rabbi, Israel Bruna—Synod at Nuremberg—Emperor Frederick III.‡

1474—1492 C.E.

THE Spanish Jews would have belied all their native penetration and the wisdom born of bitter experience had they not foreseen that their position would ere long become unbearable.

It was because they did perceive this that they now turned their gaze towards those countries whose inhabitants at that time were the most favourably disposed towards the Jews. Italy and that Byzantine Empire which had just been rent from the domains of the Cross, were now the countries in which the greatest toleration existed. In Italy, where men saw most clearly the infamy of the Papacy and the priesthood, and where they had most to suffer from self-seeking tyranny, the Church and her servants were utterly without influence over the people. The world-wide intercourse of the wealthy and flourishing mer-

chant-republics of Venice, Florence, Genoa and Pisa, had in some measure broken through the narrow bounds of superstition, and enlarged men's range of vision. The interests of the market-place had driven the interests of the Church into the background. Wealth and ability were valued even in those who did not repeat the Catholic confession of faith. Not only the merchants but also the most exalted dynasties were in need of gold to support the mercenary legions of their Condottieri in their ever-recurring feuds. The Jews, as capitalists and skilful diplomatists, were therefore well-advised in betaking themselves to Italy. The following incident may be given in proof of what has just been said. When the city of Ravenna was desirous of uniting itself to Venice, it included among the conditions of union the demand that wealthy Jews might be sent there to open credit-banks, in order that the poverty of the populace might thereby be relieved.

In this way the Jewish capitalists received in many Italian cities, either from the reigning princes or the senates, extensive privileges for the opening of banks and the establishment of financial businesses, and were even allowed to charge a high rate of interest (20 per cent.). The Archbishop of Mantua in 1476 declared in the name of the Pope that it was permitted to the Jews to lend money upon interest. The canonical prohibition of usury could not withstand the pressure of universal convenience. The Jewish communal regulations tended to the support of the bankers; for the Rabbis threatened with the ban all those members of the community who lent money on interest without the regular authority to do so.

A Jew of Pisa, named Yechiel, controlled the money markets of Tuscany. He was, however, by no means a mere heartless money-maker, as the Christians were wont to miscall him, but rather a man of noble

mind and tender heart, who was ever ready to assist the poor with his gold, and to comfort the unfortunate by word and deed. Yechiel of Pisa was also familiar with and deeply interested in Hebrew literature, and maintained friendly relations with Isaac Abrabanel, the last of the Jewish statesmen of the Peninsula. When Alfonso V. of Portugal took the African sea-board towns of Arzilla and Tangier, and carried off among his captives to Portugal Jews of both sexes and every age, the Portuguese community became inspired with the pious desire of ransoming them. Abrabanel placed himself at the head of a committee which collected money for this purpose. As, however, the means of the Portuguese Jews did not extend to the maintenance of the ransomed prisoners until they found a means of subsistence, Abrabanel, in his letter to Yechiel of Pisa, asked whether Jewish physicians flourished in the Roman States, and whether the cardinals themselves employed them, since these possessed the key to the hearts of the great, upon whom the fate of the Jews depended.

A celebrated Jewish doctor, Guglielmo (Benjamin?) di Portaleone, of Mantua, was first physician-in-ordinary to Ferdinand of Naples, who ennobled him; he next entered the service of Duke Galeazzo Sforza, of Milan, and, lastly, in 1479, he became body-physician to Duke Ludovico Gonzaga. He was the founder of a noble house, and a long line of skilful Italian physicians. Thus there arose a confidential relationship between the Jews and Christians of Italy. When a wealthy Jew—Leo, of Crema—instituted, on the marriage of his son, magnificent festivities which lasted continuously for eight days, a great number of Christians took part in them, and danced and enjoyed themselves to the intense displeasure of the clergy. Totally forgotten seemed the Bull in which Nicholas V. had, quite recently, forbidden under heavy penalties

all concourse and intercourse of Christians with Jews, as well as the employment of Jewish physicians. In place of the canonically prescribed livery of degradation, the Jewish doctors wore robes of honour like Christians of similar standing; while those Jews who were connected with the courts wore golden chains and other honourable insignia. The relation of the condition of the Jews in Italy to that of their brethren in other lands brought about in Italy and Germany at the same time two similar incidents which took a very different issue.

The mother of a family in Pavia had, in consequence of differences with her husband, given notice of her intention to be received into the Catholic Church. She had already been taken into a convent where she was to be prepared for baptism. The bishop's vicar, with other spiritual advisers, was earnestly occupied in bringing her to a fitting state of mind for conversion when she was suddenly seized with remorse. The Bishop of Pavia, so far from punishing her for this relapse, or seeking to oppose her desire, showed every eagerness in interceding for her with her husband. He advised him to take her out of the convent forthwith, and testified most favourably as to her behaviour, so that her husband, who was a descendant of the family of Aaron, was not obliged to put her away under the Jewish law.

In the same year in Ratisbon a worthless fellow, one Kalmann, a reader (Chazan), took the fancy to turn Christian. He frequented the convent, attended Church, and at length the bishop received him in his house and instructed him in the Christian religion. In order to curry favour with the Christians he calumniated his fellow-believers by asserting that they possessed blasphemous writings against Christianity. But Kalmann also came to rue the step he had taken. He secretly attended the synagogue again, and at length, during the

absence of the bishop, left his house and returned to the Jews. The clergy of Ratisbon, however, became infuriated against him, arraigned him before the Inquisition, and charged him with seeking throughout to blaspheme the Church, God, and the Blessed Virgin. It was further laid to his charge that, if baptised, he would only have remained a Christian till he found himself at liberty. In the end he was condemned, and put to death by drowning.

Wherever even a little indulgence was permitted to the Jews, their dormant energy revived; and the Italian Jews were able to display it all the sooner, from the fact that as early as the times of Immanuel and Leone Romano, they had gained a certain degree of culture. They therefore took an active part in the intellectual revival and scientific renaissance which so distinguished the times of the Medici. Jewish youths attended the Italian universities, and acquired a more liberal education. The Italian Jews were the first to make use of the newly-discovered art of Gutenberg, and printing-houses soon rose in many parts of Italy—in Reggio, Ferrara, Pieva di Sacco, Bologna, Soncino, Ixion, and Naples. In the artistic creations of the time, however, in painting and sculpture, the Jews had no share. These lay outside their sphere. At the same time several educated Jews did not a little for the advancement and spread of science in Italy. Of these, two deserve especial mention here: Messer Leon, and Elias del Medigo; the latter of whom not only received the light of science, but also shed it abroad.

Messer Leon, or, according to his Hebrew name, Judah ben Yechiel, of Naples, flourished in the period 1450—1490, and was at once Rabbi and physician in Mantua. In addition to being thoroughly versed in Hebrew literature, he was a finished Latin scholar, and had a keen appreciation of the subtleties

of style displayed by Cicero and Quintilian. Belonging to the Aristotelian school, he expounded several of the writings of this philosopher, so highly esteemed in synagogue and church, and edited a grammar and a book on logic in the Hebrew language for Jewish students. Yet more important than these writings is Messer Leon's Hebrew Rhetoric (*Nófet Zufim*) in which he lays down the laws upon which the grace, force and eloquence of the higher style depend, and proved that the same laws underlie sacred literature. He was the first Jew who compared the utterance of the Prophets and Psalmists with those of Cicero—certainly a hardy undertaking in those days, when the majority of Jews and Christians held their Scriptures in such infinite reverence that a comparison with profane literature seemed a species of blasphemy. In fact, this was only possible in the times of the Medici, when love for Greek and Latin antiquities rose to a positive enthusiasm. Messer Leon, the learned Rabbi of Mantua, was above all things liberal and open-minded. He was never weary of rebuking the formal pietists for striving to withhold foreign influences from Judaism, as though it would be profaned by them. He was rather of opinion that Judaism could only gain by comparison with the culture of the ancient classical literatures, since thereby its beauty and sublimity would be brought to light.

Elias del Medigo, or Elias Cretensis (1463-1498), the scion of a German family that had emigrated to Crete, forms a striking figure in later Jewish history. He was the first great man that Italian Judaism produced. His was a mind which shone clearly and brilliantly out of the clouds which obscured his age; the mind of a man of varied and profound knowledge, and of both classical and philosophical culture. So completely had he assimilated the Latin literary style that he

was not only able to issue works in that language, but also 'to present the Hebrew syntax in Latin form.

Medigo kept himself far aloof from the vacuity which had invaded the minds of Italian Sciolists under the guise of the newly-discovered Neo-Platonic philosophy introduced by Ficinus. He never wavered in his allegiance to those sound thinkers who had been his earliest guides in philosophy — Aristotle, Maimuni, and Averroes, whose systems he now made known by tongue and pen to Christian inquirers in Italy, through the medium of translations and independent works. That youthful prodigy of his time, Count Giovanni Pico di Mirandola, made the acquaintance of Medigo, and became his disciple, friend and protector. Mirandola, who was a marvel to his age by reason of his wonderful memory, wide erudition, and dialectic skill, and was, moreover, on friendly terms with the ruling house of the Medicis in Tuscany, not only learnt from his Jewish friend the Hebrew language, but also the Arabian system of the Aristotelian philosophy, and he may too have learnt clearness of thought from him.

On one occasion a learned strife broke out in the University of Padua, the professors and students were divided into two parties, and, according to Christian custom, were on the point of settling the question with rapier and poniard. In the end the University, acting with the Venetian Senate, which was desirous of ending the strife, called upon Elias del Medigo to act as umpire in the dispute. Everyone confidently expected a final settlement from his erudition and impartiality. Del Medigo argued out the theme, and by the weight of his decision brought the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. The result of this was that he openly assumed the philosopher's robe, and discoursed to large audiences in Padua and Florence. The spectacle

was, indeed, a notable one. Under the very eyes of that Papacy which ever strove for the humiliation and enslavement of the Jews, Christian youths were imbibing wisdom from the lips of a Jewish teacher. Against the protectors of the Jews in Spain it hurled the thunders of excommunication, while in Italy it was forced passively to behold constant favours showered upon the Jews by Christians.

Pico di Mirandola, who was more a scholar than a thinker, soon took the fancy to plunge into the abysses of the secret lore of the Kabbala. He had procured his initiation into the Kabbalistic labyrinth at the hands of a Jew, Jochanan Aleman, who had travelled from Constantinople to Italy. Aleman, himself a wild enthusiast, deluded him into the belief that the secret doctrine was of primæval antiquity, and contained all the wisdom of the ages. Mirandola, who had a marvellous faculty of assimilation, soon made himself at home in the Kabbalistic formulæ, and discovered in it confirmations of Christian dogma; in fact, far more of Christianity than of Judaism. The extravagances of the Kabbala demonstrated in his eyes the doctrines of the Trinity in Unity, the Incarnation, Original Sin, the Fall of the Angels, Purgatory, and Eternal Punishment. He lost no time in translating several Kabbalistic writings from Hebrew into Latin in order to bring this occult lore to the knowledge of Christian readers. Among the nine hundred points of the thesis which Pico at the mature age of twenty-four pledged himself to defend, to which end he invited all the learned of the world to Rome, and undertook to pay the cost of their journeys, was this: That no science affords more certainty as to the Godhead of Christ than Kabbala and magic! Even Pope Sixtus IV. (1471—1484) was by this means so strongly attracted to the Kabbala that he displayed an eager haste in procuring Latin

translations of Kabbalistic writings for the use and support of the Catholic faith.

It is a striking proof of his sober mind and healthy judgment that Elias del Medigo kept himself quite apart from all this mental effeminacy and childish enthusiasm for the pseudo-doctrine of the Kabbala. He had a profound contempt for the Kabbalistic phantom, and did not refrain from exposing its worthlessness. He had the courage openly to express his opinion that the Kabbala is founded upon a mental swamp, that no trace of this doctrine is to be found in the Talmud, that the recognised authorities of ancient Judaism knew nothing of it, and that its supposed sacred and ancient groundwork, the Zohar, was by no means the work of the celebrated Simon bar Jochai, but simply the production of a forger. In short, he considered the Kabbala to have originated in the vacant minds of a few triflers and Sciolists of the Neo-Platonic school.

Del Medigo had, in fact, very sound and healthy views as to religion. Although a warm adherent of Judaism, entertaining also a respect for its Talmudic element, he was yet far from recognising all that appears in the Talmud as good and true. When challenged by one of his Jewish disciples from Candia, Saul Cohen Ashkenasi, to enunciate his confession of the Jewish faith, and especially his views as to the signs which distinguished a true religion, Elias Cretensis issued a small but pregnant work entitled "The Test of Religion" (*Bechinat-ha-Dat*), which also gives us a deep insight into his methods of thought.

It cannot be maintained that Del Medigo aroused any new mental activities by means of this work. It was not given to the Italians to endow Judaism with new ideas. They occupied the standpoint of belief rather than of inquiry, and proceeded with more caution than vigour. Standing alone

amidst the mental barrenness of his age, Del Medigo's fertile intellect appears like an oasis in the desert. It must also be reckoned to his credit that he at least recognised the deformities which the Kabbalists and pseudo-philosophers had added to Judaism as foreign accretions, and heartily desired to extirpate them.

It unfortunately happened that the Rabbis who emigrated from Germany to Italy assumed an attitude distinctly hostile to philosophical investigation and its promoters in Italy; a circumstance which brought them into conflict with Elias del Medigo and Messer Leon. With their strict but one-sided and exaggerated piety they cast a gloomy shadow wherever their hard fate had scattered them. Fresh storms breaking over the German communities had driven many German Jews, the most unhappy of their race, into trans-alpine lands. Under the Emperor Frederick III., who, for half a century, had beheld with astounding equanimity the most shameless insults to his authority on the part of an ambitious nobility, a plundering squirearchy, a demoralised clergy, and the self-seeking notables of the smaller towns, the Jewish communities saw their cup of bitterness but too often overflow. Frederick himself was by no means personally hostile to them. On the contrary, he frequently issued decrees in their favour. Unhappily, however, his commands remained for the most part dead letters, and his laxity of rule encouraged the evil-minded to the commission of the most shameful misdeeds. It was even dangerous for the German Jews to leave the walls of their cities. Every man was their foe, and waylaid them in order to satisfy either his fanaticism or his cupidity. Every feud that broke out in the now decaying German Empire brought misery to them.

Among the exiles from Mayence were two profound Talmudic scholars. They were cousins, by

name Judah and Moses Menz. The former emigrated to Padua, and there received the office of Rabbi, while the latter at first remained in Germany, and then passed over to Posen. As the result of expulsion or oppression the number of Rabbis was now constantly augmented from other parts of Germany. It must here be remarked that in consequence of their superior Talmudic knowledge these German emigrants were elected to all the most distinguished Rabbinate in Italy, and they re-indoctrinated with their prejudice and narrowness of vision those Italian Jews who had made such efforts to free themselves from the mental bonds of the Middle Ages.

The most distinguished Rabbis of Italy were at that time Judah Menz and Joseph Kolon, and these two were of all men the most inimical to the freer treatment of Judaism, and the most earnestly opposed to the advocates of freedom. Joseph ben Solomon Kolon, who flourished from 1460 to 1490, was indeed of French extraction, his ancestors having been expelled from France; but he had passed his youth in Germany, and had received his education in German schools. He subsequently lived with his relatives in Chambery until the Jews were hunted out of Savoy. In company with several of his companions in misfortune he then travelled into Lombardy, where he gained his living by teaching; finally he became Rabbi of Mantua. Endowed with extraordinary penetration, and fully the equal of the German Rabbis in the depth of his Talmudic learning, Joseph Kolon was celebrated in his day as a Rabbinical authority of the first magnitude, and his academy rivalled the German school itself. He received problems for settlement both from German and Italian communities. On scientific subjects and all matters outside the Talmud he was as ignorant as his German fellow-dignitaries. A resolute, decided nature, Joseph Kolon was a man of rigid

views on all religious matters. This sternness of character involved him both in unpleasant relations with Moses Kapsali in Constantinople, and in a heated controversy with the cultured Messer Leon in his own community. However well they might agree together for a time, Joseph Kolon, the strict Talmudist, and Messer Leon, the cultured man of letters, were not so constituted that they could long tolerate each other. When they at length came into conflict the whole community of Mantua took sides in their feud, and split into two parties as supporters of the one or the other. The strife at length became so keen that in 1476—1477 Duke Joseph of Mantua banished them both from the city; after which Kolon became Rabbi of Pavia.

Still more strained were the relations between the Rabbi Judah Menz and the philosopher Elias del Medigo. The former (born 1408, died 1509), a man of the old school, possessed of comprehensive knowledge of Talmudic subjects, and of remarkable sagacity, was most resolutely opposed to scientific progress and freedom in religious matters, and after his expulsion from Mayence spared no pains to instil the narrow spirit of the German Rabbis into Padua and Italy in general.

The relatively secure and honourable position of the Jews in Italy did not fail to rouse against them the anger of those fanatical monks who sought to cover with the cloak of religious zeal either their dissolute conduct or the ambitious share which they took in worldly affairs. The colder the Christian world grew towards the end of the fifteenth century with regard to clerical institutions the more bitterly did the monastic orders rage against the Jews. Preaching friars made the chancels ring with tirades against them, and openly preached their utter extermination. Their most desperate enemy at this time was the Franciscan Bernardinus of Feltre, a worthy disciple of the bloodthirsty Capis-

trano. The standing text of his sermons was :— Let Christian parents keep a watchful eye on their children lest the Jews steal them, ill-treat them, and crucify them !

He held up Capistrano, the Jew slayer, to the admiration of his hearers as the type and model of a true Christian. In his eyes friendly and neighbourly intercourse with Jews was an abomination, and a most grievous sin against the canonical law. Christian charity, he admitted, did indeed direct that the Jews should be treated with justice and humanity being, as they were, human ; but at the same time the Canonical Law forbade Christians to have any dealings with them, to sit at their tables, or to allow themselves to be treated by Jewish physicians. As the aristocracy everywhere took the part of the Jews in obedience to their own interests, Bernardinus made it his mission to inflame the lower classes against the Jews and their patrons. From the fact that there were certain capitalists who had been successful in finance he depicted the Jews as vampires and extortioners, in order to rouse the ill-will of the populace against them. “ I, who live on alms and eat the bread of the poor, shall I be a dumb dog and not howl when I see the Jews wringing their wealth from Christian poverty? Yea! shall I not cry aloud for Christ’s sake?” Such is a fair specimen of his preaching.

Had it not been that the Italian people were at this period governed by strong good sense, Bernardinus would have been to the Jews of Italy what, in the beginning of the same century, the Dominican, Vincent Ferrer, had been to the Jews of Spain, and Capistrano to the communities of Germany and the Slav countries. As it happened, the authorities sorely hindered Bernardinus in his business of Jew-baiting, and his bloodthirsty sermons mostly evaporated harmlessly in the air. When he was

conducting his crusade in Bergamo and Ticini, Duke Galeazzo, of Milan, forbade him to proceed. In Florence and Tuscany particularly the enlightened Prince and the Senate took the part of the Jews with vigour. The venomous monk, however, spread the report that they had allowed themselves to be bribed with large sums from Yechiel of Pisa and other wealthy Jews. As by this means Bernardinus had managed to incite the youth of the city against the Jews, and a popular rising was imminent, the authorities ordered him to quit Florence and the country forthwith, and he was compelled to fly (1487). Little by little, however, by dint of untiring repetition of the same charges, he managed so far to inflame public opinion against the Jews that even the Venetian Senate was not always able to protect the communities. Finally, he did succeed in bringing about a bloody persecution of the Jews, if not in Italy at least in the Tyrol, whence it rapidly spread to Germany.

While Bernardinus was preaching in the city of Trent, he remarked with no little chagrin the friendly relation that existed there between Jews and Christians. A very skilful Jewish physician, named Tobias, and an intelligent Jewess, named Brunetta, were on the most friendly terms with the upper classes of the city, enjoying their complete confidence, a circumstance which roused his ire not a little, and in view of which he once more made the chancels of Trient ring with his savage tirades against the Jews. When some Christians once called him to account for his hatred of the Jews, and remarked that though those of Trent were without the true faith yet they were worthy folk, the monk replied: "Ye know not what misfortune these good people will bring upon you. Before Easter Sunday is past they will give you a proof of their extraordinary goodness." It was

easy for him to prophesy, since he and a few other priests had arranged their plans so cunningly that they not only brought about the ruin of the community of Trent, but also caused the greatest injury to the Jews of various countries. It further happened that chance presented a favourable opportunity exactly suited to his purpose.

In the Holy Week of 1475 a three-year-old child, named Simon, the son of poor Christian parents, was drowned in the Etsch at Trent, and the corpse was caught in a grating close to the house of a Jew. He, in order to avoid all misrepresentation of the event, hurried to Bishop Hinderbach to give him notice of the occurrence. The bishop took two men of high position with him, went to the place, and had the body carried into the church. As soon as the news spread in the city, Bernardinus and other hostile priests raised a fierce outcry against the Jews, saying that they had tortured and slain the child, and then flung it into the water. They also exhibited the body of the supposititiously ill-treated child in order to inflame the fury of the populace against them. The bishop caused all the Jews of Trent, high and low, to be cast into prison; commenced proceedings against them, and called a physician, Matthias Tiberinus, to testify to the violent death of the child. A baptised Jew, one Wolfkan, from Ratisbon, an engrosser, came forward with the most fearful accusations against his former co-religionists. His charges found the more credence from the fact that the imprisoned Jews confessed under torture that they had slain Simon and drunk his blood on the night of the Passover. Brunetta, an accomplished Jewess, was said to have supplied the weapons for the purpose. A letter was also supposed to have been found in the possession of a Rabbi, Moses, which had been sent from Saxony, asking for Christian blood for the next Easter. Only one of the tortured victims, a

man named Moses, endured every torment without substantiating by his utterances the lying accusations of his enemies. The result was that all Jews were banished from Trent, and it was decided that no Jew should thenceforth settle in the city. Four persons only became converts to Christianity, and were pardoned.

The Bishop of Trent, Bernardinus, and the monks of all orders made every effort to utilise this circumstance so as to achieve the general ruin of the Jews. The corpse of the child was embalmed and commended to the populace as a holy relic. Thousands made pilgrimages to its remains, and ere long it was believed by the faith-drunken pilgrims that they had seen the bones of the child Simon glitter. So much was said about it that even its inventors came to believe in the martyrdom. From every chancel the Dominicans proclaimed the new miracle, and thundered against the infamy of the Jews. Two lawyers from Padua who visited Trent in order to convince themselves of the truth of the occurrence were almost torn to pieces by the fanatical mob. The marvel gradually came to be believed in, and so the Jews of all Christian countries were jeopardised anew. Even in Italy they dared not go outside the towns lest they should be slain by the first comer as child-murderers.

The doge, Pietro Mocenigo, and the Venetian Senate, on the complaint of the Jews as to the insecurity of their lives and property, issued orders to the Podesta of Padua energetically to defend them against fanatical outbreaks, and to forbid the preaching friars to inflame the mob against them. The doge at the same time remarked that the rumour that the Jews had slain a Christian child in Trent was a false fabrication, a device invented by their enemies to serve some purpose of their own. When Pope Sixtus IV. was urged to canonize the little Simon he steadfastly refused, and sent a

letter to that effect to all the towns of Italy on October 10th, 1475, forbidding Simon of Trent to be honoured as a saint until he had investigated the matter; and thus allayed the popular excitement against the Jews. The clergy, nevertheless, had the bones of Simon honoured as holy, and instituted pilgrimages to the church that had been built for him.

Through this circumstance public animosity to the Jews in Germany gained fresh vigour. The citizens of Frankfort-on-the-Maine erected on the bridge leading to Sachsenhausen a picture representing in hideous detail a martyred child, and the Jews leagued with the devil in their bloody work. This lying rumour as to the child-murder in Trent spread like wildfire through several Christian countries, and became the source of new sufferings to the Jews. Nowhere were these sufferings so severe as in the free city of Ratisbon, one of the oldest in South Germany. The community of this city was held to be not only very pious but of distinguished morality. It was considered a high honour even to be related to the Jews of Ratisbon. Within the memory of man no Jewish native of this city had been brought before the tribunal on account of any moral lapse. The community was regarded as the most learned in the land, and the parent of all other German communities. It possessed chartered liberties which the Emperor, in consideration of the Crown-tax, was accustomed to renew on his accession. The Jews of Ratisbon were half recognised as burghers of the city, and mounted guard with the Christians as militia. One might almost say that the Bavarian princes and corporations vied in favouring them—of course merely to share their purses. In the latter half of this century they had become a veritable bone of contention between the Duke of Bavaria-Landsberg and Frederick III., who, hard-pressed on all sides

not only in the Empire but even in his own possessions, hoped to fill his empty coffers with the wealth of the Jews.

In addition to these a whole tribe of officials made claims upon the Jews of Ratisbon, as well as the Town Council, and, of course, the bishop. In consequence of these contradictory and mutually hostile demands, the position of the Jews was anything but a bed of roses. First from one side and then from another came orders to the Council to imprison the Jews, their chiefs, or their Rabbi, at that time the sorely-tried Israel Bruna, until they, worn out by confinement, decided to pay what was claimed. The Council did indeed seek to shield them, but only so long as the citizens stood in no danger, or the Jews were not the creditors of the Christian guildsmen.

In order to escape the extortions of this heartless despotism, prudence directed that they should place themselves under the protection of one of the Hussite nobles or captains. They would thus enjoy more security than was possible under the so-called protection of the emperor, since the fiery Hussites were not a little feared by the more sluggish Germans. Although they had to some extent abandoned their heretical fanaticism, and taken service under Catholic sovereigns, their desperate valour was still a source of terror to the orthodox clergy. The event proved that the Jews would have acted wisely in appealing to their protection.

While they were considering this question, a bishop named Henry happened to be elected in Ratisbon. He was a man of a gloomy nature, to whom the sentiment of mercy was unknown, and he naturally insisted strongly on the enforcement of the canonical restrictions against the Jews. As examples to others, for instance, he mercilessly punished a Christian girl who had entered the

service of a Jew, and a Christian barber who had let blood for a Jewish customer. His animosity to this unhappy people seemed utterly insatiable. On one occasion, when the Jewish midwife was sick, and a Christian was about to attend the Jewish women in labour, the Council actually dared not give her the required permission without the episcopal sanction.

Bishop Henry and Duke Louis, one in mind in their hatred of the Jews, now pursued what seemed to be a preconcerted plan for the ruin or conversion of the Jews of Ratisbon. For this purpose they enlisted on the one hand the acquiescence of the Pope, and on the other the assistance of influential persons on the city Council. Their campaign began with attempted conversions and false accusations, in the fabrication of which they availed themselves of the assistance of a couple of worthless converted Jews. One of these, Peter Schwarz by name, concocted slanderous and compromising letters against his former co-religionists. The other, one Hans Vayol, heaped the vilest calumnies upon the grey hairs of the Rabbi Israel Bruna, and amongst other things charged him with purchasing a seven-year old Christian child and slaughtering it. Upon this accusation the Rabbi of Ratisbon, already bowed down by sorrow and suffering, was charged with the death of the child.

Israel Bruna (of Brünn, born 1400, died 1480) was one of those sons of sorrow who seem to fall from one misfortune into another. He appears to have been exiled from Brünn, where he was already recognised as a Rabbinical authority, and after many wanderings to have travelled by way of Prague to Ratisbon. He settled there and performed the functions of Rabbi to those who placed confidence in him. It happened, however, that a Talmudic scholar who resided in the city, one, Amschel, who was a layman and not an elected

Rabbi, raised objections in the assembly, and forbade Israel Bruna to hold discourses before his disciples, to deal with matters of divorce, to exercise any Rabbinical functions, or to divide the honours of the office with himself. As each had his followers, a schism arose in the community of Ratisbon. Two teachers, Jacob Weil and Isserlein, upholders of the freedom of the Rabbinical office and pronounced opponents of spiritual officialism, took the part of the persecuted Israel Bruna, to whom, also, David Sprinz, a Rabbi of Nuremberg, attached himself. These men proved in the clearest manner that it is competent to any Jew to assume the Rabbinical functions, provided that he possesses the requisite knowledge, is authorised by a recognised teacher, and leads a pious and moral life. They further adduced in favour of Israel Bruna the fact that he spent his substance in alleviating the common burdens, and was therefore a worthy member of the community. The breach nevertheless remained open, and Israel Bruna was often exposed to insults from the opposite party. Once when he was about to hold a discourse several of the ringleaders rose and left the lecture-room, and were followed by many others. Disciples of his opponent also secretly painted crosses on his seat in the synagogue, wrote the hateful word "heretic" beside them, and offered other insults to him. As time went on, and after the death of the great Rabbis Jacob Weil and Israel Isserlein, Bruna was recognised as the indisputable Rabbinical authority, and from far and near questions were sent to him to be answered. His misfortunes, however, did not cease. When the Emperor Frederick demanded the Crown-tax from the community of Ratisbon, Duke Louis opposed the payment, and the Council was unable to decide which side to assist, and which to oppose. The emperor thereupon threw Israel

Bruna into prison so that he might, by threatening them with the ban, induce his people to pay over the third part of their whole possessions. He was only released on bail of his entire property; and, in addition to this, the fearful charges of child-murder and other capital crimes were raised against the decrepit old man by the converted Jew, Hans Vayol. Bishop Henry and the clergy were only too ready to gratify their hatred of the Jews by means of this accusation, and the besotted populace gave all the more credence to the falsehood, as rumours of the death of Christian children at the hands of Jews daily increased in number. No one in Ratisbon doubted that the grey old Israel Bruna had foully murdered a Christian child, and he was on the point of being put to death on the demand of the clergy. In order to withdraw him from the fury of the mob, the Council, which feared to be made answerable for what they did, imprisoned him.

In the meantime the anxious community appealed not only to the emperor, but also to the far more justly feared Bohemian King Ladislaus; and ere long stringent directions came from both to release the Rabbi instantly without ransom. The Council, however, excused itself on the plea of fear of the bishop and the mob. Thereupon followed a mandate from the emperor to defer the execution of Israel Bruna until he came to hold the parliament at Augsburg. The Council was still less satisfied with this order, for they feared by this means to lose their jurisdiction over the Jews. They accordingly prepared to take decisive action in the matter. They caused the accuser, Hans Vayol, to be led on to the stone bridge where the executioner stood in readiness. He was informed as to his fate and admonished not to go into eternity with a lie on his lips. The hardened sinner, notwithstanding, maintained his accusations against the Jews in

general, but confessed that the Rabbi Israel Bruna was innocent of the charge of child-murder which he had brought against him. In consequence of this, and on receipt of a fresh rescript from the emperor, Vayol was banished, and the Rabbi released from prison. He was, however, compelled to take an oath that he would not revenge himself for his long sufferings. This poor, feeble grey-beard—how should he avenge himself?

At this juncture the news of the martyrdom of Simon of Trent reached Ratisbon, and added fuel to the fire. Bishop Henry was delighted to have an opportunity of persecuting the Jews with impunity in the interests of the Faith. He had heard something of this child-murder on his journey to Rome. On his return he found the occasion favourable for directing the Council to institute a rigid enquiry respecting those Jews who had been accused by Wolfkan. The result of the confessions extorted by torture was the imprisonment of the whole community. Sentinels stood day and night on guard at the four gates of the Jewry of Ratisbon, and permitted no one to enter or go out. The possessions of the whole community were confiscated by the commissioners and judges who took an inventory of everything. A hideous fate now threatened the unhappy children of Israel.

Meanwhile this trial, which caused considerable surprise in its day, proved quite as prejudicial to the citizens as to the Jews themselves. Immediately the enquiry began several Jews of Ratisbon had betaken themselves to Bohemia and to the emperor, and tried by every means to save their unhappy brethren. They knew, however, that in order to bring their righteous cause to the light, above all things gold, and plenty of it, would be necessary. For this reason several Bavarian Rabbis assembled in a Synod at Nuremberg, and decided that the whole of the Bavarian communities and

every individual who was not absolutely impoverished, should contribute a proportionate sum in order to make up the amount necessary to free the accused Jews of Ratisbon. When the safety of their brethren was in question, the Jews, however fond they might be of money, were by no means parsimonious. The intercession of the Bohemian nobles under whose protection several of the Ratisbon community had placed themselves led to no result. Far more efficacious were the golden arguments which the ambassadors of the community laid before Emperor Frederick and his advisers. It is only just to say that this usually feeble sovereign displayed considerable ability and firmness in this inquiry. He was so strongly convinced of the falsehood of the capital charges against the Jews that he would not allow himself to be deceived by any trickery. He dispatched rescript after rescript to the Council of Ratisbon, ordering the immediate release of the imprisoned Jews, the cessation of the duration of the community, and the restoration of their property. The Council, however, through fear of the bishop and the duke delayed the execution of the order, and the emperor became furious at the obstinacy of the citizens when news was brought to him that, in spite of the Imperial command, they had already executed some of the Jews. He thereupon declared the city to have fallen under the ban of the empire on account of its obstinate disobedience, and summoned it to answer for its contumacy. At the same time he sent the imperial chancellor to deprive the city of penal jurisdiction and to threaten it with other severe penalties.

Frederick, though as a rule so weak, showed wonderful firmness on this occasion. New and shameless charges were nevertheless brought by the clergy against the Jews. In Passau they were accused of having bought the consecrated wafer from a Christian, and profaned it; whereupon

certain marvels were said to have occurred. For this the Bishop of Passau had put to death a great number of Jews, some "mercifully" by the sword, others at the stake, and others by means of red-hot pincers. In memory of this inhumanity and "to the glory of God" a new church was built near the scene of the atrocities. It so happened that a Jew and a Jewess of Ratisbon were accused of complicity in this crime, and thrown into prison with the others. All the details were brought to the notice of the emperor in order to rouse the fanatical spirit in him. He, however, remained fixed in his conviction that the Jews of Ratisbon were innocent, and issued a new order to the effect that those who were in prison on the charge of profaning the host were neither to be tortured nor put to death, but treated like other prisoners. In vain the Council sent deputy after deputy to the Imperial Court. Fréderick roundly declared, "In justice and honour I neither can nor will permit these Jews to be slain, and never more shall the men of Ratisbon who have so long hardened themselves in their disobedience sit in judgment upon them."

Thus, after a long resistance, the Council was compelled to kiss the rod, and to give a written undertaking to release the imprisoned Jews, and not to drive them out of the city on account of this trial. Further, the city was sentenced to pay a fine of 8,000 gulden into the Imperial exchequer and to find bail in 10,000 gulden—which latter burden, strangely enough, the Jews had to bear. An appeal to the Pope was forbidden by the experience that "the Papal Court was even more greedy of gold than the Imperial."

When the community of Ratisbon were informed of this conclusion of the affair, and of the conditions under which they could gain their freedom—that they should pay not only the sum imposed upon themselves, but also the fine and the costs of

the proceeds—they refused their acceptance. Their delegates remarked that the total exceeded their whole possessions, especially as they had been, for three long years, deprived of freedom and all opportunity of earning money. They preferred rather to remain in their present miserable state than to become beggars. Thus they remained two years longer in durance, partly on account of lack of money, and partly by reason of the excessive bail demanded. They were finally set at liberty on taking an oath that they would neither convey their persons nor their goods out of the city of Ratisbon.

Many Jews were, however, expelled from Suabia at this period, doubtless in consequence of false accusations in connection with the child-murder of Trent. Long after, even in the 18th century, these shameless falsehoods were repeated, and in many parts entailed upon the Jews the sacrifice of life and property.

CHAPTER X.

THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN.

Jewish Blood in the Veins of Spanish Nobility—The Marranos cling to Judaism and manifest an unconquerable antipathy to Christianity—Ferdinand and Isabella—The Dominicans, Alonzo de Ojeda, Diego de Merlo, and Pedro de Solis—The Catechism of the Marranos—A Polemical Writing against the Catholic Church and Despotism gives a powerful impulse to the Inquisition—The Tribunal is established in 1480—Miguel Morillo and Juan de San-Martin are the first Inquisitors—The Inquisition in Seville—The “Edict of Grace” and the Demand for Apostates to betray their friends—The Procession and the Auto-da-fé—The numbers of the Accused and Condemned—Pope Sixtus IV. and his Vacillating Policy with regard to the Inquisition—The Inquisition under the first Inquisitor-General, Thomas de Torquemada; its Constitutions—The Marranos of Aragon—They are charged with the death of the Inquisitor Arbues—Persecutions and Victims—Proceedings against two Bishops favourable to the Jews, De Avila and De Aranda.

1474—1483 C.E.

A JEWISH poet has named Spain the “Hell of the Jews”; and in very deed those foul fiends in monkish cowls, the inventors of the Holy Inquisition, made that lovely land a veritable Inferno. Every misery, every mortal pang, such as only the far-reaching imaginations of the poet can conceive; every horror that can thrill the heart of man to its lowest depths, these monsters in the garb of humility brought upon the Jews of the Elysian Peninsula.

These Calibans were accustomed to say “Let their books be but burnt, for therein lies their power.” The Dominicans would have destroyed not only the bodies, but the very soul and spirit of the Jews. Yet, for all their rage, they were not able to quench the life of Judaism. They

only succeeded in transforming the Spanish paradise into one vast dungeon, in which not even the king himself was free. The Inquisition, created by the begging friars, wounded the Jew deeply, yet not mortally. His wounds are now almost healed; but Spain suffers still, and perhaps beyond hope of cure, under the wounds that the Inquisition dealt her. Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella the Bigot, who, through the union of Aragon and Castile, laid the foundation of Spanish greatness, prepared the way, at the same time, by the establishment of the Inquisition, for her decay and final ruin.

The new-Christians, who dwelt in hundreds and thousands throughout the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, formed so many thorns in the monkish flesh. Many of them held high offices of State, and by means of their wealth wielded great and far-reaching influence. They were also related to many of the old nobility, and, indeed, there were few families of consequence who had not Jewish blood in their veins. They formed a third part of the townspeople, and were intelligent, industrious, and peaceful citizens. These Marranos had, for the most part, preserved in the depths of their hearts their love for Judaism and for their race. As far as they could, they observed the Jewish rites and customs, whether out of piety or habit. Even those who, upon philosophical grounds, were indifferent to Judaism, were none the less irreconcilably hostile to that Christianity which they were compelled to confess with their lips. Although they did not have their children circumcised, they yet washed the heads of the infants immediately after baptism. They were, therefore, rightly looked upon by the orthodox clergy either as Judaising Christians, or as apostate heretics. They took no count of the origin of their conversion, which was accomplished with fire and sword. They had, once

for all, received the sacrament of baptism, and therefore they and their descendants were condemned to remain in the Christian faith, however hateful it might be to them. Rational legislation would have given them liberty to return to Judaism, and, in any case, to emigrate, in order to avoid scandal. As it happened, the spiritual powers were full of perversity. That which demands the freest exercise of the powers of the soul was to be coerced by brute force, to the greater glory of God!

During the lifetime of Don Henry IV. the clerical members of the Cortes of Medina del Campo had already persistently advanced the proposal that a Court of Inquisition should be instituted for the purpose of bringing recusant or suspected Christians to trial, and of inflicting severe punishment, with confiscation of goods. Unfortunately for the clericals, the king was by no means either very zealous for the faith or fond of persecution; and so this decision of the Cortes, like many others, remained a dead letter. The Dominicans, however, promised themselves greater results under the new sovereigns—Queen Isabella, whose father confessor had reduced her to spiritual slavery, and Don Ferdinand, who, though by no means so superstitiously inclined, was yet quite ready to use religion as the cloak of his avarice. It is said that the confessor, Thomas de Torquemada, the personal incarnation of the hell-begotten Holy Inquisition, had extorted from the Infanta Isabella a vow that, when she came to the throne, she would devote her life to the extirpation of heresy, to the glory of God and the exaltation of the Catholic faith. She was now queen; “her throne was established;” and her soul was sufficiently beclouded to believe that “God had raised her up solely to cleanse Spanish Christianity from the taint of Judaism.”

The prior of a Dominican monastery, Alfonso de

Ojeda, who had the ear of the royal consorts, made fearful representations to them as to the offences of the new-Christians against the faith. He, aided by two others of like mind, strained every nerve to set the Inquisition in motion against the Marranos; and the Papal Nuncio in Spain, Nicolo Franco, supported the proposition of the monk to erect a tribunal which should call them to account for their transgressions.

Without further consideration Don Ferdinand gave his assent to the scheme, seeing, as he did, that his coffers would be filled with the plunder of the accused. The more scrupulous queen hesitated, and the royal pair decided to appeal to the Pope for advice. Meanwhile the two Spanish ambassadors at the Court of Rome, the brothers Francisco and Diego de Santillana, earnestly pressed the Pope and the College of Cardinals to grant the request of their sovereigns. Sixtus IV., from whom anything, good or bad, was to be obtained for gold, immediately grasped the money-making aspect of the Holy Inquisition. In November, 1478, he issued a Bull empowering the sovereigns to appoint Inquisitors from among the clergy, who should have full authority to sit in judgment on all heretics, apostates, and their accomplices, not according to the laws and customs of the ancient Inquisition, which was exercised by the bishops, and to sentence them, and—most important point of all—to confiscate their goods.

Isabella, who had been somewhat favourably influenced on behalf of the new-Christians, was not inclined to adopt rigorous measures to begin with; and therefore sought, at first, to proceed with mildness. At her direction, the Archbishop of Seville, Cardinal Mendoza, prepared a catechism for the use of the new-Christians in 1478, and issued it to the clergy of his diocese, in order that they might instruct the Marranos in the articles of the Christian

faith, the sacraments, and the usages of the Christian religion. The authors of this measure seem to have displayed a strange simplicity in believing that the baptised Jews would allow an antipathy which every day found some new incitement, to be appeased by the empty formula of a catechism. The Marranos naturally remained in what the Church looked upon as their blindness; that is to say, in the purity of their theology and their adherence to their ancestral religion.

It now happened that either a Jew or a new-Christian grievously offended the sovereigns by the publication of a small work in which he exposed at once the idolatrous cult of the Church and the despotic character of the government. Hereupon the queen became more and more inclined to assent to the proposals for the establishment of the criminal tribunal. The work made so strong an impression that the queen's father-confessor, in 1480, published a counter-blast by royal command. The attitude of the Court became more and more hostile to the new-Christians, and when the commission which had been appointed by the sovereigns to enquire into the improvement or otherwise of the Marranos reported "that they were irreclaimable," it was authorised to inaugurate the new tribunal. This commission was composed of the fanatical Dominican, Alonzo de Ojeda, and the two monks—one in mind and order—Pedro de Solis and Diego de Merlo.

Had demons of the nethermost hell conspired to torment innocent men to the last verge of endurance and to make their lives one ceaseless martyrdom, they could not have devised more perfect means than those which the three monks employed against their victims.

The statute was finally ratified by the sovereigns, and the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition was constituted on September 17th, 1480. It was composed

of men well fitted to carry out such a bloody decree: the Dominican Miguel Morillo, until then Inquisitor in the province of Roussillon, and renowned as a converter of heretics by means of torture; Juan de San-Martin, the Abbot Juan Ruez, an assessor, and the Procurator Fiscal. These men were formally designated by Sixtus IV. judges in matters of faith, and of all heretics and apostates. The tribunal was first organised in the city of Seville and its neighbourhood, as this district stood immediately under the royal jurisdiction and possessed no Cortes, and contained a great many Marranos. Three weeks later the sovereigns issued a decree calling upon all officials to render the Inquisitors every assistance in their power.

It is noteworthy that as soon as the creation of the tribunal became known, the populace everywhere looked upon it with displeasure, as though they suspected that they themselves might be caught in the net that was being spread for the Marranos. Though the Cortes of Medina del Campo had first proposed the establishment of a Court to supervise the new-Christians, the great popular assembly at Toledo in the same year—the first after the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella—maintained an absolute silence on the question, as though it desired to have no share in the unholy work. The mayor and other officials of Seville proved so disinclined to assist the Inquisitors that it was necessary to issue a second royal decree on December 27th, 1480, directing them to do so. The nobles, allied with the converted Jews either through blood or friendship, stood stoutly by them, and sought by every means to protect them against the new tribunal.

As soon as the new-Christians of Seville and the neighbourhood received news of the establishment of the Inquisition, they held a meeting to consider means of turning aside the blow that was aimed

at them. Several wealthy and respected men of Seville, Carmona and Utrera, and among them the royal treasurer, Abolafia, prepared to do battle with their approaching persecutors. They distributed money and weapons among the people, in order to enlist them in their defence. One old man even urged the conspirators to armed resistance; but the conspiracy was betrayed by the daughter of one of its members, and all fell into the hands of the tribunal. Others, who had collected their possessions and fled to the province of Medina-Sidonia and Cadiz, under whose governors they hoped to receive protection against the threatened persecution, were deceived, for the Inquisition went to work with remorseless severity. As soon as it had taken up its quarters in the convent of St. Paul at Seville, on January 2nd, 1481, it issued an edict to the Governor of Cadiz and other officials to deliver up the Marranos and distrain their goods. Those who disobeyed were threatened not only with excommunication, but also with the punishment assigned to all accomplices of heretics as sharers of their guilt—confiscation of goods and deprivation of office.

The Inquisition inspired so much terror that all classes of the nobility lost no time in imprisoning those to whom they had so lately promised protection, and in sending them in custody to Seville. The number of these prisoners was so great that the tribunal was soon obliged to seek another building in which to carry on its functions. It finally selected a castle in Triana, a suburb of Seville. On the gate of this house of blood there were inscribed, in mockery of the Jews, certain verses selected from their Scriptures:—"Go, God judge thy cause"; "Catch ye foxes for us," which plainly showed the utter heartlessness of their judges. All who were imprisoned after flight were treated as convicted heretics. So early as

the fourth day after the installation of the tribunal it held its first criminal sitting. Six Marranos who had either avowed their old religion before their judges, or made hideous confessions on the rack, were condemned and burnt alive. The tale of victims grew to such proportions that the city authorities set apart a special place as a permanent execution ground, which subsequently became infamous as the Quemadero, or place of burning. Four huge caricatures of the Prophets distinguished this spot, which can be pointed out to the present day to the shame of Spain and Christianity. For three hundred years the smoke of the burnt-offering of innocence ascended to heaven from this infernal spot.

With that mildness of mien which so skilfully covered the wisdom and the venom of the serpent, Miguel Morillo and his coadjutors gave to those of the new-Christians who had admitted their relapse to Judaism a certain time in which to declare their remorse. Upon doing this they would receive absolution, and be permitted to retain their property. This was the Edict of Grace; but it was not wanting in threats for those who should permit the time of respite to elapse, and be denounced by others as lapsed from the faith. The full vigour of the canonical laws against heresy and apostasy would then be exercised against them. Those of easy belief obeyed the summons in crowds. They appeared before the tribunal in attitudes of contrition, lamented the awful guilt of their lapse into Judaism, and awaited absolution and permission to live in peace. But now the Inquisitors imposed the condition that they should declare by name, position, residence and other particulars all persons of their acquaintance whom they knew to be apostates. This declaration they were to be obliged to substantiate on oath. It was demanded of them in the name of God that they should become accusers and

betrayers—the friend of his friend, the brother of his brother, and the son of the father. When to terror was added the assurance that the betrayed should never know the names of their betrayers the tongues of the weak-hearted were loosed, and the tribunal soon had a long list of heretics upon whom to carry out its bloody work.

Meanwhile, in addition to the hunted Marranos, every Spaniard was called upon by an edict of the Inquisitors to become an informer. Under threat of excommunication every one was bound to give within three days a list of those of his acquaintance who had pleaded guilty to Jewish heresy. It was a summons to the most hateful vices of mankind to become allies of the Court; to malice, hatred and revenge, to satiate themselves by treachery; to greed, to enrich itself; and to superstition, to gain salvation by betrayal.

And what were the signs of this heresy and apostasy? The Inquisition had published a very complete and practical guide on the subject; so that each informer might find good grounds for his denunciation. The following signs of heresy were set forth: if baptised Jews cherished hopes of a Messiah; if they held Moses to be as efficacious for salvation as Jesus; if they kept the Sabbath or any other Jewish feast; if they had their children circumcised; if they observed the Jewish laws as to food; if they wore clean linen or better garments on the Sabbath, laid table-cloths, or lit no fire on this day, or if they went barefoot on the Day of Atonement, or asked pardon of each other, or if a father laid his hands in blessing on his children without making the sign of the cross. Further, if anyone said his prayers with his face turned to the wall, or with motions of the head; or if he uttered a benediction (*Baraha*, *Beracha*) over the wine-cup, and pledged his guests. As a matter of course, neglect of the usages of the Church was the strongest

ground for suspicion and accusation. Lastly, if a new-Christian repeated a psalm without adding the Gloria; or if he ate meat on fast days; or if a Jewish woman did not go to church forty days after her lying-in; or if parents gave their children Jewish names, the charge of heresy was held proven.

Even dealings of the most innocent nature were regarded as signs of aggravated heresy when they had any appearance of Jewish usage. If anyone, for instance, on the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles, accepted gifts from the tables of the Jews or sent them; or if a new-born child was bathed in water in which gold coins and grains of corn had been placed; or if a dying man in his last moments turned his face to the wall—all such actions were held to be signs of heresy.

By such means as these unscrupulous people were given the most ample opportunities for denunciation; and the tribunal was enabled to accuse of heresy the most orthodox proselytes when it desired to destroy their influence or confiscate their property. As a natural consequence the dungeons of the Inquisition were soon filled with Jewish heretics. Fully 5,000 were thrown into prison at the outset. The Christian priests of Moloch inaugurated the first auto-da-fé on January 6th, 1481, with a solemn procession, which was repeated for the following three hundred years. The clergy in their gorgeous vestments, preceded by crucifixes; the grantees in black robes with their banner and pennons; the unhappy victims in the hideous San Benito, short and close clinging, painted with a red cross, and flames and figures of devils; the accompanying choir and the vast concourse of spectators—so the executioners with proud bearing and the victims in most miserable guise marched to the place of torment. Arrived there the Inquisitors recited their sentence on the victims. To the horror of the scene was then added the ghastly mockery that the tribunal

did not pronounce the sentence of death, but left that to the secular judge; for the Church, though steeped to the lips in blood, was not supposed to desire the death of the sinner. The Jewish heretics were either given to the flames forthwith, or, as a relaxation of the punishment, were first strangled. In the first auto-da-fé, at which the bishop, Alonzo de Ojeda, preached the inauguration sermon, only six Judaising Christians were burnt. A few days later the conspirators of Carmona, Seville, and other towns, and three of the most wealthy and respected of the Marranos, among whom was Diego de Suson, the possessor of ten millions, and Abolafia, formerly a Talmudic scholar and Rabbi, were burnt to death. On the 26th of March seventeen victims suffered death by fire on the Quemadero. In the following month a yet greater number were burnt; and up to the November of the same year 298 burnt-offerings to Christ gasped out their lives in flame and smoke in the single district of Seville. In the archbishopric of Cadiz, however, no less than 2,000 Jewish heretics were burnt alive in a few years, most of them being wealthy or well-to-do, their possessions, of course, going into the royal exchequer. Not even death itself afforded a safeguard against the fury of the Holy Office. These ghouls of religion tore the corpses of those proselytes who had died in heresy from their graves, burnt them, confiscated their possessions in the hands of their heirs, and condemned the latter to obscurity and poverty that they might never aspire to any honourable office. Here was a splendid field for the avarice of the king. When it was impossible to convict a wealthy heir it was only necessary to establish proofs of a relapse to Judaism against his dead father, and then the whole property fell partly to the king and partly to, the Holy Inquisition itself!

Many Marranos saved themselves by flight from the clutches of their merciless persecutors, and took

refuge in the neighbouring Moslem kingdom of Granada, in Portugal, Africa, Provence, or Italy. Those who reached Rome approached the Papal Court with bitter complaints as to the savage and arbitrary proceedings of the Inquisition against themselves and their companions in misery. As the complainants did not come with empty hands, their cause usually obtained a ready hearing. On the 29th January, 1482, the Pope addressed a severe letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, censuring the conduct of the Inquisition in no measured terms. He stated that he had been assured that the proceedings of the tribunal were contrary to all forms of justice, that many were unjustly imprisoned and subjected to fearful tortures. Innocent people had been denounced as heretics, and their property had been taken from their heirs. In this letter the Pope admitted that he had issued the bull for the constitution of the Inquisition without due consideration!

Sixtus further stated that he ought, in strict justice, to depose the Inquisitors de Morillo and San Martin; but out of consideration for their Majesties he would allow them to remain in possession of their offices, but only so long as no further complaints were made against them. Should more protests be forthcoming he would restore the Inquisitorial office to those who exercised it with justice, and place the sole power of appointing Inquisitors in the hands of the bishops. The Pope concluded by refusing the request of Don Ferdinand to institute extraordinary tribunals for the trial of heretics in the other provinces of the united kingdoms.

Notwithstanding the above letter, Don Ferdinand also found means to apply the golden key to the door of the Papal cabinet, and obtained a bull sanctioning the establishment of the Inquisition in the provinces of Aragon. In this bull, dated February 11th, 1482, Sixtus appointed six others,

monks and clerics, as chief Inquisitors, among whom was Thomas de Torquemada, general of the Dominicans of Avilo, a monk already infamous for his bloodthirsty fanaticism. In another letter of the 17th of April he invested these men with discretionary powers in virtue of which they were able to dispense with certain forms of common law, among which were the hearing of witnesses and the admission of pleaders for the defence. Thus were fresh victims brought to the stake.

In the kingdom of Aragon, however, where the nobility and middle-class had a weighty voice in public matters, the condemnation of Jewish heretics without formal trial raised such formidable opposition that Cardinal Borgia, afterwards the infamous Alexander VI., and subsequently the king himself, petitioned the Pope for a modification of the conditions governing the practice of the tribunal. In a letter of the 10th of October, Sixtus excused himself from making any radical changes in consequence of the absence of the cardinals, who had fled from Rome in mortal fear of the plague. He, however, added a codicil abrogating the conditions which too flagrantly violated the principles of common law; that is to say, he ordered that accuser and witnesses should be confronted with the accused, and that the process should be conducted in public.

The Inquisition also met with great opposition in Sicily, at that time an appanage of the kingdom of Aragon. Here not only the people, but even the authorities took the part of the new-Christians, and shielded them from the persecution of their bloodthirsty judges. Christians themselves openly proclaimed that the victims were not executed out of zeal for the faith, but merely on account of an insatiable greed which sought ceaseless confiscations. The bigoted Isabella was sorely troubled when she saw her pious desire to devote the protestants to death thus evilly represented; and even

the Pope behaved as though it wounded him to the heart. This happened in February, 1483.

Sixtus IV. had at that time the greatest interest in maintaining his friendly relations with the Spanish Court, and therefore made every concession with regard to the Inquisition. As it, however, often happened that Christian proselytes who had been condemned by the tribunal, and who had succeeded in escaping to Rome, were able to purchase absolution for hard cash from the Papal throne, with the infliction of a light and private penance, the sovereigns saw that their efforts to purge the Christian faith by the extermination of Jewish proselytes, and especially by the confiscation of their goods, were most unpleasantly thwarted. The Court, therefore, pressed the Pope to appoint a judge of appeal in Spain itself, so that the jurisdiction of the Inquisition should not be interrupted by foreign appeals in which all kinds of unfavourable influences might be brought to bear. The Pope agreed to this proposition, and appointed Inigo Manrique chief judge of appeal in all cases in which the condemned moved for a revision of their trial. These measures were, however, of very doubtful benefit to the unfortunate culprits; for upon what ground could they base their appeal when the trial had been conducted in secret, and neither accuser nor witnesses were known to them? Nor did the tribunal leave them very much time to institute their proceedings for the revision of the verdict. Between the passing of the sentence and the last act of the *auto-da-fé* only a very short interval elapsed.

Yet another measure of the Spanish Court did the Pope approve in order that every gleam of hope and opportunity of free speech might be taken away. Thus, for instance, baptised Jews, or new-Christians descended from them, frequently held bishoprics, and were naturally favourably inclined to their unfortunate and persecuted brethren in race.

The Pope now issued, at the request of the Spanish Court, a bull decreeing that no bishop, vicar, or member of the upper clergy who was descended from a Jewish family, whether paternally or maternally, should sit as a judge in any court for the trial of heretics. From this prohibition it was only a step to the condemnation of clergy of Jewish blood to the stake. Both his own frame of mind and his political position now inclined the Pope to encourage the persecuting sovereigns in the prosecution of their bloody work. He reminded them that Jesus had established his kingdom on earth solely by the extirpation of idolatry and the extermination of idolaters, and he pointed to the recent victories which the Spaniards had gained over the Moslems in Granada as the reward of heaven for their efforts towards the purification of the faith—that is to say, for the burning of new-Christians and the confiscation of their goods.

Had his Holiness, Sixtus IV., not been already infamous as a monster of depravity, sensuality and unscrupulousness, who appointed boys that he had himself abused to bishoprics and the cardinal dignity, and who bestowed no clerical office without payment—as his contemporary Infessura, the Chancellor of Rome, has recorded—his conduct with regard to the Holy Inquisition was alone sufficient to brand him with immortal infamy. Within the shortest period he published the most contradictory decisions, and scarcely took the trouble to veil his inconsistency with the most flimsy pretence. Scarcely had he proclaimed the utmost rigours against Judaising heretics, and appointed a tribunal of appeal, than he, a couple of months later, partly abolished them, and issued another bull prescribing milder proceedings to the Inquisition, only to alter this policy in its turn.

The hated Marranos, and among them a high-spirited man named Juan de Seville, had exerted

themselves to procure from the Papal Court a decree to the effect that those among them who had undergone a private penance in Rome should not be submitted to the oppression and persecution of the avaricious king and his bloodthirsty Inquisitors; but, on the contrary, should be regarded and treated as orthodox Christians. At first the Pope consented, and issued a bull on August 2nd, 1483, "to be held in eternal remembrance for a guide in the future," in which he especially directed that rigour should be tempered with mercy in dealing with the new-Christians, seeing that the severity of the Inquisition had overstepped the bounds of justice. The bull enacted that all new-Christians who had confessed their remorse to the Confessor-General, and had been assigned a penance, should not be pursued by the Inquisition, and should have their trials annulled. It exhorted the king and queen, "by the bowels of Jesus Christ," to remember that in mercy and kindness alone may man resemble God, and that, therefore, they might in this follow in the steps of Jesus, whose peculiar grace it was to show mercy and to pardon. The Pope ordered that as many copies as possible of this bull should be made, and that they should each have the authority of the original, in order that the Papal attitude with regard to the new-Christians should be made universally known. Sixtus concluded with the statement that he issued this bull entirely of his own motion, and apart from any exterior influence, although it was well-known in high circles that it had been bought with new-Christian gold. The sovereigns, however, would have nothing to do with mercy or forbearance; they desired the death of the culprits and the possession of their property. Nor was the Pope really inclined to mild measures. A few days later, on August 13th, he recalled this bull, excused himself to the king for its tenour, and said that it had been issued

with too great haste. Such was the consistency and infallibility of his Holiness Pope Sixtus IV.!

It was in vain that Don Juan de Seville, who had procured the promulgation of the favourable bull, endeavoured to circulate it. He failed to find any clerical official in Spain who would copy and confirm it. He, therefore, applied to the Portuguese Archbishop of Evora, who caused it to be copied by his notary and recognised as authentic. The Inquisition, however, was extremely suspicious of those who had sought and obtained indulgences at Rome, and Don Juan de Seville and his companions fell at length into its hands and were severely punished.

However terrible the tribunal had hitherto been, however many thousands of compulsory proselytes and their descendants had, during its bare three years of existence, been cast into the flames, left to rot in its dungeons, driven from their country, or reduced to beggary, it was child's play compared with what it became when it was placed under the control of a priest whose heart was closed to every sentiment of mercy, whose lips breathed only death and destruction, and who united the savagery of the hyena with the venom of the snake. Until now the Inquisition had been confined to southern Spain, to the districts of Seville and Cadiz, and the province of Andalusia. In the remaining provinces of Spain it had hitherto been unable to get a footing, in consequence of the resistance offered by the Cortes to its introduction. Through the opposition of the people the wicked will of the Inquisitors Morillo and Juan de San Martin had remained inoperative, and their uplifted arm had been paralysed by innumerable difficulties. If here and there a few courts were held in the remaining districts of Spain, they were isolated and without organisation, and were thus unable to furnish each other with victims.

King Ferdinand, however, had not yet collected treasure enough, nor had the pious Isabella beheld a sufficient number of new-Christians writhing in the flames. For their common satisfaction they now persuaded the Pope to appoint an Inquisitor-General who should constitute, direct, and supervise the several courts in order that none of the suspected Marranos should avoid their fate, and "that the opposition of the populace should be broken down by every species of terrorism." In cold blood, and with little interest even for the faith itself, the Pope assented; and in May, 1483, appointed the Dominican, Thomas de Torquemada, hitherto prior of a monastery in Segovia, Inquisitor-General of Spain. There are certain men who are the embodiment of good or evil sentiments, opinions and principles, and who carry them out to their extremest limits. Torquemada was the personification and incarnation of the Holy Inquisition with all its devilish malice, its heartless severity, and its bloodthirsty ferocity.

"Out of Rome hath arisen a savage monster of such wondrous shape and hideous appearance that at the sound of its name all Europe trembles. Its carcase is of iron, tempered in deadly poison, and covered with scales of impenetrable steel. A thousand venom-dropping wings support it when it hovers over the terrified earth. Its nature is that of the ravening lion and the snake of the African desert. Its bite is more terrible than that of the hugest monster. The sound of its voice slays more speedily than the deadly glance of the basilisk. From its eyes and mouth stream fire and ceaseless lightnings. It feeds on human bodies, and its drink is human tears and blood. It excels the eagle in the speed of its flight, and where it broods its black shadow spreads the gloom of night. Though the sun shine never so clearly, the darkness of Egypt follows in its track. Where-

soever it flies every green blade that it touches, every fruitful tree on which it sets its foot, withers and dies. With its destroying fangs it roots up every herb that grows, and with the poison of its breath it blasts the circle in which it moves to a desert like that of Syria, where no green thing grows, no grass-blade sprouts."

Thus did a Jewish poet, Samuel Usque, depict the Inquisition before he himself perished in its flames.

The inscription which the poet Dante placed upon the architrave of Hell—

"All hope abandon, ye who enter here!"

would have been even more suitable to those dungeons of the Holy Inquisition, which the cruel energy of Torquemada now established in nearly all the great towns of Spain. He at once instituted three new tribunals in Cordova, Jaen and Villareal (Ciudad Real), and, later on, one in Toledo, the then capital of southern Spain. The offices of the Inquisition were entirely filled by him with hypocritical and fanatical Dominicans who knew how to make themselves the tools of his will, so that the whole body worked like an organism with a single head, ready at a word to perpetrate the most hideous barbarities with a composure that cannibals might have envied. In those days Spain was filled with the putrefaction of the dungeon, the stench of corpses, and the crackling of the flames in which were burning innocent Jews who had been forced into a faith, the falsity of which was demonstrated by every action of the servants of the Church. A wail of misery went through that lovely land which might have thrilled through bone and marrow; but their Catholic majesties paralysed the arm of every man who was prompted by mercy to put a stop to the butchery. In the very Court itself there sat a com-

mission on the affairs of Jewish Christians, of which the Inquisitor-General held the presidency.

Don Ferdinand now made further efforts to perpetuate the jurisdiction of the Inquisition in his own territories, in order to fill his purse with the spoils of the new-Christians who were settled there. During the assembly of the Cortes at Tarragona, in April, 1484, he laid his plans before his privy council, and cancelled the ancient privileges of the country, which had existed from the earliest times, and which provided that no native of Aragon, whatever his crime, should suffer confiscation of his property. The Inquisitor-General accordingly appointed for the Archbishopric of Saragossa two Inquisitors who rivalled himself in bloodthirsty fanaticism, the Canon Pedro Arbues de Epila, and the Dominican, Gaspard Juglar. A royal ordinance was now issued to all officials and nobles, directing them to give every assistance to the Inquisitors. The Grand Justiciary of Aragon, though of Jewish origin, and other dignitaries were obliged to take an oath that they would spare no efforts to exterminate the culprits condemned by the tribunal.

Torquemada, the very soul of the Inquisition, now decided to publish a code for the guidance of the judges, so that the net might be drawn as closely as possible round his victims. The whole body of the Inquisitors was assembled to consider this design, and, under the title of "Constitution," issued on October 29th, 1484, a code of laws which were calculated to inspire the utmost horror even had they only been committed to paper. It has been asserted that the monkish Inquisitors only copied the enactments which emanated from the councils held under the Visigothic kings against the Jews. It is true that the decrees of Receswinth threatened with death, by fire or stoning, all new-Christians who were

convicted of adherence to Jewish customs. The comparison is, nevertheless, incorrect. For not only its enactments against heresy, but also their manner of enforcement, distinguish the constitutions of the Inquisition as the most hideous that ever were fashioned by human wickedness. It was as though the most malicious demons had taken counsel together to discover how they should bring innocent human beings to destruction.

One decree ordained a respite of thirty days for those who of their own free will should tender confession of their relapse to Judaism within the stated time. These were to be spared all punishment and confiscation of their goods, with the exception of a moderate fine. They were, however, compelled to put their confession into writing, to give exact answers to all questions put to them, and especially to betray their fellow-offenders, and even those whom they only suspected of Judaizing tendencies. Those who confessed after the expiration of the time of respite were to lose all their property, and even that which they possessed at the time of their falling away from Christianity, although it might have passed into other hands, was to be confiscated. Only new-Christians under twenty years old were exempted from loss of property in the event of later confessions; but they were compelled to bear a mark of infamy composed of flaming crosses, the *San Benito*, upon their clothing, and to take part in the processions and attend high mass in this guise. Those whose remorse awakened after the appointed day were indeed to receive indulgence, but they were to remain branded for life. Further, neither they nor their descendants were ever to hold any public office, nor to wear any garment embroidered with gold, silver or pearls, or made of silk or fine wool; and they were condemned to bear the "fiery cross" for ever. Should the Inquisitors discover that the confes-

sion of a penitent was insincere it was their duty to deny him absolution, to treat him as a recalcitrant, and to consign him to the flames. If a penitent only made a half confession, and concealed a portion of his sins, he too was condemned to death. The evidence against a Judaizing Christian might, when not otherwise convenient, be taken through other persons. It was not necessary to place this testimony before the accused in full detail, but merely as an abstract. If, in spite of the evidence laid before him he maintained that he had never relapsed to Judaism, he was condemned to the flames as an impenitent. Should inconclusive proofs of relapse be brought against a Marrano he was stretched upon the rack; and in case he confessed under torture he was submitted to a second trial. If he then adhered to what he had confessed under torture he was condemned; if he denied it he underwent the torture again. In those cases in which an accused person failed to answer to the summons issued against him he was condemned as a contumacious heretic, *i.e.*, his property was confiscated.

In face of these proceedings—such a parody of trial—and the pre-determination on the part of the judge to consider the accused guilty, how was it possible for any Marrano to prove his innocence? The dungeon and the rack frequently made the accused so indifferent to their fate and so weary of life that they made confessions as to themselves, their friends and even their nearest relatives which appeared to vindicate the necessity for the Inquisition. Every trial of a new-Christian involved others in apparent guilt and brought new examinations and new accusations in its train, thus furnishing an ever-increasing number of victims to the holy office.

The towns of the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia had from the first manifested the greatest displeasure at the introduction of the Inquisition.

Up to this period they had been less despotically governed than Castile, and were exceedingly jealous of their freedom. Above everything the Aragonese valued as the apple of their eye the privilege which forbade the confiscation of goods even on account of the gravest offences. And now the officers of the Inquisition were to be invested with unlimited power over life and property. The new-Christians, who held high offices and influential positions in Aragon, were thus naturally eager to foment and maintain the discontent. In Teruel and Valencia, in 1485, disastrous popular risings broke out against the Inquisition, and were only quelled after great bloodshed. The Marranos and those who were of Jewish descent did not, however, surrender their project of paralysing the Inquisition in Aragon. Some of the highest dignitaries of State were to be numbered among them; as, for example, Luis Gonzalez, Royal Secretary of State for Aragon; Alfonso de Caballeria, the Vice-Chancellor; his brother, the king's Major-domo; Philip Clemente, Chief Notary; and such high hidalgos as the Counts of Aranda, together with many knights, among whom were the valiant Juan de Abadia, whose sister was burnt for heresy, and Juan Perez Sanchez, whose brothers were at the court.

As soon as the first victims fell under the Inquisition in Saragossa the influential new-Christians brought pressure to bear upon the Cortes to induce them to protest, both to the king and to the Pope, against the introduction of the tribunal into Aragon. Commissioners were sent to the royal and Papal Courts to effect in person the repeal of their ordinances. They expected but little trouble in Rome, for there everything was to be had for money. With the king it seemed to be a matter of much greater difficulty. Ferdinand remained obstinately fixed in the resolution to exterminate the Jewish Christians by means of the Inquisition, and to ac-

quire their property. When the commissioners sent news to their friends in Aragon of the failure of their efforts, Perez Sanchez conceived a plot to remove Pedro Arbues, Chief Inquisitor for Aragon, in order to cripple the activity of the Inquisition by terrorism, and to force the king to give way. He imparted his project to his friends, and many bound themselves to stand by him. In order to win over the entire body of the new-Christians, and to induce them to stand firmly together, the leaders of the conspiracy laid them under contribution for the expenses of carrying out the project. A hidalgo, Blasco de Alagon, collected the money, and Juan de Abadia undertook to hire the assassins, and to see that the death of Arbues was achieved. This conspiracy was joined by many distinguished persons of Jewish descent in Saragossa, Tarragona, Caladayud, Huesca and Barbastro.

Juan de Abadia procured two trustworthy men, Juan de Esperaindo and Vidal de Uranso, with four assistants, to accomplish the death of the Inquisitor Arbues. The intended victim, however, appears to have suspected the plot, for he protected his body with a shirt of mail and his head with a species of steel cap. Before daybreak on the 15th of September, 1485, as he was entering the Church with a lantern to hear early mass, the conspirators followed him. As soon as he had fallen on his knees Esperaindo struck him on the arm with his sword, while Vidal wounded him in the neck. He was borne out of the Church bathed in blood, and died two days later. The conspirators took instant flight. As soon as the news of the attack on the Chief Inquisitor spread in Saragossa it produced a violent reaction. The orthodox Christians assembled in crowds crying in tones of fury: "To the flames with the Jew-Christians! They have murdered the Chief Inquisitor!" The Marranos would have been massacred in a body there and then

had not the royal bastard, the youthful Archbishop Alonzo of Aragon, mounted his horse and restrained the crowd by an armed force, promising them the fullest satisfaction by the severe punishment of the guilty persons and their accomplices.

King Ferdinand made the best use of the unfortunate conspiracy in the establishment of the Inquisition in Aragon. As for the murdered Arbues, the sovereigns carried public mourning for him to the verge of actual idolatry. A statue was also consecrated to his memory, in honour of his services to religion in the extermination of Jewish heretics. The Dominicans were by no means displeased in their hearts at the death of the Chief Inquisitor. They were, in fact, in need of a martyr to enable them to surround their tribunal of blood with a halo of glory. They consequently used every effort to raise Pedro Arbues to the rank of saint or Christian demi-god. It was not long before they fabricated a divine revelation from the sainted heretic-slayer, in which he exhorted all the world to support and carry forward the Holy Inquisition, and soothed the scruples of the members of the tribunal on account of the enormous number of men they had consigned to the flames by assuring them that the most honourable places in heaven awaited them as the reward of their pious efforts.

The unsuccessful conspiracy of the Marranos in Saragossa afforded a vast number of fresh victims to the Christian Moloch. A few of the conspirators made a full confession, and so the Inquisitors soon had a complete list of the culprits in their hands. These were pursued with redoubled vigour as Judaizing heretics and enemies of the holy office. Those who had borne a leading part in the conspiracy, as soon as they fell into the hands of their judges, were dragged on hurdles through the streets of Saragossa, their hands were

hewn off, and they were then hanged. Juan de Abadia and Francisco de Sante-Fé, son of the apostate Lorqui, escaped this dishonourable fate by killing themselves in prison. More than two hundred Jewish Christians were burnt as accomplices, a yet greater number were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, among which latter were a high dignitary of the Metropolitan Church of Saragossa, and not a few women of gentle birth. Even those who had given shelter to the conspirators for a brief period during their flight were compelled to attend an auto-da-fé as penitents and to lose their civil rights. How far the inhumanity of the persecutors went is especially shown by one of the punishments which they inflicted. A conspirator, Gaspard de Santa Cruz, had been successful in making his escape to Toulouse, and there died in peace. The Inquisition not content with burning him in effigy laid hands upon his son as an accomplice in his father's flight, and condemned him to travel to Toulouse to communicate his sentence to the Dominicans of that city, and to desire them to exhume the body of his father and burn it. The weak-minded son performed his disgraceful mission and brought back to Saragossa the certificate of the Dominicans to the effect that the corpse of the father had been dishonoured on the prayer of the son.

Notwithstanding all this severity, certain towns of northern Spain, such as Lerida and Barcelona, still obstinately resisted the introduction of the Inquisition. Their resistance proved, however, to be in vain. The iron will of Fernando and the bloodthirsty fanaticism of Torquemada overcame every obstacle, and the Papal Court was obliged to give its assent to every proposal. From that time forth the number of victims continued to increase. On the 12th of February, 1486, an auto-da-fé was celebrated in Toledo with 750

human burnt offerings, while on the 2nd of April in the same year, 900 victims were offered up, and on the 7th of May, 750. On the 16th of August twenty-five Jewish heretics were burnt alive in Toledo; on the following day two priests suffered; and on the 10th of December 950 persons were condemned to a shameful public penance. In the following year, when the Inquisition had been established in Barcelona and on the island of Majorca, two hundred Marranos suffered death by fire in these places alone. A Jewish contemporary, Isaac Arama, writes on this subject as follows: "In these days the smoke of the martyr-pyre rises unceasingly to heaven in all the Spanish kingdoms and the isles. One-third of the Marranos have perished in the flames, another third wander homeless over the earth seeking where they may hide themselves, and the remainder live in perpetual terror of the Question." So the tale of victims grew from year to year under the eleven tribunals which transformed the fair land of Spain into a blazing Tophet, whose flames soon reached and devoured even the Christians themselves.

The pitiless persecution of the new-Christians had its origin perhaps even more in the racial hatred of the pure-blooded Spaniards towards the children of Judah than in religious fanaticism. Persons of Jewish descent, whom it was impossible justly to accuse of heresy, were included in the accusations, simply because they held high offices. It was not permitted to them to enjoy any credit or to exercise any influence in the country. The Inquisitor-General, Torquemada, even laid his hands upon two bishops of Jewish blood, De Avila and De Aranda, so that, if it were impossible to consign them to the flames he might at least expel them from their sees.

CHAPTER XI.

EXPULSION OF THE JEWS FROM SPAIN.

Friendship of Marranos and Jews—Torquemada demands of the Rabbis of Toledo the Denunciation of Marranos—Judah Ibn-Verga, Kabbalist and Astronomer—Jewish Courtiers under Ferdinand and Isabella—Isaac Abrabanel: his History and Writings—The Jews of Portugal under Alfonso V.—Gedalya and Joseph Ibn Yachya—Abrabanel's Flight from Portugal to Spain.—The Fall of Malaga and the Jewish Prisoners, Abraham Senyor and Solomon Ibn Verga—The Jews of Granada: Isaac Hamon, the Gavison Family, Saadiah Ibn-Danan and his Works—Edict of Banishment promulgated by Ferdinand and Isabella—Its Consequences—Departure from Spain—Number of the Exiles—Decline in the Prosperity of Spain consequent on the Banishment of the Jews—Transformation of Synagogues and Schools into Churches and Monasteries—The Inquisition and the remaining Marranos—Death of Torquemada—His Successor, Deza.

1483—1492 C.E.

THE monster of the Inquisition having poured out its wrath on the new-Christians, now stretched its ensnaring arms over the Jews, and delivered them to a miserable fate. The connection between the Jews and the Marranos was too close for the former not to be made to participate in their misfortunes. They were in intimate relations with one another, and were bound by close brotherly ties. The Jews experienced a heartfelt pity for their unfortunate brethren, who so unwillingly wore the mask of Christianity, and strove to sustain them by their sympathy. They initiated the Christian-born Marranos into the rites of Judaism, held secret meetings with them for prayer, furnished them with religious books and writings, explained to them their sequence of fasts and festivals, supplied them at Easter with unleavened bread, and throughout

the year with meat prepared according to their own ritual, and circumcised their new-born sons. In Seville, and in Andalusia generally, there were now countless new-Christians, baptised at the time of the furious attack upon the Jews by Ferdinand Martinez, and later, during the persecution of 1391. An opportunity thus came to the Jews to bring back their turn-coat brethren into the ranks of Judaism. One of the most active in this work was Judah Ibn-Verga, of Seville, Kabbalist and Astronomer, who was held in high estimation by the Governor of Andalusia. Since the king and queen now intended to call the Inquisition into existence here, the first step was to separate the Jews from the Christians, especially the new-Christians, and to destroy every connecting link between them. At the Cortes of Toledo the most stringent regulations—hitherto so frequently evaded—for special allotment and isolation of Jewish (and Moorish) quarters were insisted on; but this strictly enforced law of separation, which was made to take effect all over the kingdom, could not sever the loving relations existing. In spite of all, the closest intercommunion was maintained, but more secretly, more circumspectly. The greater the danger of discovery, the greater was the charm—despite the Argus eyes of priestly spies, and of their myrmidons—of meeting for mutual solace and encouragement. These meetings of the Jews and Moors, from the secrecy with which they were conducted, and the danger attending them, wore a romantic aspect. A loving bond of union was thus created, which grew the closer and stronger for every effort to loosen it.

The fiendish Torquemada strove by every possible means to destroy these ties. As soon as he became Grand Inquisitor, and had issued a command that the Marranos should present themselves for confession, he ordered the Rabbis of Toledo to

be convened, and exacted from them an oath that they would admonish their congregations to denounce all new-Christians who observed Jewish rites and ceremonies. He further exacted that they would proscribe all Jews who hesitated to become witnesses against their own people. The Rabbis were threatened with heavy punishment if they refused to take this oath (1485). What a tragical soul-struggle for the Rabbis of Toledo! They themselves were to lend a hand to wrench their faithful brethren from Judaism, and deliver them over to Christianity, or, rather, to the stake! They could not be brought to this, and they preferred to suffer punishment. Judah Ibn-Verga, who was required by the Inquisitors to deliver over the pseudo-Christians who secretly clung to Judaism, chose rather to leave his native Seville, and fled to Lisbon, where he eventually died a martyr's death. Since the Inquisitors could not attain their ends through the Jews, who only continued the more steadfastly their secret intercourse with the new-Christians, they urged upon the king and queen to issue a mandate for the partial expulsion of the Jews from Andalusia, and especially from Seville.

The Castilian and Aragonese Jews might have known, after these sad events, that their sojourn could not be of long duration; but they loved Spain too dearly to part from her without bitter pangs of regret, and the king and queen had often protected them from oppression. When they had settled in their special Jewish quarters, Ferdinand and Isabella had been at great pains to have them guarded, and shielded from annoyance and chicanery. Moreover, under the rule of these Catholic sovereigns there were Jewish tithe and tax collectors, and, further, the Jews considered themselves as indispensable to the Christians. Sick people eagerly sought advice from Jewish

physicians, the lower classes consulted Jews on legal questions, and even asked them to read the letters or documents which they received from the clergy. In addition to all this, it happened just at the time when Torquemada was casting his snares over the Moors and Jews, that the celebrated Abrabanel received an important post at the court of Castile, and enjoyed unlimited confidence. Under his protection the Spanish Jews hoped to be able to defy the fury of the venomous Dominican. Abrabanel's favoured position at court, the geniality of his character, his affection for the Hebrew race, love of learning, and tried wisdom, brought back, as it were, the time of Samuel Nagrela, and lulled the Jews with false hopes.

Don Isaac ben Judah Abrabanel (born in Lisbon 1437, died in Venice 1509), worthily closes the list of Jewish statesmen in Spain, who, beginning with Chasdaï Ibn Shaprut, have rendered their names honourable for the protection and care with which they watched over the interests of their race. Abrabanel's descent from the royal house of David—on which the Abrabanel's prided themselves, and which they enjoyed as an undisputed distinction—was recognised by his contemporaries in the greatness of mind displayed in his actions. His grandfather, Samuel Abrabanel, who, during the persecution of 1391, allowed himself, though apparently only for a short time, to be regarded as a baptised Christian, was both a great-hearted and generous man, who supported Jewish learning and its disciples. His father, Judah, treasurer to a Portuguese prince, was a wealthy and benevolent man. Isaac Abrabanel was of an easy nature, of clear understanding, but sober-minded and without enthusiasm or depth whatever; absolute realities around him he grasped readily, but what was distant, less obvious to ordinary perceptions, lay for him veiled in a mist, which

he was unable to penetrate or to dispel. The origin of Judaism, its splendid antiquity, and its conception of God, was a favourite theme with Abrabanel from his youth upward, and when still quite a young man he published a treatise setting forth the universal providence of God and its special relation to Israel. Philosophical conceptions were, however, more acquired than innate, for metaphysical questions were of no interest to him. Don Abrabanel was a talented man of business, who thoroughly understood finance, and was a master of State affairs. The reigning King of Portugal, Don Alfonso V., an intelligent, genial, and amiable ruler, was able to appreciate Abrabanel's talents; he summoned him to his Court, confided to him the conduct of his affairs, and consulted him on all important State questions. His noble disposition, his sincerely devout spirit, his modesty, far removed from dulness, and his unselfish wisdom, secured for him at Court, and far outside its circle, the esteem and affection of the Christian grandees. With the powerful, but mild and beneficent Duke Ferdinand of Braganza—who was lord of fifty towns, boroughs, castles, and fortresses, and could bring 10,000 foot soldiers and 3,000 cavalry into the field—as also with his brothers, the Marquis of Montemar, Constable of Portugal, and the Count of Faro, who lived together in the bonds of fraternal affection, Abrabanel stood in friendly intimacy. With the learned John Sezira, who was held in high consideration at Court, and a warm patron of the Jews, Abrabanel enjoyed a close friendship. He thus describes his happy mode of life at the Court of King Alfonso:—

“Tranquilly I lived in my inherited house in fair Lisbon. Thereto God had given me blessings, riches, and honour. I had built myself stately buildings and chambers. My house was the meeting-place of the learned and wise. I was revered in the palace of Alfonso, a mighty and upright king, under whom the Jews enjoyed freedom and prosperity. I was always at his side, was his support, and while he lived I went and came to his palace.”

Alfonso's reign was the end of the golden time for the Jews of the Pyrenean peninsula. Although in his time the Portuguese code of laws (*Ordenações de Alfonso V.*) was completed, containing Byzantine elements, and canonical restrictions for the Jews, the king, who was a minor, had had no share in them on the one hand; and on the other, the hateful laws were not yet carried out. In his time the Jews in Portugal bore no badge, but rode on richly-caparisoned horses and mules, wore long coats, splendid helmets and silken vests; they carried gilded daggers, the ordinary costume of the country, and could not be distinguished from the Christians. The greater number of the tax-farmers in Portugal (*Rendeiros*) were Jews. Princes of the Church even appointed Jewish receivers of the Church taxes, at which the Cortes of Lisbon raised complaint. The independence of the Jewish population under the Chief Rabbis, and the seven provincial Rabbis, was regarded and protected in Alfonso's reign and was included in the State code. This code conceded to the Jews the right to print their public documents in Hebrew, instead of in Portuguese as hitherto commanded.

Abrabanel was not the only Jewish favourite at Alfonso's court. Two brothers Ibn Yachya Negro, sons of a certain Don David, who had recommended his sons not to invest the riches he left them in estates or land around, for he saw that banishment was in store for the Portuguese Jews. These brothers turned their steps to the court of Lisbon. As long as Isaac Abrabanel enjoyed the king's favour he was as a "Shield and a wall for his race, and delivered the sufferers from their oppressors, healed differences, and kept fierce lions at bay." As described by his poetical son, Judah Leon, "He who had a warm heart for all afflicted, who was a father to the orphan, and consoler to the sorrowing, felt a yet deeper compassion for the unfortunate of his

own people." When Alfonso conquered the port of Arzilla, in Africa, the victors brought with them, among many thousand captive Moors, 250 Jews, who were sold as slaves throughout the kingdom. That Jews and Jewesses should be doomed to the miseries of slavery was unendurable to Abrabanel's heart. At his summons, a committee of twelve representatives assembled in Lisbon and collected funds; then, with a colleague, he travelled over the whole country and released the Jewish slaves, often at a high price. But further, the ransomed Jews and Jewesses, adults and children, were clothed, brought together, and maintained until they had learned the language of the country, and were able to support themselves.

When King Alfonso sent an embassy to Pope Sixtus IV. to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne, and to send him tidings of his victory over the Moors in Africa, Doctor John Sezira was one of the ambassadors. He was one in heart and soul with Abrabanel, and friendly to the Jews, and promised to speak to the Pope in their favour and behalf. Abrabanel begged his Italian friend, Yechiel of Pisa, to receive John Sezira with a friendly welcome, to place himself entirely at his disposal, and convey to him, as well as the chief ambassador, Lopes de Almeida, how gratified the Italian Jews were to hear of King Alfonso's favour to the Jews in his country, so that the king and his courtiers might feel themselves flattered thereby. Thus Abrabanel did everything in his power for the good of his faith and his people.

In the midst of his prosperity, which he enjoyed with his gracious and virtuous wife, and three sturdy sons, Judah Leon, Isaac and Samuel, he was disturbed by the turn of affairs in Portugal. His patron, Alfonso V., died, and Don João (John) II. mounted to the throne (1481-1495), a man in every way unlike his father—stronger of will, hard-natured, and full

of dissimulation; he had been already crowned in his father's lifetime, and displayed great anger when Alfonso, believed to be dead, suddenly reappeared in Portugal. João II. followed the tactics of his contemporary, the unscrupulous Louis XI. of France, and endeavoured to subjugate the Portuguese grandees by creating an absolute monarchy. He had, moreover, noted that the Duke Ferdinand of Braganza, himself of the royal blood, was almost as powerful, as highly considered, and more renowned than himself. Don João II. was anxious to clear from his path this duke and his brother (whom he personally disliked). While making much of the Duke of Braganza, he allowed a letter of accusation to go forth against him to the effect that he had a secret, traitorous understanding with the Spanish sovereigns, the justice of which has not to this day been satisfactorily ascertained. He arrested him with a Judas-like kiss, caused him to be tried as a traitor to his country, sent him to the block, and took possession of his estates and wealth (June, 1483). His brothers were forced to fly to avoid a like fate. Inasmuch as Isaac Abrabanel had lived in friendly relations with the Duke of Braganza and his brothers, King João chose to suspect him as implicated in the recent conspiracies. The enemies of the Jewish statesman's did their best to strengthen these suspicions. The king sent a command for him to appear before him. Not suspecting any wrong, Abrabanel was about to obey, when an unknown friend appeared, told him his life was in danger, and counselled him to hasty flight. Warned by the fate of the Duke of Braganza, Abrabanel followed this advice, and fled to Spain. The king sent mounted soldiery after him, but they could not overtake him, and he reached the Spanish border in safety. In a humble but manly letter he declared his innocence of the crime, and also the innocence of the Duke of Braganza.

The suspicious tyrant gave no credence to the letter of defence, but caused Abrabanel's property to be confiscated, as also that of his son, Judah Leon, who was already following the profession of a physician. The wife and children, however, he permitted to remove to Castile.

In the city of Toledo, where he found refuge, Isaac Abrabanel was honourably received by the Jews, and especially by the more distinguished of them. A circle of learned men and youths gathered round the famous, innocent, persecuted Jewish statesman. With the Rabbi Isaac Aboab, and with the chief tithe-collector, Abraham Senyor, he formed a close friendship. The latter, on his settlement in Toledo, took him into partnership for the collection of the taxes. Abrabanel's conscience pricked him that he had neglected the study of the Law in following State affairs and mammon, and attributed his misfortunes to the just punishment of heaven. He at once began to write, at the earnest entreaty of his friends, an Exposition of the "Four Historical Prophets," which, hitherto, on account of their apparent simplicity, had been neglected by commentators. As he had already made some progress in the study at an earlier time, he soon completed the work. Certainly no one was better qualified than Abrabanel to expound historical biblical literature. In addition to knowledge of languages, he also had experience of the world, and an excellent insight into political problems and complications necessary for unravelling Israelite records.

He had also an advantage over other Expositors in being able to use the Christian exegetical writings of Jerome, Nicolas de Lyra, and also the baptised Paul of Burgos, from whom he took what was most valuable. Abrabanel shed some light upon the obscure passages of these commentaries. He treated them in scholarly style,

arranged them, and appended a comprehensible preface and list of contents, a proceeding which had been adopted by the Christian commentators, and which he adroitly turned to account. Had Abrabanel not been so diffuse in his style, and crowded every Scripture quotation with superfluous questions, his dissertations would have been more popular, or would, at all events, have deserved to be so. He would not then have gone beyond his province into philosophical enquiry. Abrabanel accepted the orthodox view of Nachmani and Chas-dai, and merely supplemented them with common-places of his own. He had not the patience to listen to a liberal view of Judaism of its doctrines, and accused the works of Albalag and Narboni of heresy, classing these inquirers with the unprincipled apostate, Abner-Alfonso, of Valladolid. From Levi ben Gerson he also differed, because he found philosophical significance in Judaism, and did not accept the belief in miracles unconditionally. Like the strictly orthodox Jews of his day, such as Joseph Jaabez, he was persuaded that the humiliations and persecutions suffered by the Jews of Spain were due to the heresy which had sprung up among them. And yet did German Jews, wholly untouched by heretical philosophy, suffer less than their brethren in Spain? Only for a brief time was it granted to Abrabanel to pursue his favourite study; the author was once more compelled to become a statesman. Just as he was delineating Judæan and Israelite monarchs, he was summoned to the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella to be entrusted with the care of their finances. The revenues seem to have prospered under his management, and during his eight years of office (March, 1484—March, 1492) nothing went wrong with them. He was very useful to the royal pair with his wisdom and prudent counsel. Abrabanel himself relates that he grew rich in the king's service, and bought himself land

and estates, and that from the Court and the highest grandees he received great consideration and honours. How indispensable must he have been, seeing that even the Catholic sovereigns, under the very eyes of the malignant Torquemada, and in spite of canonical decrees and all the resolutions repeatedly laid down by the Cortes that no Jew should take office in the State Government, yet entrusted this Jewish Minister of Finance with the main spring of political life! How many services Abrabanel did for his own people during his time of office, a grateful memory has not preserved from out of the storm of misfortunes which broke upon the Jews later; but in Castile he was as a wall of protection to them. Astounding and fearful accusations from their bitter foes, the Dominicans, were not wanting. At one time it was said that the Jews had shown disrespect to some cross; at another, that in the town of La Guardia they had stolen and crucified a Christian child. From this tissue of lies, Torquemada fabricated a case against the Jews and condemned the supposed criminals to the stake. In Valencia also they were declared to have made a similar attempt, but to have been interrupted in the deed (1488—1490). That the Castilian Jews did not suffer for the succour they afforded the unfortunate Marranos was certainly owing to Abrabanel. Meantime began the war with Granada, which proved so disastrous for the Moors and Jews, and which lasted with intervals for ten years (1481—1491). To this the Jews had to contribute. A heavy impost was laid upon the community (Alfarda—Strangers' Tax) on which the fiscal officer, Villaris, insisted with the utmost strictness. While the Jews were thus, in a fashion, made to bring the faggots to their own funeral pyre, the people mocked them. In the province of Granada, which through its pride had brought about its own fall,

there were many Jews, and their numbers were increased by the flight of the Marranos to avoid death at the stake. Their position was no enviable one, for the Spanish hatred of the Jews was strongly implanted there; but their creed was not attacked, and their lives were not in constant peril. Isaac Hamon was physician in ordinary to one of the last of the kings of Granada, and enjoyed high favour at Court. One day a quarrel arose in the streets of Granada, and the bystanders implored the disputants to leave off in the name of their Prophet, but in vain. When, however, they were bidden to give over in the name of the royal physician, they yielded. This occurrence, which testified to the fact that Isaac Hamon was held in more respect by the populace than the Prophet Mahomet, roused certain bigoted Mahometans to fall upon the Jews of Granada and butcher them. Only those escaped who found refuge in the royal castle. The Jewish physicians of Granada came to the resolution henceforth no longer to clothe themselves in silken garments, or to ride on horseback, in order to avoid exciting the envy of the Mahometans.

After a long and bloody strife the beautiful city of Granada fell into the hands of the proud Spaniards. The last frivolous King Muley Abu-Abdallah (Boabdil) signed a secret treaty with Ferdinand and Isabella (25th November, 1491) to give up the town and its territory by a certain time. The conditions, now that independence was lost, were tolerably favourable. The Moors were to keep their religious freedom, their civil laws, their right to leave the country, and above all their manners and customs, and were only required to pay the same taxes which hitherto they had paid the Moorish king. The renegades (Christians who had adopted Islamism, or more properly speaking, the Moorish pseudo-Christians) who had fled the territory of Granada from the Inquisition, and had

returned to Islamism, were to remain unmolested. The Inquisition could not touch them. The Jews of the chief town of Granada, of the Albaicin quarter, the suburbs and the Alpujarra, were expressly banded together with them. They were to enjoy the same indulgences and the same rights, except that relapsed Marranos were only allowed to quit during the first month after the surrender of the town; those who stayed longer were to be handed over to the Inquisition. One noteworthy point, stipulated by the last Moorish king of Granada, was that no Jew should be set over the vanquished Moors as an officer of justice, as tax gatherer, or commissioner. On January 2nd, 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella, with their Court, and amid ringing of bells, and great pomp and circumstance, made their entry into Granada. The Mahometan kingdom of the Peninsula had vanished like a dream in an Arabian Nights' legend. The last prince, Muley Abu-Abdallah, cast one long sad farewell look, "with the last sigh" over the glory for ever lost to him, and retired into his remaining territory in the mountains of Alpujarra, but unable to overcome his sadness and dejection, he turned his steps towards Africa. After nearly eight hundred years the whole Pyrenean Peninsula had again become Christian, as it was in the time of the Visigoths. But heaven could not rejoice over this conquest, which delivered fresh human sacrifices to the lord of hell. The Jews were the first to experience the tragical effect of this conquest of Granada.

The war against the Mahometans of Granada, originally undertaken only to punish attempts at encroachment and breach of faith, assumed later on the character of a crusade against unbelief, of a holy war for the exaltation of the Cross, and for the spreading of the Christian faith. Not only the bigoted queen, and the unctuous king, but also many Spaniards were dragged by this conquest

into raging fanaticism. Are the unbelieving Mahometans to be vanquished, and the still more unbelieving Jews to go free in the land? This question was too pertinent not to meet with an unfavourable answer for the Jews. The insistence of Torquemada, and friends of his own way of thinking, to whom the Jews had long been a thorn in the flesh, that they should be expelled, was at first met with indifference, but soon began to receive more attention from the victors. Then came the consideration that owing to the increased opulence, consequent on the booty acquired from the wealthy towns of conquered Granada, the Jews were no longer indispensable. Before the banner of the Cross waved over Granada, Ferdinand and Isabella had already contemplated the expulsion of the Jews. With this end in view, they had sent an embassy to Pope Innocent VII. stating that they were willing to banish the Jews from the country, if he would set them the example, as Christ's representative, the avenger of His death; but even this abandoned Pope, who had seven illegitimate sons and as many daughters, and who soon after his accession to the Papal chair, had broken a solemn oath, was opposed to the expulsion of the Jews. Meshullam of Rome (having heard of the Pope's refusal) announced with great joy to the Italian and Neapolitan communities that Innocent would not assent to the expulsion. The Spanish sovereigns, however, decided on the banishment of the Jews without the Pope's consent.

From the enchanted palace of the Alhambra there suddenly issued from the "Catholic Sovereigns" a proclamation to the effect that the Spanish Jews were within four months to leave every portion of Castile, Aragon, Sicily and Sardinia under pain of death (March 31st, 1492). They were at liberty to take their goods and chattels with them, but neither gold, silver, money, nor

forbidden articles of export—only such things as were export free. This heartless cruelty Ferdinand and Isabella sought to vindicate more on the ground of protecting their own and the country's interests than from any displeasure against the persecuted. The proclamation did not accuse the Jews of extravagant usury, or of unduly enriching themselves, or of sucking the marrow from the bones of the people, of insulting the Host, or of crucifying Christian children, not one syllable was said of these things, but it set forth that the falling away of the new-Christians into "Jewish Unbelief" and their intercourse with the Jews, had given cause for discontent. The proclamation further continued that in the ordinary course it had been intended long since to have banished the Jews on account of their misdeeds; but at first the sovereigns had tried clemency and mild means, banishing only the Jews of Andalusia, and punishing only the most guilty, in the hope that these steps would suffice. As, however, these had not prevented the Jews from continuing to pervert the new-Christians from the Catholic faith, nothing remained to their majesties but to exile those who had lured back to heresy the people who had indeed fallen away, but had repented and turned back to holy Mother Church. Therefore had their majesties, in council with the princes of the Church, grandees, and other learned persons, resolved to banish the Jews from their kingdom. No Christian on pain of confiscation of his possessions should, after the expiration of a certain term, give succour or shelter to the Jews. The edict of Ferdinand and Isabella affords good testimony for the Jews of Spain in those days, since no other accusations could be brought against them than that they had remained faithful to their religion, and had sought to maintain their Marrano brethren in it. A legend relates that their majesties were embittered against the

Jews, because the Infante found the picture of a crucified Holy Child in an orange which a Jewish gentleman of the Court gave to him.

Thus the long-dreaded blow had fallen. The Spanish Jews were to leave the country, round which the fibres of their hearts had grown, where lay the graves of their forefathers for at least fifteen hundred years past, and towards whose greatness, wealth, and position they had so largely contributed. The blow fell upon them like a thunderbolt. Abrabanel thought that he would be able to avert it by his influence. He presented himself before the king and queen, and offered enormous sums from the Jews if the edict were removed. His Christian friends, eminent grandees, supported his efforts. Ferdinand, who took more interest in enriching his coffers than in the Catholic faith, was inclined to yield. Then the fanatical Grand Inquisitor, Torquemada, lifted up his voice. It is related that he took upon himself to rush into the presence of the king and queen, carrying the crucifix aloft, and uttering these winged words: "Judas Iscariot sold Christ for thirty pieces of silver; your highnesses are about to sell Him for 300,000 ducats. Here He is, take Him, and sell Him!" Then he left the hall. These words, or the influence of other ecclesiastics, had a strong effect upon Isabella. She resolved to abide by the edict, and being of a bolder spirit than the king, contrived to hold him fast to his enmity against the Jews. Juan de Lucena, who was a member of the royal council of Aragon, as well as minister, was equally active in maintaining the edict in all its severity. At the end of April heralds and trumpeters paraded the whole country, proclaiming that the Jews were only permitted to remain till the end of July to set their affairs in order; whoever of them should be found after that time on Spanish ground would suffer death.

Great as was the consternation of the Spanish Jews who had to tear themselves from the beloved land of their birth, and the ashes of their forefathers, and go forth to an uncertain future in strange lands, among people whose speech they did not understand, and who, perhaps, might be more unfriendly towards them than the Spanish Christians, yet they had to bestir themselves and make preparation for their exodus. At every step they had to avoid encountering a yet more cruel fate. Had they been able to take their riches with them, like the English Jews at the end of the thirteenth century, and the French a century later, they might have been able to provide some sort of miserable existence for themselves; but the Jewish capitalists dared not take their money with them, and were compelled to part with it by exchange. Spain had not then, however, on account of its dominating knightly and ecclesiastical element, any places of exchange, as in Italy, where paper was of value. Business on a large scale was in the hands, for the most part, of the Jews and the new-Christians, and the latter, from fear, were forced to keep apart from their Hebrew associates. The Jews who owned land were forced to part with it at absurd prices, because no buyers were to be found, and they were obliged to beg of the Christians for even the meanest thing in exchange. A contemporary, Andreas Bernaldez, pastor of Los Palacios, relates that the most magnificent houses and the most beautiful estates of the Jews were sold for a trifle. A house was bartered for an ass, and a vineyard for a piece of cloth or linen. Thus the riches of the Spanish Jews melted away, and could not help them in their day of need. In Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia, it was even worse with them. Torquemada, who made this occasion an opportunity to push his inhumanity beyond bounds, forbade the Christians

to have any intercourse with them. In these provinces Ferdinand sequestrated their possessions, so that not only were debts due to them cancelled, but also any claims they might have on monasteries. This fiendish plan he devised for the benefit of the Church. The Jews would thereby be driven to despair, and turn to the Cross for succour. Torquemada, therefore, imposed on the Dominicans the task of preaching Christianity everywhere, and of calling upon the Jews to receive baptism, and thus remain in the land. On the other side, the Rabbis bade the people remain steadfast in their faith, accept their trials as tests of their firmness, and trust in God, who had been with them in so many days of trouble. The fiery eloquence of the Rabbis was not, however, necessary. Each one encouraged his neighbour to remain true and steadfast to the Jewish faith. "Let us be strong," so they said to each other, "for our religion, and for the teaching of our fathers against enemies and blasphemers. If they will let us live, we will live; if they kill us, then will we die. We will not break the covenant of our God; our heart shall not fail us. We will go forth in the name of the Lord." Ought they to have submitted to be baptised, to fall a sacrifice to the blood-stained Inquisition? The Cross had, indeed, lost its power of attraction even to the more lukewarm of the Jews, since they had seen upon what trivial pretexts the members of their race had been delivered over to the fire and stake. One year before the proclamation of banishment was made, thirty-two new-Christians* in Seville were bound living to the stake, sixteen were burned in effigy, and 625 sentenced to do penance. The Jews, moreover, were not ignorant of the false and deceitful ways in which Torquemada set about entrapping his victims. Many of the pseudo-Christians had fled from Seville, Cordova and Jaen, to Granada, where they

returned to the Jewish faith. After the conquest of the town, Torquemada caused a proclamation to be made, that if they would come back to the Mother Church, "whose bosom was always open to embrace those who returned to her with repentance and contrition," they should be treated with mildness, and in private, without on-lookers, would receive absolution. A few allowed themselves to be charmed by this sweet voice, betook themselves to Toledo, and were pardoned—by a death of fire. Thus it came about that, in spite of the preaching of the Dominicans, and notwithstanding their indescribably terrible position, few Jews passed over to Christianity in the year of the expulsion from Spain. Among persons of note, only the rich tax-collector and Chief-Rabbi, Abraham Senyor, his son, and his son-in-law, Meïr, who was a Rabbi, went over, with the two sons of the latter. It is said that they received baptism in desperation, because the queen, who did not want to lose her clever minister of finance, threatened heavier persecution to the departing Jews if these did not submit. Great was the rejoicing at Court over the baptism of Senyor and his family. Their majesties themselves and the Cardinal stood sponsors. The newly baptised all took the family name of Coronel, and their descendants filled some of the highest offices in the State.

Their common misfortune and suffering developed among the Spanish Jews in those last days before their exile the deepest brotherly affection, and an elevated sentiment, which, had it lasted, must have borne good fruit. The rich among them, although their wealth had dwindled, divided it fraternally with the poor, allowing them to want for nothing, so that they should not fall into the hands of the Church, and also paid the charges of their exodus. The aged Rabbi, Isaac Aboab, the friend of Abrabanel, went with thirty Jews of rank

to Portugal, to negotiate with King João II. for the settlement of the Jews in that country, or for their safe passage through it. They succeeded in making tolerably favourable conditions. The pain of leaving their passionately loved country was not to be overcome. The nearer the day of departure came, the more were the hearts of the unhappy people wrung. The graves of their forefathers were dearer to them than all besides, and from these they found the parting hardest. This thought filled them with the deepest sadness. The Jews of the town of Vitoria gave to the community—in order to keep it protected from sacrilege—the Jewish Cemetery, and its appertaining grounds, in perpetuity, on the condition that it should never be encroached upon, nor planted over, and a deed to this effect was drawn up. The Jews of Segovia assembled three days before their exodus around the graves of their forefathers, mingling their tears with the dust, and melting the hearts of the Catholics with their grief. They tore up many of the tombstones to bear them away as memorial relics, or gave them to the Moors who remained behind.

At last the day arrived on which the Spanish Jews had to take staff in hand. They had been accorded two days further respite, and were allowed two days later than July 31st for setting forth. This date fell exactly upon the anniversary of the ninth Ab—which was fraught with memories of the extinct splendours in the old days, and had so often found the children of Israel wrapped in grief and misery. About 300,000 left the land they so deeply loved, but which had become a hateful memory to them. They wandered partly northwards, towards the neighbouring kingdom of Navarre, partly southwards, with the idea of settling in Africa, Italy or Turkey. The majority, however, made for Portugal. In order to stifle sad thoughts and to

avoid the melancholy impression which might have moved some to waver and by embracing the Cross endeavour to remain in the land, some of the Rabbis caused pipers and drummers to go before, making lively music, so that for a while the wanderers should forget their gnawing griefs. Spain lost with them the twentieth part of her most industrious, painstaking, intelligent inhabitants; above all, the middle class, which not merely kept trade going, but maintained it in brisk circulation, like the blood of a living organism. For there were among the Spanish Jews not merely capitalists, merchants, land proprietors, physicians and men of learning, but also artizans, armour and metal workers of all kinds, and at all events no idlers who slept away their time. With the discovery of America, the Jews might have lifted Spain to the rank of the wealthiest, most prosperous and enduring of States, which by reason of its unity of government would in any case have competed with Italy. But Torquemada would not have it so; he preferred to train the Spaniards for a blood-stained idolatry, under which, ere long, and within the dawning of the sunlight of the Lutheran reformation, pious men were condemned to chains, to dungeons, or the galleys, if they dared to read the Bible. The retreat of the Jews from Spain soon made itself felt in a very marked manner on the Christians. A lofty spirit, activity, and brilliant culture passed with them from the country. The smaller towns which had derived some vitality from the presence of the Jews, grew quickly depopulated, sank into insignificant spots, lost their spirit of freedom and independence, and were tools for the sharp-edged despotism of the Spanish kings, and the imbecile superstition of the priests—a mere uncontested prey. The Spanish nobility soon had to complain that their towns and villages had fallen into insignificance, had become deserted, and they

declared that, could they have foreseen the consequences, they would have opposed the royal commands. Next came about the dearth of physicians. The town of Vitoria and its neighbourhood was compelled, through the withdrawal of the Jews, to secure a physician from a distance, and to support him with a costly and regular maintenance. In many places the people fell victims to tribes of quacks, murderous bunglers, or to the superstition of deceitful or self-deceived dealers in magic. In one word, Spain fell back into a condition of barbarism through the banishment of the Jews, and all the wealth which the annexation of the American Colonies brought to the mother country only helped to render its inhabitants more oppressed, more stupid, and more abject slaves. The name of Jew died out of the country in which they had played such an important part, the literature of which was so filled with Jewish elements, that it immediately struck men of intelligence; schools, hospitals, and everything which the Jews could not or dared not take away with them, the king allowed to pass into the hands of the fiscal officials, who changed synagogues into churches, monasteries or schools, where the people grew ever more unenlightened, and were trained into the meanest slavery. The beautiful synagogue of Toledo, which the Jewish statesman of Don Pedro, Samuel Abulafia, erected, was, about a century and a half after, transformed into a church (*de Nuestra Señora de San Benito*), and is to this day a magnificent ornament to the city, with its Moorish architecture, its exquisite columns, and splendid proportions. In the other cities and towns of Spain, which live in the chronicles of Jewish history, in Seville, Granada, Cordova, in densely-populated Lucena, Saragossa and Barcelona, every trace was lost of the former existence of the sons of Jacob, or of the Jewish nobility (as the proud Jews of Spain styled themselves). Jews

it is true remained behind, Jews under the mask of Christianity, Jewish Christians, or new-Christians, who afforded their wandering brethren active help. Many of them took charge of their gold and silver, and kept it till they were able to send it on by the hands of trusted persons, or until they could exchange it in the purchase of land. These negotiations were often, however, of no avail, for when the fanatical king and queen heard of them, they sent for the treasure thus left behind, and sought to put an end to the arrangements.

In the meantime, great as were the obstacles, the Marranos did not cool in their zeal for their cast out brethren. They pursued those who had been guilty of inhuman brutality to the wanderers with bitter hatred, and delivered them over to the heresy-mongers,—turning the tool against itself. At the instigation of the Marranos, the brother of the powerful minister of Ferdinand, Don Juan de Lucena, was thrown into the prison of the Inquisition, kept there under a strong guard, and none of his relatives were allowed to see him, the minister (whom the Inquisition could not touch because of his exalted position) having counselled the banishment of the Jews, and practically assisted in it, and his brother had relentlessly taxed the property they had left behind. Torquemada made complaints that Don Juan was persecuted by the new-Christians on account of his faith. The Marranos, now more than ever on their guard, lest they should give the slightest offence, had to cross themselves industriously, count their beads, and mumble paternosters, while they were inwardly attached more than ever to Judaism. Frequently their feelings outran their will, they broke the bonds of silence, and this was productive of heavy consequences. Thus a Marrano in Seville on seeing an effigy which represented Christ, that was set up in Church for adoration, cried out, “Woe to him who sees such a thing and

must believe such a thing!" Such exceptions, in unguarded moments, naturally afforded the best opportunity for inquiry, imprisonment, the rack and autos-da-fé, not merely for the particular new-Christian caught in the act, but for his relatives, friends, and everybody connected with him who had any property. It had moreover grown to be a necessity to the people sated with the death agonies of sacrificial victims to witness a solemn tragedy of human sacrifice now and again. It is the less astonishing therefore, that under the first general Inquisitor, Thomas de Torquemada, in the course of fourteen years (1485—1498) at least two thousand Jews were burned as impenitent sinners. It is true he was so hated that he went in constant fear of death. Upon his table he kept the horn of a unicorn, to which the superstition of the time ascribed the power of nullifying the effect of poison. When Torquemada went out, he was always attended by fifty bodyguard (*Familares*) and two hundred foot soldiers, to protect him from assault. His successor, the second general Inquisitor, Deza, erected more scaffolds; but as time went on, it came to pass that the men of blood butchered each other. Deza before his death was accused of being secretly a Jew. When the persecutions against the remaining Moors and Moriscos, and the followers of the German Reformer Luther, met together, Spain, under the wrath of the Holy Inquisition, became literally a scene of human slaughter. With justice nearly all the European princes, and the Parliament of Paris, bitterly blamed the perverseness of Ferdinand and Isabella in having driven out such a useful class of the community. The sultan Bajazid (*Bayazet*) remarked of it: "You call Ferdinand a wise king, he who has made his country poor and enriched ours!"

CHAPTER XII.

EXPULSION OF THE JEWS FROM NAVARRE AND PORTUGAL.

The Exiles from Navarre—Migration to Naples—King Ferdinand I. of Naples and Abrabanel—Leon Abrabanel—Misfortunes of the Jews in Fez, Genoa, Rome, and the Islands of Greece—The Sultan Bayazet—Moses Kapsali—Spanish Jews in Portugal—The Jewish Astronomers, Abraham Zacuto and José Visino—The Jewish Travellers, Abraham de Beya and Joseph Zapeteiro—Outbreak of the Plague among the Spanish Jews in Portugal—Sufferings of the Portuguese Exiles—Judah Chayyat and his fellow-sufferers—Cruelty of João II.—Kindly treatment by Manoel changed into cruelty on his Marriage—Forcible Baptism of Jewish Children—Levi ben Chabib and Isaac Caro—Pope Alexander VI.—Trial of the Bishop of Aranda—Manoel's efforts on behalf of the Portuguese Marranos—Death of Simon Maimi and Abraham Taba—Noble revenge of the Jews.

1492—1498 C.E.

THE JEWS of Northern Spain, in the regions of Catalonia and Aragon, who turned their steps to neighbouring Navarre, with the idea of finding shelter there, were comparatively fortunate. Here at least was a prospect of a breathing time, and a possibility of looking round for other places of refuge. The Inquisitors had found in Navarre a courageous resistance on the part of its rulers and its people. When some Marranos, who were concerned in the murder of Arbues, the Inquisitor, fled to this kingdom, and the bloodthirsty heresy-mongers demanded that they be given up to the executioners, the town of Tudela declared that it would not suffer such unrighteous violence to people who had sought its protection, and closed the gates against them. In vain did King Ferdinand, who had an eye upon Navarre, threaten them with his anger.

The citizens of Tudela remained firm. A Navarrese prince, Jacob of Navarre, suffered for the shelter he gave to a hunted Marrano. The Inquisitors suddenly arrested him, imprisoned him, and sentenced him as an enemy of the Holy Office to shameful exposure in a church, where his list of offences was openly read out, and absolution only vouchsafed him after he had received flagellation from priestly hands. Several other towns of Navarre gave protection to the fugitives, and about 12,000 Castilian wanderers took up their quarters in Navarre. The Count of Lerin took the greater number of these under his care. But the Jews enjoyed only a few years of peace in Navarre; for upon the vehement urging of King Ferdinand, who followed the fugitives with bitterest enmity and persecution, the king of Navarre gave them the choice between wandering forth again and baptism. The greater number adopted Christianity, because there was only a short time for preparation, and no time for thinking was permitted them. In Tudela, so famous for their steadfast piety, 180 families of the community submitted to baptism.

Thus those Castilian Jews were more fortunate who, instead of indulging themselves in the vain hope that the edict would be recalled, did not wait for the upshot of affairs, but made their way to Italy, Africa, or Turkey. They did not lack the means of getting away. The Spanish Jews had at that time such widespread repute, and their expulsion had made so much stir in Europe, that crowds of ships were ready in Spanish seaports to take up the wanderers and convey them to all parts, and not only the ships of the country, but also Italian vessels from Genoa and Venice. The ship-owners saw a prospect of lucrative business. Many Jews from Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia desired to settle in Naples, and sent ambassadors to the reigning king, Ferdinand I., to ask him to receive

them. This prince was not merely free from prejudice against the Jews, but was kindly inclined towards them, out of compassion for their misfortunes. He may have promised himself industrial and intellectual advantage from this immigration of the Spanish Jews. Whether it was calculation or generosity, it is enough that he bade them welcome, and made his realm free to them. Many thousands of them landed in the Bay of Naples (24th August, 1492), and were kindly received. The native Jewish community treated them with true brotherly generosity, defrayed the expenses of the poor who were not able to pay the costs of their journey, and provided for their immediate necessities.

Isaac Abrabanel also, and his whole household, went to Naples. Here he lived at first as a private person, and continued his work, which had been interrupted by his state duties, of writing a commentary upon the book of Kings. When the king of Naples was informed of his presence in the city, he invited him to an interview, and entrusted him with an official post, apparently in the financial department. Probably he hoped to gain much by Abrabanel's experience, especially in the war with which he was threatened by the king of France. Whether solely from his own noble impulses, or from esteem for Abrabanel, the king of Naples showed the Jews a gentle humanity which startlingly contrasted with the cruelty of the Spanish king. The unhappy people had to struggle with many woes, and when they thought themselves free of one, another yet more merciless fell upon them. A devastating pestilence followed the track of the wanderers, arising out of the sad condition to which they had been reduced, or from the overcrowding of the ships. They brought death with them. Scarcely had they been six months settled on Neapolitan soil than the pestilence carried numbers of them off, and King Ferdinand, who dreaded a rising

of the populace against the Jews, had it hinted to them that they must bury their corpses by night, and in silence. When, however, the sickness did not abate, and every day destroyed greater numbers, people and courtiers alike entreated him to drive them forth. But Ferdinand would not assent to this inhuman proceeding; he threatened to abdicate if the Jews were ill treated. He had hospitals erected for them outside the town, sent physicians to their aid, and gave them means of support. For a whole year he strove in unexampled and most noble ways to succour the unfortunate people, whom banishment and disease had transformed into living corpses. Those also who were fortunate enough to reach Pisa found a brotherly reception. The sons of Yechiel of Pisa opened spacious quarters on the quay for the shelter of the wanderers who were provided for in Pisa, or helped on their way to some other place. After Ferdinand's death, his son, who little resembled him—Alfonso II.—retained the Jewish statesman, Abrabanel, in his service, and, after his resignation in favour of his son, took him with him to Sicily. Abrabanel to the last remained faithful to his prince in his misfortunes (January, 1494, to June, 1495).

After the conquest of Naples by the weak-headed knight-errant king of France, Charles VIII., the members of the family of Abrabanel were torn apart and scattered. None of them, however, met with such signal misfortune as the eldest son, Judah Leon Medigo (born 1470, died 1530). He was so renowned at the Spanish court that he could not be spared, and they would gladly have kept him there as a Christian. To attain this end, a command was issued that he should not be permitted to leave Toledo, or that his little son should be taken from him, baptised immediately, and in this manner the father would be chained to Spain. Judah Abrabanel,

however, got wind of this plot against his liberty, sent his son, with his nurse, "like stolen goods," secretly to the Portuguese coast; but as he himself did not dare to seek shelter in the country where his father had been threatened with death, he turned his face towards Naples. His suspicions of the king of Portugal were only too speedily justified. No sooner did João hear that a relative of Abrabanel's was within his borders than he ordered the child to be kept as hostage, and not to be permitted to go forth with the other Jews. The little Isaac never saw his parents and grand-parents again. He was baptised, and brought up as a Christian. The agony of the father at the living death of his lost child was boundless. It gave him no rest or peace to his latest hour, and it found vent in a song of lamentation which is saddening in the extreme. Yet what was the grief for one child, compared with the woes which overtook the thousands of Jews hunted out of Spain.

Many of them found their way to the nearest African seaport towns, Oran, Algiers and Bugia. The inhabitants, who feared an overflow of their towns from such a vast influx, shot at the Jews as they landed, and killed many of them. An eminent Jew at the court of Barbary, however, bestirred himself with the Sultan for his unhappy brethren, and obtained leave for them to land. They were not allowed to enter the towns, apparently because the pestilence was also at work in their midst, but they built themselves wooden huts outside the walls; the children collected wood, and their elders nailed the boards together for temporary dwellings. But they did not long enjoy even this miserable shelter, as one day a fire broke out in one of the huts, and soon laid the whole colony in ashes.

Those who settled in Fez suffered a still more terrible lot. Here also the inhabitants would not admit them, fearing that such an influx of human

beings would raise the price of the necessities of life. Here therefore, they had to encamp in the fields and live on roots and herbs like the cattle. On the Sabbath they gnawed up the plants with their teeth, in order not to desecrate the holy day by gathering them. Starvation, pestilence, and the unfriendliness of the Mahometan people contended for the first place among them. In their awful despair, fathers were driven to sell their children as slaves to obtain bread. Mothers killed their little ones, that they might not see them perish from the pangs of hunger. Avaricious ships' captains took advantage of the distress of the parents to entice the starving children to the shore with offers of bread, and having got them on board would, deaf to the cries and entreaties of the parents, carry them off to distant lands, where they sold them for a good price. Later, the rulers of Fez, apparently at the representation of the original Jewish inhabitants, caused a proclamation to be made that the Jewish children who had been sold for bread, and other necessities of life, should be set at liberty.

The descriptions by their contemporaries of the sufferings of the Jews make one's hair stand on end. They were dogged whithersoever they went. Those whom the plague and starvation had spared, fell into the hands of brutalized men. The report got about that the Spanish Jews had swallowed the gold and silver which they had been forbidden to carry away, intending to use it later on. Cannibals, therefore, ripped open their bodies to seek for coin in their entrails. The Genoese ship-folk behaved most inhumanly to the wanderers who had trusted their lives to them. From avarice, or the sheer cruelty of revelling in the death agonies of the Jews, they flung many of them into the sea. One ship captain endeavoured to offer insult to the beautiful daughter of a Jewish wanderer. Her name was Paloma (Dove), and to escape shame,

the mother threw her and her other daughters and then herself into the waves. The wretched father composed a heartbreaking song of lamentation for his lost dear ones.

Those who reached the port of Genoa had to contend with new miseries. In this thriving town there was a law that Jews should not remain there for longer than three days. As the ships which were to convey the Jews thence required repairing, the jurisdiction of Genoa conceded them permission to remain—not in the town, but upon the Mole, until the vessels were ready for sea. Then like ghosts, pale, shrunk, hollow-eyed, gaunt, they went on shore, and if they had not bestirred themselves instinctively to get out of their floating prison, they might have been taken for so many corpses. The starving children went into the churches, and allowed themselves to be baptised for a morsel of bread; and Christians were merciless enough not merely to accept such offers, but with the cross in one hand, and bread in the other, to go among the Jews, and tempt them to become converted. Those Jews who were to embark from the Mole had only a short extension of time allotted them, yet a great part of the winter passed without the ships' repairs being completed. The longer they remained, the more their numbers diminished, through the passing over to Christianity of the younger members, and many fell victims to plagues of all kinds. Other Italian towns would not allow them to land even for a short time, partly because the year was one of famine, and partly because the Jews brought the plague with them.

The survivors from Genoa, who were bound for Rome, now underwent still more bitter experiences; their own people leagued against them, refusing to allow them to enter, from fear that the increase of new settlers would damage their trade. They got together 1,000 ducats, to present to the

notorious monster, Pope Alexander VI., as a bribe for him to refuse to allow the Jews to enter. This prince, otherwise unfeeling enough, was however so enraged against the heartlessness of these men against their own people, that he ordered every Roman Jew out of the city. It cost the Roman congregation 2,000 ducats to obtain the revocation of this edict, and they had to take in the refugees.

The Greek islands of Corfu, Candia, and others became filled with Spanish Jews, some of whom had found their way there, others being sold as slaves. The majority of the Jews had great compassion for them, and strove to succour them, or at all events to obtain their freedom. They made great efforts to collect funds, and sold the ornaments of the synagogues, so that their brethren should not starve, or be subjected to slavery. Persians in the close neighbourhood of the island of Corfu bought the Spanish refugees, in order to obtain from their own Jews a high ransom for them. Elkanah Kapsali, representative of the Candian community, was indefatigable in his endeavours to collect money for the Spanish Jews. The most fortunate were those who reached the shores of Turkey; for the Turkish Sultan, Bayazet II., not only showed himself to be the most humane and feeling monarch to the Jews, but also the wisest and most far-seeing. He understood better than the Christian princes what hidden riches the impoverished Spanish Jews brought with them, not in their bowels, but in their brains, and he wanted to turn these to use for the good of his country. Bayazet caused a command to go forth through the European provinces of his dominions that the harassed and hunted Jews should not be rejected, but should be received in the kindest and most friendly manner. He threatened with death anyone who should illtreat or oppress them. The Chief Rabbi, Moses Kapsali, was untiringly active in protecting

those unfortunate Jewish Spaniards who had come as beggars, or as slaves to Turkey. He travelled about, and levied from the richer native Jews an alms' tax—"For the Liberation of the Spanish Captives." He did not need to use much pressure; for the Turkish Jews willingly contributed to the assistance of the victims of Christian fanaticism. Thus thousands of Spanish Jews settled in Turkey, and before a generation had passed they had taken the lead among the Turkish Jews and made Turkey a kind of Eastern Spain.

At first the Spanish Jews who went to Portugal seemed to have some chance of a happy lot. The venerable Rabbi, Isaac Aboab, who had gone with a deputation of thirty others to seek permission from King João, either for their settling in or passing through Portugal, succeeded in obtaining tolerably fair terms for them. Many of the wanderers chose to remain in the neighbouring kingdom for a while, because they flattered themselves with the hope that their indispensableness for Spain would soon make itself evident after their departure, that the eyes of the now blinded king and queen would become opened, and that they would then seek to recall the banished people with open arms. At the worst, so thought the refugees, they would have time when once in Portugal, to look round them, and decide which way they would go, and they thought they would find ships without further difficulty to convey them to Africa or to Italy. When the Spanish deputies placed their proposition before King João II. to receive the Jews permanently or temporarily in Portugal, the king consulted on the matter with his council at Cintra, who weighed the offer of money. Some of the advisers expressed pity for the unhappy Jews, and on that account, or from respect for the king, were in favour of the permission; others, and these the majority, either out of

hatred for the Jews, or a feeling of honour, were against it. The king, however, overruled all such considerations, because he hoped to carry on the contemplated war with Africa by means of the money he would thus acquire. It was at first said that the Spanish refugees were to be permitted to remain in Portugal. This favour, however, the Portuguese Jews looked upon with suspicion, because the little state would thus hold a disproportionate number of Jews, and the poorer portion of the wanderers would fall a heavy burden upon them, so that the king, who was not of an amiable disposition, and inimical to the Jews, would end by becoming hostile to all the Jews in Portugal. The chief men, therefore, of the Jewish-Portuguese community met in debate; and gave utterance to many cruel views on the subject, and determined to take steps that the Spanish exiles should be driven thence. A noble old man, Joseph, of the family of Ibn-Yachya, spoke warmly for his unfortunate brethren; but his voice was silenced. There was no more talk of their settling in Portugal, but only of their permission to make a short stay, in order to arrange for continuing their wanderings. The conditions laid down for the Spanish Jews were:—Each one, rich or poor, with the exception of babes, was to pay a stipulated sum (8 gold-cruzados, nearly one pound) in four instalments, artisans, however, such as metal-workers and smiths, who desired to settle in the country, only the half this amount. The rest were permitted to stay only eight months, but the king undertook to furnish ships at a reasonable rate for transporting them to other lands. Those who were found in Portugal after the expiration of this period, or were not able to show a receipt for the stipulated payment, were condemned to servitude. On the promulgation of these conditions, a large number of Spanish Jews (estimated at 20,000 families, or 200,000 souls)

passed over the Portuguese borders. The king assigned to the wanderers certain towns for their preliminary sojourn, where they had to pay a tax to the inhabitants. Oporto was assigned to thirty families of the first company which set out, and a synagogue was built for them. Isaac Aboab, the renowned teacher of so many disciples who later took the rank of Rabbis in Africa, Egypt and Palestine, died peacefully in Oporto; his pupil, who was famous as a geographer and astronomer, Abraham Zacuto, pronounced his funeral oration (end of 1492). Only a few of his fellow-sufferers died a peaceful death.

The feverish eagerness for discovering unknown lands, and entering into trading relations with them, which had seized on Portugal, gave a practical value to two sciences which hitherto had been followed only as a hobby, or amusement for idlers and dilettanti — namely, astronomy and mathematics, the favourite pursuits of cultured Jews in the Peninsula of the Pyrenees. If India—the land of gold and spices—was to be discovered in its length and breadth, India, upon which the minds of the Portuguese were set with burning desire, then coasting journeys, which were so slow and dangerous, would have to be given up, and voyages made thither upon the high seas. But the ships ran the risk of losing their way, and of being engulfed in the trackless wastes of the ocean. Maritime adventurers turned to the tables of astronomy, which served to direct them on their way, steering by the courses of the sun and of the stars. In this science certain Spanish Jews had come to be masters. A Chazan of Toledo, Isaac (Zag) Ibn Said, had published astronomical tables in the thirteenth century, known under the name of tables of Alfonso, which were used by the scientific men of Germany, France, England, and Italy, and which had only been slightly altered.

As João II. of Portugal now wished to send ships to the Atlantic for the discovery of India by way of the African sea-coast, he summoned a sort of astronomical congress, for the working out of practical astronomical tables. At this congress, together with the famous German astronomer, Martin Behaim, and the Christian physician of King Rodrigo, there sat a Jew, the royal physician, Joseph (José) Vecinho, or de Viseu. He put forward the astronomical calendar, or Tables of the Seven Planets, which Abraham Zacuto, known later as a chronicler, had drawn up at an earlier time, for a bishop of Salamanca, to whom he had dedicated them. Joseph Vecinho, in concert with Christian scientists, also improved upon the instrument for the measurement of the starry heavens—the nautical astrolabe—indispensable to mariners. By its aid Vasco de Gama first found it possible to follow the seaway to the Cape of Good Hope and India, and thus perhaps, Columbus also discovered the hitherto unknown America. The geographical knowledge and skill of two Jews, Rabbi Abraham de Beya and Joseph Zapateiro de Lamego, were turned to account by King João II., who sent them to Asia to obtain tidings of persons who had gone to the mythical land of Prester John.

Although King João thus employed learned and skilful Jews for his own ends, he had no liking for the Jewish race: he was indifferent, or rather inimical to them, directly they came in the way of his bigotry. In the same year, in which he dispatched Joseph Zapateiro and Abraham de Beya to Asia, as emissaries, he set up, at the instigation of Pope Innocent VIII., a commission of the Inquisition upon the Marranos who had fled from Spain to Portugal, and, like Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain, delivered over those who had Jewish leanings, either to death by fire or to endless imprisonment. When some Marranos took ship to Africa, and there openly adopted

Judaism, he prohibited under penalty of death and confiscation baptised Jews or new-Christians from leaving the country by sea. On the breath of this heartless monarch hung the life or death of hundreds of thousands of Jewish exiles.

Against those unfortunates in Portugal, not only evil-minded men, but also Nature itself, fought. Soon after their arrival in Portugal, a cruel pestilence began to rage among them, destroying thousands. The Portuguese, who also suffered from the plague, believed that the Jews had brought it into the country; and, indeed, all that they had suffered, the oppressive heat at the time of their going forth, want, misery, and all kinds of devastating diseases, may have developed it. A considerable number of the Spanish refugees suffered from the plague in Portugal. The population on this account murmured against the king, complaining that the pestilence had followed on the track of the accursed Jews, and established itself in the country. Don João had, therefore, to insist more strenuously upon the conditions than he otherwise would have done that all who had settled in Portugal should leave at the expiration of the eight months. At first he gave orders to have ships ready, at moderate rates of transportation, for the convenience of the refugees, and bade the captains treat their passengers with humanity, and convey them whither they wished to go. But these men—partly from hatred to the Jews, partly from avarice—once upon the seas, troubled but little about the king's orders, since they no longer had to fear complaints being made of their inhumanity. They demanded more money than had originally been bargained for, and extorted it from the helpless creatures, or carried them about upon the waste of waters till their stock of provisions was exhausted. Then they demanded large sums for a fresh supply of food, so that at last the unfortunates were driven to give their

clothes for bread, and were landed anywhere in a nearly naked state. Women and young girls were insulted and violated in the presence of their own parents and relatives, and disgrace was brought upon the name of Christian. Frequently these inhuman mariners landed them in some desolate spot of the African coasts, and left them to perish from hunger and despair, or to fall a prey to the Moors, who took them prisoners.

The suffering of the exiled Jews who left Portugal in ships are related by an eye-witness, the Kabbalist, Judah ben Jacob Chayyat (one of a noble and wealthy family). The vessel on which he, his wife, and two hundred and fifty other Jews, of both sexes and all ages, had embarked, left in winter (commencement 1493) the harbour of Lisbon, and lingered four months upon the waves, because no seaport would take them in, for fear of the plague. Provisions on board naturally went short. The ship was, moreover, captured by Biscayan pirates, plundered and taken to the Spanish port of Malaga. The Jews were not permitted to land, nor to set sail again, nor were means of existence given to them. The priests and magistrates of the town desired to incline them to the teaching of Christ by the pangs of hunger. They succeeded in converting one hundred persons with gaunt bodies and hollow eyes. The rest remained steadfast to their own faith, and fifty of them, old men, youths, maidens, children, suffered the most fearful privations. Among these was Chayyat's wife. Then, at last, some compassion awoke in the hearts of the Malagese, and they gave them bread and water; but when, after two months, the remainder of them received permission to sail to the coasts of Africa, they encountered bitter sufferings in another form. On account of the plague they were not permitted to land at any town, and were cast forth upon the fields. Chayyat himself was seized, and flung by

a barbarous Mahometan into a horrible dungeon full of snakes and salamanders, in order to force him to adopt Islamism, and in case of his hesitating, they threatened to stone him to death. All these continuous grinding cruelties did not make him waver one instant in his religious convictions. At last he was liberated by the Jews of a little town and carried to Fez. There, however, so severe a famine raged that Chayyat was compelled to turn a mill with his hands for a piece of bread, not fit for a dog to eat. At night he and his companions in misery who had been driven out of Fez slept upon the ash-heaps of the town.

Carefully as the Portuguese mariners strove to conceal their barbarities to the Jews whom they had taken into their ships, their deeds soon came to light, and frightened those who remained behind from undertaking similar sea-journeys. The poor creatures, moreover, were unable to raise the necessary money for their passage and provisions. They therefore put off going from day to day, comforting themselves with the hope that the king would let mercy precede right and allow them to remain. Don João, however, was not a monarch whose heart was warmed by kindness and compassion. He declared that more Jews had come into Portugal than had been stipulated for, and insisted, therefore, on the agreement being strictly carried out. Those who remained after the expiration of eight months were made slaves and sold or given to those of the Portuguese nobility who cared to take their pick from them (1493).

King João went still further in his cruel dealings with the unhappy Spanish Jews. The children of such parents as had become slaves, and whose ages ranged from three to ten years, he ordered to be taken, and transported by sea to the newly-discovered San Thomas, on Lost Islands (*Ilhas perdidas*), there to be reared in the tenets of

Christianity. The weeping of the mothers, the sobbing of the children, the rage of the fathers, who tore their hair in agony, had no effect in prevailing upon the heartless despot to recall his command. The mothers entreated to be allowed to go with their children, threw themselves at the king's feet as he came out of church, and implored him to leave them at least the youngest. Don João had them dragged from his path "like bitches who had their whelps torn from them." What marvel if mothers sprang, with their children in their arms, into the sea, so that in its depths they might rest united. The Islands of San Thomas, whither the little ones were taken, were full of lizards, venomous snakes, and criminals who were transported thence from Portugal. Most of the children perished on the journey or became the prey of wild beasts. Of the remainder, brothers and sisters wedded, in ignorance of their relationship, when they were grown up. Perhaps the king's barbarity to the Jews was aggravated by the bitter gloom which mastered him at the death of his only legitimate son.

After the death of João II., who sank in wretchedness into his grave (end of October, 1495), he was succeeded by his cousin Manoel, a great contrast in disposition to himself—an intelligent, amiable, gentle-minded man, as well as a patron of learning; and there seemed some prospect of a better star rising upon the remnant of the banished Jews in Portugal. King Manoel, when he found that the Jews only remained in his kingdom from fear of trusting themselves to many forms of death upon the ocean, refused to consent to their subjugation to slavery, but gave all the slaves their freedom. The money which they (beside themselves with joy) offered him for this, he refused. It is true that he had the hidden thought—as Bishop Osorius tells us—that this clemency would win them over to Christianity. The Jewish mathematician and astro-

nomer, Abraham Zacuto, who had come from Northern Spain (where he had taught his favourite science even to Christians) to Lisbon, and who remained there, was made chief astrologer. Zacuto served the king, but not merely in the latter capacity. Although a man of limited understanding, unable to soar above the superstition of his day, he had a sound knowledge of astronomy, and published a work upon that science (besides preparing his astronomical tables). He also invented for mariners a correct instrument for measuring the stars, which was made of metal, to replace the clumsy wooden ones used hitherto, and which were not to be relied on.

Under King Manoel, in whose reign Portugal's borders were enlarged by acquisitions in India and America, the Jews were able to breathe awhile. It appears that soon after ascending the throne he issued a command that the accusations against them for murdering children should not be brought forward in the Courts of Justice, since they were malicious and lying inventions. He also would not allow the fanatical preaching friars to utter denunciations against them.

Very short, however, was the gleam of happiness for the Jews under Manoel: the sombre bigotry of the Spanish court changed it into a terrible gloom. No sooner had the young king of Portugal mounted the throne than their majesties of Spain began to entertain the idea of marriage relations with him in order to turn an inimical neighbour into a friend and ally. They proposed to him marriage with their younger daughter, Joanna, who on account of her jealous disposition and her madness, afterwards became a notorious character. Manoel lent a willing ear to the proposal of an alliance with the Spanish Court, but preferred the elder sister, Isabella II., who had been married to the Infante of Portugal, and soon after became

a widow. Isabella had, it is true, strong repugnance to a second marriage; but her confessor knew how to over-rule these objections, and set before her the glorification her consent would add to the Christian faith. The Spanish court had marked with chagrin and vexation that the Portuguese king had taken up the cause of the Jewish and Mahometan refugees. King Manoel's friendly attitude was a real thorn in the flesh to them. Ferdinand and Isabella thought, by falling in with the Portuguese king's wishes, to attain their end much sooner. They therefore promised him the hand of their eldest daughter upon condition that he should join with Spain against Charles VII. and send the Jews out of Portugal, both the native as well as the refugee Jews. Both conditions were very disagreeable to King Manoel, who was on good terms with France, and reaped great advantage from the wealth of the Jews, from their energy, intelligence, and knowledge. He consulted with his lords and council upon this question fraught with such importance for the Jews, but opinions upon it were divided.

Manoel himself hesitated for some time, because his noble nature shrank from such cruelty and faithlessness. The Infanta Isabella gave the signal for the attack. She entertained a fanatical, almost personal hatred against the Jews. She was under the delusion—or allowed the priests to persuade her—that the misfortunes and unhappiness which fell upon King João in his last days were occasioned by his having allowed the Jews to enter his kingdom; and, nourished as she was at the breast of superstition, was afraid of ill-luck in her union with Manoel if the Jews remained any longer in Portugal. What a dreary lovelessness to exist in the heart of a young woman! An irreconcilable strife of feelings and thoughts was thus raised in the soul of King Manoel. Honour—the interest of

the State and humanity forbade his proscribing and expelling the Jews: but the hand of the Spanish Infanta, and his hope of possessing the Spanish crown, were only to be secured by the misery of the Jews. Love or calculation weighed down the balance in favour of hate. When the king was expecting his bride to cross the borders of his kingdom, he received from her a letter saying that she would never set foot in Portugal until the land had been cleansed from the "curse-laden" Jews.

The marriage contract between Don Manoel and the Spanish Infanta, Isabella, was therefore sealed with the misery of the Jews. It was signed, 30th November, 1496, and, already, on the 24th of the following month, the king caused an order to go forth that all the Jews and Moors of his kingdom must receive baptism, or leave the country within a given time, on pain of death. In order to relieve his conscience, he showed some clemency in carrying into effect the edict, towards those against whom it was directed. He lengthened the term of their stay until the October of the following year, so that they had time for preparation. He further appointed three ports for their free egress (Lisbon, Oporto, and Setubal). That he sought to allure the Jews to Christianity—by the prospect of honour and advancement—was so much a feature of the distorted views of the times, that he can hardly be held responsible for it; as it was, only a few submitted to baptism.

It was, however, precisely Manoel's clement behaviour which tended to the greater misery of the Jews. Having more time to prepare for their departure, and not being permitted to take gold and silver with them, they thought there was no need to hurry, and that their exile might be delayed. Perhaps the king's mind might change. They had friends at Court who would speak in their favour. The winter months were, moreover, no time to be upon the ocean. The majority of them, therefore,

waited for the new year. In the meantime the mind of King Manoel certainly did change, but only to the increase of their fearful misery. He was much depressed at finding that so few Jews had embraced Christianity. He very unwillingly saw them depart with their wealth and their possessions, and thought to retain them, as Christians indeed, in his own kingdom. Though the first step had cost him a struggle, the second had already grown easy.

He raised the question in Council whether the Jews could be brought to baptism by force. To the honour of the Portuguese clergy, it must be said that they expressed themselves as opposed to this. The Bishop Ferdinand Coutinho, of Algarva, cited ecclesiastical authorities and papal bulls to the effect that the Jews were not compelled to adopt Christianity, because a free and not a forced confession was required. Manoel was however so bent upon keeping the industrious Jews with him, that he openly declared that he did not trouble himself about laws and authorities, but would act upon his own judgment. He issued from Evora (beginning of April, 1497,) a secret command that all Jewish children, boys and girls, up to the age of fourteen, should on Easter Sunday be taken from their parents by force, and carried to the church fonts to be baptised. He was advised by a reprobate convert, Levi ben Sheshet, to take this step. In spite of the secrecy with which the preparations for this were made, several Jews found it out, and took to flight with their children from the "Stain of Baptism." When Manoel heard of this, he ordered the forced baptism of children to be carried out at once. Heartrending scenes ensued in the towns where Jews lived when the men strove to carry away the children. Parents clutched their dear ones to their breasts, the children clung convulsively to them, and could only be separated by lashes of the whip or by blows. In their

despair at being thus for ever sundered, many of them strangled the children in their embraces, or threw them into wells and rivers, and then laid hands upon themselves. "I have seen," relates Bishop Coutinho, "many dragged to the font by the hair, and the fathers clad in mourning, with depressed heads, and with cries of agony, accompanying their children to the altar, to protest against these inhuman baptisms. I have seen still more horrible and indescribable violence done them." In the memory of his contemporaries there lingered the frightful manner in which a noble and distinguished Jew, Isaac Ibn Zachin destroyed himself and his children, to avoid becoming a prey to Christianity. Christians themselves were moved to pity by the cries and tears of Jewish fathers, mothers and children, and despite the king's commands, in order to assist the Jews, they concealed many of the unfortunates in their houses, so that at least for the moment they might be safe; but the stony hearts of King Manoel and his young wife, the Spanish Isabella II., remained unmoved by these sights of woe. The baptised children, who received Christian names, were placed in various towns, and reared as Christians. Either in obedience to a secret order, or from zeal, the creatures of the king not only seized children, but also youths and maidens up to the age of twenty, for baptism.

Many of the Jews of Portugal might in this manner have embraced Christianity in order to remain with their children; but this did not satisfy the king, who had hardened his heart—not from religious zeal, but from political motives. All the Jews of Portugal, either with or without conviction, that mattered little enough, must become Christians, and remain in the country. To attain this end, he broke his solemn promise more entirely than his predecessor. As the expiry of the

term for their leave to remain came closer he ordered that the Jews should embark from one seaport only, that of Lisbon, although, at first, he had allowed them three places. Therefore, all who wished to go, had to meet in Lisbon—20,000 souls, it is said, with burning grief in their hearts, but prepared to suffer all to remain true to their convictions. The inhuman monarch certainly allowed them lodgings in the city, but placed so many hindrances in the way of their embarkation, that time passed by, and October came on, when they were to die, or at least to forfeit their liberty, if found still upon Portuguese soil. When they were thus delivered into his hands, he had all who remained behind, locked in an enclosed space (*os Estaões*) like oxen in stalls, when they were informed that they were now slaves, and that he could do with them as he thought fit. He required of them that they should voluntarily confess the Christian faith, in which case they should have honour and riches; otherwise, they would, without mercy, be forced to baptism. When, notwithstanding this, many remained firm, they were forbidden to have bread or water for three days, in order to render them more pliable. This means did not succeed any better with the greater number of them: they chose rather to faint with starvation than belong to a religion which owned such followers as those who persecuted them. Upon this, Manoel proceeded to extremest measures with them. By cords, by their hair and beard they were dragged from their pen to the churches. To escape this some sprang from the windows, and their limbs were crushed. Others broke loose and jumped into wells—some killed themselves in the churches. One father spread his *tallith* over his sons, and killed them and himself. Manoel's terrible treatment comes into more glaring prominence when it is compared with his behaviour to the Moors. They too had to leave

Portugal, but no hindrances were placed in their way, from fear lest the Mahometan princes in Africa and Turkey should retaliate upon the Christians living in their midst. Because the Jews had no earthly protector, but were weak and helpless, therefore Manoel, whom historians call the great, permitted such atrocities against them. In this fashion many native Portuguese and refugee Spanish Jews were led to embrace Christianity, which they—as their Christian contemporaries relate with shame—had openly scorned. Some among them, at a later period, became distinguished Rabbinical authorities, like Levi ben Chabib, afterwards Rabbi in Jerusalem. Those who escaped with their lives and their faith, regarded it as a gracious and wondrous interposition of God. Isaac ben Joseph Caro, who had come from Toledo to Portugal, there lost both his young sons (“who were beautiful as king’s sons”), and thanked his Creator for the mercy that in spite of peril on the sea he reached Turkey. Abraham Zacuto also was in danger of death, together with his son Samuel, although (or because) he was King Manoel’s favourite astrologer and chronicler. Both, however, were fortunate enough to pass through the bitter ordeal, and escape from Portugal, but were twice imprisoned; they finally settled in Tunis.

The stir which the enforced conversion of the Jews caused in Portugal did not immediately subside. Those who had submitted to baptism through fear of death, or out of love for their children, did not give up the hope that by appealing to the Papal Court they might be able to return to their own faith, seeing that it was known to all Europe that Pope Alexander VI., and his equally monstrous college of Cardinals, would do anything for money. A witticism was then making the round in every Christian country:—

Vendit Alexander Claves, Altaria, Christum ;
Emerat ista prius, vendere jura potest .

Rome was a market of shame—a hill of Astarte—a mart of unwholesomeness—but there, also, the innocent might buy their rights for money. The Portuguese new-Christians now sent a deputation of seven of their companions in misery to Pope Alexander, and they did not forget to take a purse of gold with them. The pope, and the so-called holy college, showed themselves favourably inclined towards them: especially Cardinal de Sancta Anastasia took them under his patronage. The Spanish Ambassador Garcilaso, however, was opposed to them, in the interests of their Spanish majesties. The affairs of the Portuguese Jews must meanwhile have taken a favourable turn, for King Manoel decided to come to terms. He issued a mild decree (30th May, 1497), in which he granted amnesty to all forcibly baptised Jews, and instituted a respite of twenty years, during which they were not to be brought before the Tribunal of the Inquisition for their adherence to Judaism. They were first to lay aside their Jewish customs, and accustom themselves to the ways of the Catholic faith, for which time was necessary. Further, the decree ordered that, on the expiration of this term, a regular examination should be made of those accused of Judaizing practices, and, if the case was decided against them, their goods should not be confiscated, as in Spain, but given over to their heirs. Finally, the decree ordained that those baptised physicians and surgeons who did not understand Latin might make use of Hebrew books of reference. It was therewith allowed and conceded to these enforced Christians to live in secret, without fear of punishment, as Jews, and to retain all their books. For who, in Portugal, could, in those days, distinguish a Hebrew book of medicine from any other work in the same language? The students of the Talmud could thus follow their favourite researches and studies under

the mask of Catholicism as heretofore. This amnesty also benefited the Portuguese Marranos, but not those who had gone beyond Portuguese borders. This clause Manoel had inserted with an eye to the Spanish court, or, more particularly, to the Spanish Infanta Isabella. For she insisted that the Marranos who had fled out of Spain into Portugal should be delivered over to the Moloch of the Inquisition. In the marriage contract between the King of Portugal and the fanatical Isabella, it was expressly set down that (August, 1497) all persons of the Hebrew race coming under condemnation of the Inquisition, who sought refuge in Portugal, must leave it within a month's time.

Thus were many thousand Portuguese Jews made into pseudo-Christians, but with the firm resolve to seize every opportunity to get away, so that in a free country they might openly practise the religion which was only the dearer to them for all they had suffered for it. Their souls, as the poet, Samuel Usque writes, were not soiled by the baptism which had been imposed on them. Meanwhile some Jews remained, who had refused baptism with all their might. Among them was Simon Maimi, apparently the last Chief Rabbi (Arrabimor) in Portugal, a scrupulously pious man; also his wife, his step-sons, and some others. They were closely imprisoned, because they would not forswear Judaism, or observe the rites of the Church. To bring them to conversion, Simon Maimi and his fellow sufferers, Rabbis of rank, were most inhumanly tortured. They were walled up to the neck between the church walls, and left for three days in this fearful position. When they nevertheless remained firm, the walls were torn down, three of them were laid upon the rack—along with them Simon Maimi, whose conversion was most important, because his example greatly influenced the

others. Two Marranos imperilled their lives to secure the corpse of the pious martyr, that they might inter it in the Jewish burial-ground, although it was strictly forbidden to bury the Jewish victims of Christian sacrifice otherwise than by the executioner's hands. A few Marranos secretly attended their deeply-lamented saint to his last rest, and celebrated the day of mourning over his grave. It appears that after the death of Isabella—the main-spring of all his barbarities to the Jews (she died at the birth of the heir to the thrones of Portugal and Spain, 24th August, 1498, and the Infante two years later)—Manoel permitted the few remaining Jews to depart. Among these were Abraham Saba, a preacher and Kabbalist author, whose two children were baptised by force. The companions of Simon Maimi and his step-sons remained a long time in prison, were finally sent to Arzilla (in Africa), there condemned to work at the trenches on the Sabbath, and died at last a martyr's death.

Eighty years later, Manoel's great-grandson, the adventurous King Sebastian, led the flower of the Portuguese people to fresh conquests in Africa. In one single battle the power of Portugal was broken, her nobility slain, or cast into prison. The captives were carried to Fez, and there offered in the slave-market for sale to the descendants of the barbarously treated Portuguese Jews. The unhappy Portuguese nobles and knights were however glad to be bought by the Jews, as they well knew the mild and humane nature of the followers of the "God of Vengeance."



CHAPTER XIII.

RESULTS OF THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS FROM SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. GENERAL VIEW.

Wide-spread Consequences of the Expulsion—The Exiles—Fate of the Abrabanel Family—Leon Medigo—Isaac Akrish—The Pre-eminence of the Jews of Spanish Origin—The North-African States : Samuel Alvalensi, Jacob Berab, Simon Duran II.—The Jews of Bugia, Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis—Abraham Zacuto, and Moses Alashkar—Egypt: Isaac Shalal, David Ibn Abi Zimra—The Jews of Cairo—Selim I.—Cessation of the Office of Nagid—Jerusalem—Obadyah di Bertinoro—Safed and Joseph Saragossi—The Jews of Turkey—Constantinople—Elia Mizrahi: the Karaites—The Communities of Salonica and Adrianople—The Jews of Greece—Elias Kapsali—The Jews of Italy and the Popes: Bonet de Lates—The first Ghetto in Venice—Samuel Abrabanel and Benvenida Abrabanela—Abraham Farissol—The Jews of Germany and their Sorrows—Expulsion of the Jews from various Towns—The Jews of Bohemia—Jacob Polak and his School—The Jews of Poland.

1496—1525 C.E.

THE expulsion of the Jews, as unwise as it was inhuman, from the Pyrenean Peninsula forms in various ways a well-marked turning-point in the general history of the Jewish race. It involved not only the exiles, but the whole Jewish people in far-reaching and mostly disastrous consequences. The glory of the Jews was extinguished, their pride humbled, their centre displaced, the strong pillar against which they had hitherto leant was broken. The grief caused by this sad event was shared by their co-religionists in every country which had news of it. They all felt as if the Temple had been destroyed a third time, as if the sons of Zion had a third time been condemned to exile and misery. Whether from fancy or pride, it was supposed that the Spanish (or, more correctly, the Sephardic)

Jews were descended from the noblest tribe, and included among them descendants in the direct line from King David; hence the Jews looked upon them as virtually representing a kind of Jewish nobility. And now just these exalted ones had been visited by severe affliction! Exile, compulsory baptism, death in every hideous form, by despair, hunger, pestilence, fire, shipwreck, all torments united, had reduced their hundreds of thousands to barely the tenth part of that number. The remnant wandered about like spectres, hunted from one country to another, and they, the princes among Jews, were driven to knock as beggars at the doors of their brethren. The thirty millions of ducats which, at the lowest computation, the Spanish Jews possessed on their expulsion, had melted away in their hands, and they were thus left denuded of everything in a hostile world, which valued the Jews at their money's worth only. At the same period many German Jews were driven from some of the cities of the East and West, but their misery did not equal that of the Spanish Jews. They knew neither the sweetness of a country that they could call their own, nor the comforts of life; they were more hardy, or, at least, accustomed to contempt and harsh treatment.

Half a century after the banishment of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, we everywhere meet with fugitives: here a group, there a family, or solitary stragglers. It was a kind of exodus on a small scale, moving eastwards, chiefly towards Turkey, as if the Jews were again to approach their original home. But their very wanderings, until they again reached secure dwelling places, and to some extent regained peace, were heartrending through the calamities of every description, the humiliations, the contumely, sufferings worse than death, that they encountered.

The ancient family of Abrabanel did not escape

heavy disasters and constant migrations. The father, Isaac Abrabanel, who had occupied a high position at the Court of the accomplished King Ferdinand I., and of his son Alfonso, at Naples, was forced, on the approach of the French, to leave the city, and, with his royal patron, to seek a refuge in Sicily. The French hordes, on their entry, plundered his house of all its valuables, and destroyed a choice library, his greatest treasure. On the death of King Alfonso, Isaac Abrabanel, for his safety, went to the island of Corfu : however, he remained there only till the French had evacuated the Neapolitan territory, when he settled at Monopoli (Apulia), where he completed or revised many of his writings. The wealth he had acquired in the service of the Portuguese and Spanish Courts had vanished, his wife and children were separated from him and dispersed, and he passed his days in sad musings, out of which only his study of the Scriptures and of the annals of the Jewish people, could lift him. His eldest son, Judah Leon Medigo Abrabanel, resided at Genoa, where, in spite of his unsettled existence, and corroding grief for the loss of his young son, who had been taken from him and was being brought up in Portugal as a Christian, he still cherished ideals. For Leon Abrabanel was much more highly accomplished, richer in thought, and generally more important than his father, and he deserves consideration other than as a mere appendix or complement of the latter. Leon Abrabanel practised as a physician to gain his livelihood (whence his cognomen *Medigo*) ; but his favourite pursuits were astronomy, mathematics, and metaphysics. Shortly before the death of the gifted and eccentric Pico de Mirandola, Leon Medigo became acquainted with him, and acquired his friendship, and at his instigation undertook the writing of a philosophical work.

Leon Medigo, in a remarkable manner, entered

into close connection with acquaintances of his youth, with Spanish Grandees, and even with King Ferdinand, who had driven his family and so many hundred thousands into banishment and death. For he became the private physician of the General Gonsalvo de Cordova, the conqueror and Viceroy of Naples. The heroic, amiable, and lavish De Cordova did not share his master's hatred against the Jews. In one of his descendants he left a scion of Jewish literature. When King Ferdinand, after the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples (1504), had commanded the Jews to be banished thence, as from Spain, the General thwarted the execution of the order, observing that, on the whole, there were but few Jews in the Neapolitan territory, since most of the immigrants had either again left it, or had become converts to Christianity. The banishment of these few could only be injurious to the country, since they would settle at Venice, which would benefit by their industry and riches. Consequently the Jews were allowed to remain a while longer in the Neapolitan territory. But to exterminate from Spain and Portugal the Marranos who had settled there, Ferdinand established the terrible Inquisition at Benevento. Leon Medigo was over two years De Cordova's physician (1505-1507); King Ferdinand saw him when he visited Naples. After the king's departure and the ungracious dismissal of the viceroy (June, 1507), Leon Abrabanel, having nowhere found suitable employment, returned to his father, then living at Venice, whither he had been invited by his second son, Isaac II., who practised medicine first at Reggio (Calabria), and then at Venice. The youngest son, Samuel, afterwards a bold protector of his co-religionists, was the most fortunate of the family. He dwelt amidst the cool shades of the academy of Salonica, to which his father had sent him to finish his education in

Jewish learning. The elder Abrabanel once more entered the political arena. At Venice he had the opportunity of settling a dispute which had arisen between the Court of Lisbon and the Venetian Republic concerning the East-Indian colonies established by the Portuguese, and especially concerning the trade in spices. Some of the influential senators on this occasion appreciated Isaac Abrabanel's correct political and financial judgment, and thenceforth consulted him in all important questions of state policy. But suffering and travel had broken his strength; before he had reached seventy years, he felt the infirmities of old age creeping over him. In a letter of reply to Saul Cohen Ashkenasi, an inhabitant of Candia, and a man thirsting for knowledge, a disciple and mental heir of Elias del Medigo, Abrabanel complains of increasing debility and senility. Had he been silent thereon, his literary productions of that time would have betrayed him. The baited victims of Spanish fanaticism would have needed bodies of steel and the resisting strength of stone to avoid succumbing to the sufferings with which they were overwhelmed.

We have a striking instance of the restless wanderings of the Jewish exiles in the life of a fellow-sufferer, who, though insignificant in himself, became known to fame by his zeal to raise the courage of the unfortunate. To Isaac ben Abraham Akrish, a Spaniard, a great traveller and a bookworm (born about 1489, died after 1578), Jewish literature owes the preservation of many a valuable document. Akrish said, half in joke and half in earnest, that he must have been born in the hour when the planet Jupiter was passing through the Zodiacal sign of the Fishes, a conjunction which, according to the astrological casting of nativities, indicates a wandering life. For, though lame in both feet, he spent his whole existence in travelling from city to

city, both on land and on sea. When yet a boy, Akrish was banished from Spain, and at Naples he underwent all the sufferings which seemed to have conspired against the exiles. Thus he limped from nation to nation, "whose languages he did not understand, and who spared neither old men nor children," until in Egypt, in the house of an exile, he found a few years' rest. Who can follow all the wandering exiles, with sore feet, and still sorer hearts, until they somewhere found rest, or the peace of the grave?

But the very enormity of the misery they endured raised the self-reliance of the Sephardic Jews to a height which seemed to border on pride. That they whom God's hand had smitten so heavily, so persistently, that they who had undergone such unspeakable sorrow must occupy a peculiar position, and belong to the specially elect, was the thought or the feeling existing more or less clearly in the breasts of all the survivors. They looked upon their banishment from Spain as a third exile, and upon themselves as the chosen favourites of God, whom, because of His greater love for them, He had chastised more severely. Contrary to expectation, their minds took a loftier tone, which did not indeed cause them to forget their sufferings, but transfigured them. As soon as they felt even slightly relieved from the burden of their boundless calamity, and were able to breathe, they rose with elastic force, and carried their heads high like princes. They had lost everything except their Spanish grandezza, their distinguished manner. However humbled they might be, their pride did not forsake them, they asserted it wherever their wandering feet found a resting-place. And to some extent they were justified in doing so. True, since the growth of the tendency among Jews to strict orthodoxy, hostility to science, and their exclusion from social circles, they had receded from the high

scientific position they had held, and forfeited the supremacy they had maintained during many centuries; yet they far surpassed the Jews of all other countries in culture, manners, and also in internal worth, as was shown by their external bearing and language. Their love for their country was too great to allow them to hate the unnatural mother who had cast them out. Hence, wherever they went, they founded Spanish or Portuguese colonies. They carried the Spanish tongue, Spanish dignity and distinction to Africa, Syria, and Palestine, Italy and Flanders; wherever fate cast their lot they cherished and cultivated this Spanish manner so lovingly, that it has maintained itself to this day in full vigour among their descendants. Far from being absorbed in the majority of the Jewish populations in countries which had hospitably received them, they, as a privileged race, the flower and nobility of the Jewish nation, kept aloof from others, looked down upon them with contempt, and not unfrequently dictated laws to them. This arose from the fact that the Spanish and Portuguese Jews spoke the languages of their native countries (which by the discoveries and conquests of the sixteenth century had become the languages of the world) with purity, took part in literature, and thereby, even when conferring with Christians, could do so on equal terms with manliness, and without fear or servility. On this point they contrasted with the German Jews, who despised the very thing which constitutes a true man, a pure and beautiful speech, and who considered a corrupt jargon, and isolation from the Christian world, as proofs of religious zeal. The Sephardic Jews, in fact, attached importance to forms, to taste in their costume, to elegance in their synagogues, as well as to the means for the exchange of thought. The Spanish and Portuguese Rabbis preached in their native tongues, and laid great stress on a pure

pronunciation and euphony. Hence their language did not degenerate, at least not in the first centuries after their expulsion. "In the cities of Salonica, Constantinople, Alexandria, Cairo, Venice, and other resorts of commerce, the Jews transact their business only in the Spanish language. I have known Jews of Salonica who, though they were still young, pronounced Castilian as well, and even better, than myself." This is the judgment of a Christian writer about half a century after their expulsion.

The contempt which the mild and already broken-down Isaac Abrabanel entertained for the barbaric jargon spoken by the German Jews is characteristic. For he was surprised to discover in a letter, sent to him by Saul Cohen of Candia, a native of Germany, so finished a Hebrew style and such close reasoning, and freely expressed his astonishment: "I am surprised to find so excellent a style among the Germans (Jews), which is rare even among their leaders and Rabbis, however highly placed they may be. Their language is full of awkwardness and clumsiness, a stammering without judgment." This superiority of the Jews of Spanish descent in culture, bearing, social manners, and knowledge of the world was indeed appreciated and admired by other Jews, especially by German Jews, with whom they everywhere came into contact. Hence the Spanish Jews could presume to play the masters, and frequently, in spite of their paucity of numbers, to get the better of majorities speaking other tongues. In the century after their expulsion they are almost exclusively the leaders in historical events, the names of their spokesmen are heard everywhere, they furnished Rabbis, authors, thinkers and visionaries, whilst German and Italian Jews occupied a humble corner. In all countries, except Germany and Poland, into which they never

penetrated, or only as solitary individuals, the Sephardic Jews were the leaders.

The North-African coast, and the inhabitable regions inland, were full of Jews of Spanish descent, where during the century of the great persecution from 1391 to their total expulsion, they had congregated in great numbers. From Safi (Assafi) the most south-western town of Morocco, to Tripoli in the north-east, there were many communities, of varying numbers, speaking the Spanish language. Though mostly hated, arbitrarily treated, and often compelled by petty barbarian tyrants and the uncivilised and degenerate Moorish population to wear a disgraceful costume, yet opportunities were left to prominent Jews to distinguish themselves, to rise to high honours and acquire wide-spread influence. In Morocco a rich Jew, learned in history, who had rendered important services to the ruler of that country, was held in high esteem. At Fez, where there existed a community of five thousand Jewish families who monopolised most trades, Samuel Alvalensi, a Jew of Spanish descent, was greatly beloved by the King, on account of his abilities and courage, and so trusted by the populace that they accepted him as their leader. In the struggle between the two reigning families, the Merinos and the Xerifs, he sided with the former, led one thousand four hundred Jews and Moors against the followers of the latter, and defeated them at Ceuta. A very numerous Jewish community of Spanish descent occupied the greater portion of Tlemsen or Tremcen, an important town, where the Court resided. Here Jacob Beráb (born 1474, died 1541) fleeing from Spain, found a refuge. He was one of the most active men among the Spanish emigrants, the most acute Rabbi of his age, after his German namesake Jacob Polak; but at the same time he was a queer-headed, dogmatical and insupportable man, who had many enemies

but also many admirers. Born at Maqueda, near Toledo, Jacob Berab, after passing through many dangers, after suffering want, hunger and thirst, had reached Tlemsen, whence he went to Fez, which community chose him, though a needy youth, for their Rabbi, on account of his learning and sagacity. There he conducted a college until the fanatic Spaniards made conquests in North Africa, and disturbed the quiet asylum that the Jews had found there.

The already reduced community of Algiers was under the direction of Simon Duran II., a descendant of the Spanish fugitives of 1391 (born 1439, died after 1510), and a son of the philosophically cultured Rabbi Solomon Duran. Like his brother, he was considered in his day a high Rabbinical authority, and the advice of both was sought by many persons. Of as noble a disposition as his father, Simon Duran was the protector of his coreligionists and the sheet anchor of the Spanish exiles who came within his reach, for he shunned neither cost nor danger when the religion, morals and safety of his compatriots were in question. Fifty fugitive Jews, who had suffered shipwreck, had been cast on the coast of Seville, where the fanatical Spaniards, in accordance with the edict, put them into prison and kept them there for two years. They were in daily expectation of death, but finally they were pardoned—that is to say, sold for slaves. As such they reached Algiers in a deplorable condition; but by the exertions of Simon Duran they were redeemed for the sum of seven hundred ducats, which the small community managed to collect.

Two eminent Spanish Jews, the historian and astronomer, Abraham Zacuto, who had already reached a high age, and a younger man, Moses Alashkar found a place of refuge at Tunis. Zacuto, who in Spain had already taught mathematics and

astronomy to Christian and Mahomedan pupils, whose published writings were widely read and made use of, was nevertheless compelled, like an outlaw, to lead a wandering life, and had only with difficulty escaped death. He seems to have spent some quiet years at Tunis, where he completed his more celebrated than serviceable chronicle ("Sefer Yochasin," 1504), which cannot be called a historical work. It is an epitome of Jewish history, with especial reference to the literature of the Jews. It has the merit of having promoted historical research among the Jews, but lacks artistic arrangement and completeness; it is a mere compilation from such writings as were accessible to the writer, who has even failed to give a complete or well-displayed view of the history of his own times and of the sufferings of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. But Zacuto's chronicle was a child of his old age and misery; he wrote it with a trembling hand, in fear of the near future, and without sufficient literary materials; and on this account it must be judged leniently.

A contemporary of Zacuto at Tunis was Moses ben Isaac Alashkar, as deeply learned a Talmudist as his deceased teacher, Samuel Alvalensi. He was a correct thinker, and devoid of narrow one-sidedness. In one direction he plunged into the dark labyrinths of the Kabbala, and in the other he raised his eyes to the bright heights of philosophy—a mental *mésalliance* possible in those days. Alashkar even defended Maimuni and his philosophical system against the charge of heresy formulated by the Obscurantists.

Terrified by the perils which the Spanish arms foreboded to the Jews of North Africa, Zacuto and Alashkar appear, with many others, to have quitted Tunis. They were but too well acquainted with the cruelties practised against the Jews by the over-Catholic Spaniards. The former went to

Turkey, where he died shortly after his arrival (before 1515). Alashkar fled to Egypt, where his extensive learning and wealth secured for him an honourable position.

Egypt, and especially its capital, Cairo, had become the home of many Jewish-Spanish fugitives, who had in a short time acquired an influence surpassing even that of the original Jewish inhabitants. On their arrival, all the Jewish communities were, as of old, ruled by a Jewish chief justice or prince (Nagid, Reis). The office was then held by the noble and rich Isaac Cohen Shalal, a man of an upright character, learned in the Talmud, who employed his wealth and the high esteem in which he was held by all, even including the Egyptian Mameluke Sultan, for the benefit of his community and the fugitives who settled in their midst. He impartially promoted deserving men of the Spanish immigration to offices, whereby they gradually obtained paramount influence. The Spanish scholar, Samuel Sidillo (or Sid, Ibn-Sid), a disciple of the last Toledan Rabbi, Isaac de Leon, highly venerated in his day on account of his piety and profound Rabbinical knowledge, found a refuge at Cairo. A Spanish fugitive, who acquired still higher distinction, was David Ibn Abi Zimra (born 1470, died about 1573). He was a disciple of the mystic Joseph Saragossi, rich in knowledge and virtues, as well as in property and distinguished descendants, and he soon outshone the natives, acquiring the highest Rabbinical authority in Egypt. Many other Spanish Rabbinical scholars found a place of rest in Egypt; to those already named, including Jacob Berab and Moses Alashkar, we may add Abraham Ibn Shoshan, who all eventually became official Rabbis.

Political changes in Egypt placed the Spaniards at the head of the Jewish communities in that country. The land of the Nile, together with

Syria and Palestine, whose conquest had been so difficult a task for the Sultans of Constantinople, finally became the well-secured prey of Selim I., who won a splendid victory over the Mameluke Sultan in a decisive battle not far from Aleppo (1517). His march from Syria to Egypt was a triumphal progress. Selim spent the summer of that year in remodelling the order of things in Egypt, in reducing it to a real dependency of Turkey, turning it, in fact, into a province, ruled, as viceroy, by a pasha entirely devoted to him. Abraham de Castro, a Jew of Spanish descent, was appointed by Selim master of the mint for the new Turkish coinage, and, by his wealth and influence he acquired great weight among Turkish officials and the Egyptian Jews. De Castro was very benevolent; he annually spent three thousand golden florins in alms, and in every way took a lively interest in the affairs of his co-religionists.

Selim, or his viceroy, appears to have introduced an entirely new order in the management of the Egyptian Jews. For ages a chief Rabbi and judge had ruled all the communities; the person holding the office had possessed a kind of princely power, similar to that formerly exercised by the princes of the exile in Babylon. The chief Rabbi or prince (Nagid), nominated the Rabbis of the communities, had the supreme decision of disputes among Jews, confirmed or rejected every new regulation or measure, was even authorised to decree certain corporal punishments for offences and crimes committed by the Jews under his jurisdiction. From these functions he derived a considerable revenue, but all this ceased with the Turkish conquest. Every community was thenceforth declared independent as to the election of its head, and allowed to manage its own affairs free from tutelage. The last Jewish-Egyptian prince or chief Rabbi was deposed from his dignity,

and betook himself with his riches to Jerusalem, where he became a benefactor of its growing community. The office of Rabbi of Cairo was bestowed on the Spanish immigrant David Ibn Abi Zimra, on account of his upright character, learning, benevolent disposition, and chiefly, probably, on account of his wealth. His authority rose to such a degree, that he could venture to abolish a very ancient custom, which an excessive conservatism had, from century to century, dragged along like a dead limb. The Babylonian Jews had more than eighteen hundred years before adopted the Syrian or Seleucidan chronology (*Minyan Yavanim*, *Minyan Shetarot*), in memory of the victory of the Syrian king Seleucus over the other generals of Alexander the Great. The Syrian Empire and the Seleucidæ had perished long ago, Syria had by turns become the prey of Romans, Byzantines, Mahometans, Mongolians, and Turks; nevertheless the Babylonian and Egyptian Jews had retained that chronology, employing it not only in historical records and secular comments, but also in the dating of documents of divorce and similar deeds. Whilst the Jews of Palestine and of Europe had gradually adopted other chronologies, as "After the Destruction of the Temple," or "Since the Creation" (*æra mundi*), the Babylonian and Egyptian Jews so pertinaciously adhered to the Seleucidan era as to declare invalid every letter of divorce not so dated. Ibn Abi Zimra abolished this antiquated chronology, as far as Egypt was concerned, introducing in its stead the already accepted mode of reckoning from the Creation, and his innovation met with no opposition. The ascendancy of the immigrant Sephardic Jews over the majority of the original community (the Mostarabi) was so great and well established, that the former, in spite of the objections of the latter, dared and succeeded in the attempt to

abolish an ancient and beautiful custom, introduced by Maimuni himself. The Mostarabian Jews had for more than three centuries been accustomed to have the chief prayer said aloud in the synagogue, by the reader (Chazan), without themselves participating in it. But to the pious immigrants from the Peninsula this custom, though promoting decent behaviour and devotion, appeared illegal, anti-Talmudic, if not heretical, and they zealously set to work to supplant it. Terrible sufferings had hardened the hearts of the Sephardic Jews, and they were but too ready to exercise the utmost severity in religious matters, and slavishly to follow the letter. The Rabbi David Ibn Abi Zimra was their spokesman.

During his term of office a great danger hovered over the heads of the Cairo community. The fourth viceroy of Egypt, Achmed Shaitan (Satan), harboured the design of severing Egypt from Turkey, and making himself its independent master. Having succeeded in his first measures, he hinted a wish to the Jewish Master of the Mint, Abraham De Castro, to have his name placed on the coins. De Castro pretended compliance, but asked for a written order. Having obtained it he secretly left Egypt and hastened to the court of Solyman II., at Constantinople, to inform the sultan of the treacherous design of the pasha, which was thus frustrated. Achmed vented his rage on the Jews, threw some of them, probably de Castro's friends and relatives, into prison, and permitted the Mamelukes to plunder the Jewish quarter of Cairo. He then sent for twelve of the most eminent Jews, and commanded them within a short time to find an exorbitant sum of money, threatening them, in case of non-compliance, with a cruel death for themselves and their families. For greater security he retained them as hostages. To the supplications of the Jewish community for

mercy and delay, the tyrant replied by more terrible threats. In this hopeless condition the Jews of Cairo turned in fervent prayer to God. In the meanwhile the collectors had got together a considerable sum, which they offered as a payment on account. But as it scarcely amounted to the tenth part of Achmed's demand, his private secretary had the collectors put in irons, and threatened them together with all the members of the community, with certain death on that very day, and as soon as his master should have left his bath. At the very moment, when the secretary uttered these words, the pasha was attacked in his bath by Mahomed Bey, one of his vizirs, and some other conspirators, and severely wounded. Achmed Shaitan made good his escape from the palace, but was betrayed, overtaken, cast into fetters and then beheaded. The imprisoned Jews were set free, and their community escaped a great peril. The Egyptian Jews for a long period afterwards commemorated the day of their deliverance. (27th or 28th Adar, 1524—a Cairoan Purim, *Furin al-Mizrayim*).

By the immigration of Spaniards and Portuguese, Jerusalem and several Palestinian cities also obtained a great increase of members to their congregations and considerable importance; and here again the immigrants in a short time became the social and religious leaders. In the very brief period of seven years the number of Jewish families in the Holy City grew from scarcely seventy to two hundred, and again within the space of two decades (1495-1521) it had risen from two hundred to fifteen hundred. The influx of new settlers had largely augmented the prosperity of the Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem. Whilst formerly nearly all the members of the community were in a state of destitution, three decades afterwards there were only two hundred receiving alms. And what is of

greater importance, morality was greatly benefited by the immigrants. Jerusalem was no longer the den of robbers which Obadyah (Obadiah) di Bertinoro (1470-1520), who had immigrated from Italy found it. The members of the community were no longer harassed to death and driven to despair or voluntary exile by a rapacious, tyrannical and treacherous faction; harmony, union, a sense of justice and peace had found an abode with them. There was indeed an excessive show of piety, but it no longer flagrantly contrasted with a revoltingly immoral mode of life. Obadyah di Bertinoro, the gentle and amiable Italian preacher, had greatly contributed to this improvement of the moral tone of Jerusalem; for more than two decades he taught the growing community, by precept and example, genuine piety, nobility of sentiment and relinquishment of barbarian coarseness. After his arrival at Jerusalem he wrote to his friends: "If there were in this country one sagacious Jew, who knew how honestly and gently to lead a community of men, not Jews only, but also Mahometans would willingly submit to him, for the latter are not at all hostile to the Jews, but full of consideration for strangers. But there is not one Jew in this country possessing either sense or social virtues; all are coarse, misanthropical and avaricious." In those days Bertinoro did not anticipate that he himself would have to play the part of softening that coarseness, mitigating that immorality, ennobling that baseness. But his genial, amiable manner disarmed evil and healed the sores he had discovered, lamented and pitilessly exposed. Obadyah was the guardian angel of the Holy City, he cleansed it from pollution, and clothed it with a pure festival garment. "Were I to attempt proclaiming his praise," writes an Italian pilgrim to Jerusalem, "I should never cease. He is the man who is held in the highest esteem in the country;

everything is done according to his orders, and no one dares gainsay his words. From all parts he is sought after and consulted; his merits are acknowledged by Egyptians and Babylonians, and even Mahometans honour him, and withal he is modest and humble; his speech is gentle, he is accessible to every one. All praise him and say: He is not like an earthly being. When he preaches every ear listens intently; not the least sound is heard, his hearers are so silently devout." Exiles from the Pyrenean Peninsula supported him in his sublime efforts.

To the intervention of Obadyah di Bertinoro, and of those who shared his opinions, probably were due the excellent ordinances which the community voluntarily imposed on themselves and for remembrance graven on a tablet in the synagogue; they were directed against the abuses, which had crept in by degrees. These ordinances included amongst others the following decrees:—In disputes between Jews, the Mahometan authorities are to be applied to only in the utmost necessity. The Jewish judge or Rabbi is not to be allowed to compel wealthy members of the community to make advances for communal wants. Students of the Talmud and widows, shall not contribute to the communal funds. Jews are not to purchase bad coin, and if they acquire any accidentally, are not to pass it. The pilgrims to the grave of the Prophet Samuel are not to drink wine, for on that occasion men and women travelled together promiscuously, the latter unveiled, which when the men were excited by wine, might lead to great disorder.

The Holy City acquired still higher importance by the immigration of Isaac Shalal with his riches, experience, and authority.

Safet in Galilee, comparatively the youngest town of Palestine, had, next to Jerusalem, acquired the

largest Jewish population and a considerable importance, which gradually increased to such a degree that Safet not only rivalled, but took precedence of the mother-city. At the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the next century it sheltered indeed only some three hundred Jewish families, original inhabitants (Moriscos), Berbers, and Sephardim. It did not at first possess any eminent native expounder of the Talmud, who might have become a leader. It owed its importance and far-reaching influence to the arrival of a Spanish fugitive, under whose direction the community was consolidated. Joseph Saragossi became for Safet what Obadyah de Bertinoro was for Jerusalem. Driven from Saragossa, he had, after passing through Sicily, Beyrout and Sidon, in which latter place he resided for some time, finally reached Safet, where he settled. Joseph Saragossi possessed a mild and fascinating character, and considered it the task of his life to preach peace, and to restore harmony both in private and communal life. Even among Mahometans he worked in a conciliating and appeasing spirit, and on this account he was loved and revered as an angel of peace. When at one time he wished to leave Safet, the inhabitants actually clung to him, and offered him an annual salary of fifty ducats, two-thirds of which were to be furnished by the Mahometan governor of the town. Joseph Saragossi not only transplanted the study of the Talmud to Safet, but also that of the Kabbala, as he was an ultra-pious mystic. Through him the hitherto untainted community became a nest of Kabbalists.

In Damascus, the half-Palestinian capital of Syria, there also arose, by the side of the very ancient Mostarabian community, a Sephardic congregation, composed of fugitives, and numbering five hundred Jewish families. Within a short time after their arrival, the Spaniards built a splendid

synagogue at Damascus, called Khataib. They speedily increased to such a degree as to separate into several congregations, according to the States from which they originally came.

The main stream of the Jewish-Spanish emigration flowed towards Turkey in Europe; the greater part of the remnant of the three hundred thousand exiles found an asylum in that country, where the inhabitants do not take love as their watchword. The Sultans Bayazet, Selim I. and Solyman I., not only tolerated the immigrant fugitive Jews, but gave them a hearty welcome, and granted them the same liberties which were enjoyed by Armenians and Greeks. A Jewish poet enthusiastically described the freedom of his co-religionists in Turkey. "Great Turkey, a wide and spreading sea, which our Lord opened with the wand of his mercy (as at the exodus from Egypt), that the tide of thy present disaster, Jacob, as happened with the multitude of the Egyptians, should therein lose and exhaust itself. There the gates of freedom and equal position for the unhindered practice of Jewish worship are ever open, they are never closed against thee. There thou canst renew thy inner life, change thy condition, strip off and cast away the false and erroneous doctrines of Christianity, recover thy ancient truths, and abandon the practices which by the violence of the nations among whom thou wast a pilgrim, thou wert compelled to imitate. In this realm thou art highly favoured by the Lord, since therein He granteth thee boundless liberty to commence thy late repentance."

The immigrant Jews at first enjoyed very happy days in Turkey, because they were a godsend to this comparatively new State. The Turks were good soldiers, but bad citizens. The sultans, so frequently on bad terms with Christian States, could place but indifferent trust in the Greeks, Armenians,

and Christians of other denominations; they looked upon them as born spies and traitors. But they could depend on the fidelity and usefulness of the Jews. Hence they were at once the business people and citizens of Turkey. They not only carried on the wholesale and retail commerce by land and sea, but were handicraftsmen and artists likewise. The Marranos especially, who had fled from Spain and Portugal, manufactured for the warlike Turks new armour and fire-arms, cannons and gunpowder, and taught the Turks how to use them. Thus persecuting Christianity itself furnished its chief enemies, the Turks, with weapons which enabled them to overwhelm the former with defeat after defeat, humiliation on humiliation. Jewish physicians especially were held in high esteem in Turkey; they were for the most part clever pupils of the school of Salamanca, and, on account of their skill, higher education, secrecy and discretion, were preferred to Christian, and even to Mahometan doctors. These Jewish physicians, mostly of Spanish descent, acquired great influence with grand sultans, vizirs and pachas.

The Sultan Selim had for his physician-ordinary Joseph Hamon, an immigrant probably from Granada. Hamon's son and nephew successively held the same office. The son, Moses Hamon (born 1490, died about 1565), physician to the wise Sultan Solyman, enjoyed, on account of his skill and manly, determined character, even a higher reputation and influence than his father. He accompanied the sultan in his warlike expeditions, and brought back from Persia, whither he had followed Solyman on a triumphal progress, a learned man, Jacob Tus or Tavs (about 1535), who translated the Pentateuch into Persian. This version, accompanied by Chaldean and Arabic translations, was afterwards printed at the expense

of Hamon, who was justly considered as a protector of his compatriots and promoter of Judaism.

The Jews were also in great request in Turkey as linguists and interpreters, they having acquired a knowledge of many languages through their wanderings among foreign nations.

The capital, Constantinople, held within its walls a very numerous Jewish community, which was daily increased by new fugitives from the Peninsula, so that it became the largest in Europe, numbering probably thirty thousand souls. It had forty-four synagogues, and consequently as many separate congregations. For the Jewish community in the Turkish capital and other towns did not form a close corporation, but was divided into groups and sections, according to their native places, each of which was anxious to retain its own customs, rites and liturgies, and to possess its own synagogue and Rabbinical college. Hence there were not only Castilian, Aragonese and Portuguese congregations, but still more restricted associations, Cordovan, Toledan, Barcelonian, Lisbon groups (Kahals), besides German, Apulian, Messinian and Greek. Every petty congregation apportioned independently among its members the contributions, not only for their worship, officials, maintenance of the poor, hospitals and schools, but also for the taxes payable to the State. These latter at first were trifling: a poll-tax on every one subject to taxation (*charaj*), and a kind of Rabbinical tax levied on the congregation, according to the three different scales of property, of 200, 100 and 20 aspers. The family of the physician Hamon alone was exempt from taxes.

At first the resident Jews, who formed the majority, had complete preponderance over the immigrants. The office of Chief Rabbi, after the death of the meritorious but unappreciated Moses Kapsali was held by Elias Mizrachi, probably

descended from an immigrant Greek family, who under the Sultans Bayazet, Selim I., and perhaps also under Solyman, had a seat at the divan like his predecessor, and was the official representative of the whole Turkish body of Jews. He deservedly held his post, on account of his rabbinical and secular knowledge, and upright, impartially just character. Elias Mizrahi (born about 1455, died between 1525 and 1527), a disciple of the German school, though a profound Talmudist and strictly pious man, was no enemy to science. He not only understood, but taught mathematics and astronomy, gave public lectures thereon, as also on the Talmud, and compiled hand-books to these subjects, which became such favourites as to be translated into Latin. In his youth he was a Hotspur, and had a feud with the Karaïtes in Turkey. But in his old age he felt more kindly towards them, and employed his weighty influence to avert a wrong which the ultra-pious were about to inflict on them. A few Obscurantists, chiefly members of the Apulian congregation at Constantinople, attempted to interrupt, in a violent manner, the neighbourly intercourse, which for half a century had existed between Rabbanites and Karaïtes. They assembled their fellow-members in the congregation, and, with the Sepher-Torah in their hand, excommunicated all who should henceforth instruct the Karaïtes, whether children or adults, in the Bible or Talmud, or even in secular sciences, such as mathematics, natural history, logic or music, or even the alphabet. Nor were Rabbanite servants any longer to take service with Karaïte families. These fanatics intended to raise an insuperable barrier between the followers of the Talmud and those of the Bible. But the majority of the Constantinople community were dissatisfied with this bigoted measure. The tolerant Rabbanites of the capital held a meeting

to frustrate the plan of the zealots. But these latter behaved so outrageously and with such violence, bringing a fierce rabble provided with cudgels into the synagogue where the consultation was to be held, that the conveners of the meeting had no chance of being heard, and the act of excommunication was carried by an insolent minority, in defiance of the sound arguments and opposition of the majority. Then Rabbi Elias Mizrachi openly and vigorously opposed this unreasonable, illegal and violent proceeding, showing in a learned discourse how unjust and opposed to the Talmud was the rejection of the Karaïtes. He impressed on the zealots the fact that by their intolerant severity they would bring about the decay of the instruction of the young, since hitherto emulation to surpass their Karaïte companions had been a great incentive to Rabbanite scholars.

The Turkish Jews in those days also had a kind of political representative, an advocate (Kahiya), or chamberlain, who had access to the sultan and his great dignitaries, and who was appointed by the Court. Shaltiel, an otherwise unknown personage, but said to have been of noble character, held the office under Solyman. Instances of injustice and violent proceedings against the Jews in the Turkish Empire were not of rare occurrence with a population looking contemptuously on unbelievers, with provincial pachas ruling arbitrarily, and with fanatical Greek and Bulgarian Christians: on all such occasions the Kahiya Shaltiel interposed on behalf of his co-religionists, and, by means of money liberally spent at Court, obtained redress.

The community next in importance in Turkey was that of Salonica (the ancient Thessalonica), which, though an unhealthy town, possessed attractions for the immigrants of Spain and Provence; for this once Grecian settlement offered more leisure for

peaceful occupation than the noisy capital of Turkey. Ten congregations at least were soon formed here, most of Sephardic origin. Eventually they increased to thirty-six; Salonica, in fact, became a Jewish town, with more Jews than Gentiles. A Jewish poet, Samuel Usque, calls the town "a mother of Judaism, built on the deep foundation of the Lord, full of excellent plants and fruitful trees, such as are found nowhere else on earth. Their fruit is glorious, because it is watered by an abundance of benevolence. The greatest portion of the persecuted and banished sons from Europe and other parts of the earth have met therein, and been received with loving welcomes, as if it were our venerable mother, Jerusalem." Within a short period the Sephardic immigrants acquired complete supremacy over their co-religionists speaking other languages, and over the original community, so that the leading language of Salonica became Spanish, which German and Italian Jews had to learn, if they wished to maintain their intercourse with the Spanish immigrants. The son of one of the last Jewish-Spanish Ministers of Finance, Judah Benveniste, had settled here. He had saved so much of his paternal inheritance as to possess a noble library; he was the standard around which his heavily-trying brethren could rally. Representatives of Talmudic learning were naturally found among the sons of the Pyrenean Peninsula only, such as the Taytasaks, a family of scholars, and Jacob Ibn Chabib, though all these were not men of the first eminence. The Spanish immigrants, including the physicians Perachyah Cohen, his son Daniel Aarón Afia (Affius), and Moses Almosnino, also to some extent cultivated philosophy and astronomy. But the chief study was that of the Kabbala, in which the Spaniards Joseph Taytasak, Samuel Franco and others, distinguished themselves. Salonica in Turkey, and Safet in

Palestine, in time became the chief nests of Kabbalistic dreams. Of less importance was Adrianople, the former residence of the Turkish Sultans, though there also, as at Nikopolis, Jewish-Spanish communities, in which the Sephardic element predominated, were formed.

To the towns of Amasia, Brussa, Tria, and Tokat in Asia Minor, the Spanish fugitives furnished inhabitants. But Smyrna, which later on had a large Jewish population, was then of little importance. Greece, however, could show some large communities. Calabrese, Apulian, Spanish and Portuguese fugitives settled at Arta or Larta, by the side of the original inhabitants, Rumelians and Corfuites. They seem to have done well here, for we read that the Jewish youth were much given to gaiety and dancing, thereby greatly offending the ultra-pious. Not unimportant communities existed at Patras, Negropont and Thebes. The Thebans were considered very learned, *i.e.*, in Talmudic lore. The rites of the community of Corfu were followed by the other Jews of Greece. There was an important community at Canea, on the island of Candia, belonging to Venice. At their head were two afterwards famous families, the Delmedigos, sons and relatives of the philosopher Elias Delmedigo, and the Kapsalis, connections of the former Chief Rabbi of the Turks. Judah Delmedigo (the son of the teacher of Pico di Mirandola), and Elias ben Elkanah Kapsali, both finished their studies under one and the same Rabbi, Judah Menz, of Padua; nevertheless, they were not at one in their views. Now, as both held the office of Rabbi at Canea, there was constant friction between them. As soon as the one declared anything to be permissible, the other would exert all his learning and ingenuity to prove the contrary; and yet both were worthy men of

high principle, and both were well versed in general literature.

Elias Kapsali (born about 1490, died about 1555) was a good historian. When the plague devastated Candia, and plunged the inhabitants into mourning, he composed (in 1523) a history of the Turkish dynasty in a very agreeable Hebrew style, in lucid and elevated language, free from overlaid and barbarous diction. Kapsali merely aimed at relating the truth. Interwoven with the Turkish narrative was the history of the Jews, showing in gloomy colours the tragic fate of the Spanish exiles, as he had heard it from their own lips. Though in this composition he had the subsidiary intention of cheering the people during the continuance of the plague, his work may yet serve as a sample of a fine Hebrew historical style, and his work has found imitators. Kapsali forsook the dry diction of the chroniclers, and as an historian was far superior to his predecessor, Abraham Zacuto. Considering that Kapsali was a Rabbi by profession, and that in consultations and the giving of opinions he was bound to make use of a corrupt jargon, his work displays much versatility and talent.

Italy at this period swarmed with fugitive Jews. Most of those driven from Spain, Portugal or Germany, first touched Italian soil, either to settle there under the protection of some tolerant ruler, or to travel on to Greece, Turkey or Palestine. Strangely enough, the popes of the day, among the masters of Italy, were the most friendly to the Jews; Alexander VI., Julius II., Leo X. and Clement VII. were engaged in the pursuit of interests or hobbies, which left them no time to think of torturing the Jews. The popes and their cardinals considered the canonical laws only in so far as they needed them for the extension of their powers or to fill their money-bags. With a total oblivion of the decree of the Council of Basle, which

enacted that Christians were not to consult Jewish physicians, the popes and cardinals themselves consulted them. It appears that, owing to the secret contentions, intrigues and dealings with poison which, since Alexander VI., had been rife in the Curia, where every one looked on his companion as a concealed enemy, Jewish physicians were more in favour, because there was no danger of their offering a pope or cardinal a poisoned cup instead of a salutary remedy. Alexander VI. had a Jewish physician, Bonet de Lates, a native of Provence, who also practised astrology, prepared an astronomical circle, and sent the description thereof in the Latin tongue to the Pope in a fulsome dedication. Bonet de Lates afterwards became the favourite physician in ordinary to Leo X., and influenced his conduct. Julius II. had for his physician Simeon Zarfati, who in other respects also enjoyed his master's confidence. Cardinals and other high princes of the Church followed the example set from above, and generally entrusted their sacred bodies to Jewish doctors, who consequently were much sought after in Italy. The Popes favoured the Jews, many of whom had fled from Spain and Germany; even pseudo-Christians reconverted to Judaism were well received in North-Italian cities, and admitted to all the privileges of free intercourse. Even the popes permitted the Marranos to settle at Ancona, notwithstanding their having been baptised. The most important communities in Italy were formed, after the annihilation of the Jews of Naples, by an influx from other countries into the Roman and Venetian territories. Venice and the flourishing city of Padua, and Rome received most of them. Two opposite views with regard to the Jews swayed the Council of the egotistical Venetian Republic. On the one hand, this commercial State did not wish to lose the advantages that the Jewish connexions might bring,

though at the same time it was loath to foster them, for fear of offending the Levantine Jews, their co-religionists in Turkey; on the other hand, the Venetian merchants were full of trade envy against the Jews. Hence the latter were caressed or oppressed, as the one or the other party predominated in the Signoria. Venice was the first Italian city, wherein Jews resided, which set apart a special quarter for them as a Ghetto (March, 1516).

As a rule the immigrant Jews, Spaniards, or Germans, made their supremacy felt in Italy over their native co-religionists, both as regarded Rabbinical learning and social relations. The Abrabanel family played an important part in Italy. The head of the family, Isaac Abrabanel, indeed, was too much bowed down by age and suffering to exercise much influence in any direction. He died before Jewish affairs had assumed a settled condition. His eldest son, Leon Medigo, likewise made no impression on his surroundings; he was too much of a philosophical dreamer and idealist, a poetic soul which cared but little for the things of this world. Only the youngest of the three brothers, Samuel Abrabanel (b. 1473, d. about 1550) made his mark on his contemporaries. He was considered in his day as the most eminent Jew in Italy, and his community venerated him like a prince. He alone inherited his father's financial genius, and, after his return from the Talmudic college at Salonica, appears to have availed himself of it, and to have been employed in the department of finance by the Viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Toledo. At Naples he acquired a considerable fortune, which was valued at more than 200,000 zechins. He employed his wealth to gratify the hereditary disposition in his family of practising a noble beneficence. The Jewish poet, Samuel Usque,

gives an enthusiastic description of his heart and mind: "Samuel Abrabanel deserves to be called Trismegistus (thrice great); he is great and wise in the Law, great in nobility, and great in riches. With his wealth he is always magnanimous, a help in the sorrows of his brethren. He joins innumerable orphans in wedlock, supports the needy and redeems captives, so that he possesses all the great qualities, which make the prophet."

To increase his happiness heaven had given him a companion in life, who was a complement of his high virtues, and whose name, Benvenida Abrabanela, was uttered by her contemporaries with devout veneration. Tender-hearted, deeply religious, wise and courageous, she was at the same time a pattern of refinement and high breeding, qualities more highly esteemed in Italy than in any other European country. Don Pedro, the powerful Spanish Viceroy of Naples, allowed his second daughter, Leonora, to be on intimate terms with Benvenida, that she might learn by her example. When this daughter afterwards became Duchess of Tuscany, she kept up her acquaintance with the Jewish lady, and called her by the honoured name of mother. This noble pair, Samuel Abrabanel and Benvenida, in whom tenderness and worldly wisdom, a warm attachment to Judaism and social intercourse with non-Jewish circles were combined, were at once the pride and the sheet-anchor of the Italian Jews, and of all those who came within their beneficent influence. Samuel Abrabanel, though not so well versed in the Talmud as his poetic worshipper represents him to have been, was yet a friend and promoter of Jewish knowledge. He sent for David Ibn Yachya (and his young and courageous wife), who had fled from Portugal to fill the office of Rabbi at Naples (1518); and, as the congregation

was too small to pay his salary, Abrabanel paid it himself. In his house the learned Yachya lectured on the Talmud, and probably also on Hebrew grammar. He thus formed a small centre for Jewish science in Southern Italy. Christian men of science also resorted to Abrabanel's house.

The chief seat of Talmudic or Rabbinical studies was at that time at Padua, conducted not by Italians but by immigrant Germans. Judah Menz of Mayence even at his great age, of more than a hundred years, exercised an attractive power over studious disciples from Italy, Germany, and Turkey, as from his lips they could learn the wisdom of a time about to pass away. To be a pupil of Menz was considered a great honour and distinction. After he died, his son, Abraham Menz undertook the direction of the college (1504-1526); but his authority was not undisputed. The native Jews have in no direction left names of note. True, the chronicles mention some famous Jewish-Italian physicians, who also distinguished themselves in other branches, such as Abraham de Balmes (1521), of Lecce, physician and friend of Cardinal Grimany. De Balmes possessed philosophical knowledge, and wrote a work on the Hebrew language, which was edited with a Latin translation by a Christian. Other Jewish physicians of the same age were Judah or Laudadeus de Blanis, at Perugia, a worshipper of the Kabbala; lastly Obadyah, or Servadeus de Sforno (Sfurno, born about 1470, died 1550) a physician of Rome and Bologna, who besides medicine studied biblical and philosophical subjects, and dedicated some of his Hebrew writings with a Latin translation to King Henry II., of France. But as far as we are now able to judge of these highly praised compositions, they prove to be very mediocre, and the authors in their own times enjoyed but a local reputation. It is certain that De Balmes and Sforno are far

beneath Jacob Mantin, who, having been driven from Tortosa to Italy, there distinguished himself as a physician and philosopher, leaving a famous name behind him. Mantin (born circa 1490, died circa 1549) was a great linguist; beside his native language and Hebrew, he understood Latin, Italian and Arabic. He was a deeply learned physician and philosopher, and translated medical and metaphysical works from Hebrew or Arabic into Latin. He was held in high esteem as physician by a pope and the ambassador of Charles V. at Venice. But his learning was marred by his virulent character; envy and ambition led him to commit offences, to accuse and persecute innocent persons, even his own co-religionists.

In those days there lived in Italy a man, who, though not distinguished by any brilliant achievement, was yet superior to nearly all his co-religionists by a qualification which is better and rarer than literary ability, for he was gifted with common sense and a fine understanding, which did not lead him to judge of things by appearances, or from a limited point of view. Abraham Farissol (born 1451, died about 1525), a native of Avignon, for reasons unknown, perhaps from want, had emigrated to Ferrara. He supported himself by copying books, and also, it would appear, by officiating as chorister at the synagogue. Though in needy circumstances, and confined within narrow surroundings, yet his perception was acute and comprehensive, and his judgment matured. Like most of his learned contemporaries in Italy, he commented on the Bible, and his pre-eminence is seen in his being an independent thinker in the midst of the dense credulity of his time. He said of himself: "As regards miracles, I belong to those of little faith." Farissol was the first Jewish author, who, instead of studying the

starry firmament, astronomy and astrology (to which Jewish authors of the Middle Ages were but too much inclined), turned his attention to investigate the configuration and phenomena of our globe. He was influenced to undertake these studies by the marvellous discoveries of the Southern coasts of Africa and India by the Portuguese, and of America by the Spaniards. Penetrating the mediæval mists and deceptive illusions of fancy, Farissol saw the reality of things, as they actually are, and deeming it necessary to point them out, he scoffed at ignorant men who, in their pseudo-learned conceit, considered geography as of no account. He had in his day to show conclusively that the Book of Books, the holy record of the Torah, attached importance to geographical data, in doing which he also indicated a new point of view for the comprehension of the Bible: it was not to be explained by allegories and metaphysical or Kabbalistic reveries, but by actual facts and the plain meaning of the words.

Farissol had access to the court of the Duke of Ferrara, Hercules d'Este I., one of the best princes of Italy, who vied with the Medici in the promotion of science. The duke took delight in his conversation, and often invited him to discuss religious questions with learned monks. It seemed as if frequent religious disputations and intellectual encounters were to be renewed on Italian soil. Farissol on these occasions displayed philosophical calmness, besides caution and forbearance for the sensibility of his opponents, when meeting their weak points. At the request of the Duke of Ferrara, Farissol wrote down in Hebrew the substance of his discourses with the monks, and translated it into Italian, to give his opponents an opportunity for refutation. But this polemical and apologetic work is of much less value than his geographical writings, which he completed in his

old age, and with one foot in the grave. They display Farissol's clear mental perception, common sense and extensive learning.

The Italian Jews had at least the right of free discussion with Christians. But as soon as they crossed the Alps into Germany they breathed raw air, politically as well as atmospherically. Only few Sephardic fugitives visited this inhospitable land. The German population was as hostile to the Jews as the Spanish. True, the Germans had no occasion to envy the position and influence of a few Jewish magnates at royal courts, but they grudged them even their miserable existence in the Jews' lanes in which they were penned up. They had already been banished from some German districts, from Cologne, Mayence and Augsburg; not a Jew was to be found in all Suabia. From other parts they were expelled at about the same time as from Spain. The Emperor Frederick III., indeed to his last hour, protected those who were outlawed by all the world. He also had a Jewish physician, a rarity in Germany, the learned Jacob ben Yechiel Loans, whom he greatly favoured and made a knight. Frederick is said on his deathbed to have strongly recommended the Jews to his son, enjoining on him to protect them, and not to listen to calumnious accusations, whose falsity he had sufficiently fathomed. It appears that Jacob Loans also enjoyed the favour of the Emperor Maximilian, whose lot it was to rule over Germany in very troublous times, and who transferred this favour to Loans' relatives also, for he appointed a certain Joseph ben Gershon Loans, of Rosheim, in Alsace, as official representative of all German Jews at the Diet. This Joseph (Josselman, Joselin) was neither distinguished by his Rabbinical knowledge, nor his position nor riches; and yet he was to a certain extent the official representative of German Judaism.

His most striking qualities were an untiring activity, when it was necessary to defend his unfortunate co-religionists, his love of truth, and fervent clinging to his faith and people. Born 1480, died 1555, for half a century he vigorously protected his co-religionists in Germany, and became security for them when the ruling powers insisted on special bail. The Jews, therefore, praised and blessed him as their "Great Defender."

But the very fact that the German Jews needed a defender, proves that their condition was not an easy one. For the Emperor Maximilian was not a man of decided character, but was accessible to all kinds of influences and insinuations; nor did he always follow his father's advice. His conduct towards the Jews therefore was always wavering; now he granted, or at least promised, them his protection, now he offered his help, if not for their sanguinary persecution, at least for their expulsion or humiliation. At times he lent his ear to the lying accusations that the Jews reviled the Host and murdered infants, which falsehoods were diligently promulgated by the Dominican friars, and, since the alleged martyrdom of young Simon of Trent, were readily believed. Hence, during Maximilian's reign, Jews were not only expelled from Germany and the adjoining States, but were hunted down and tortured; they were in such daily expectation of the rack, and of the martyr's death, that a special confession of sins was drawn up for such cases, so that the innocently accused, when summoned to apostatize, could seal their confession with death, and joyfully sacrifice themselves for the One God. When Jews, either with the sanction or by the passive permission of the emperor, were banished, the latter felt no compunction in confiscating their property and turning it into money.

The emperor did not, indeed, expel the Nurem-

berg community, but gave the citizens leave to do so, in order to obtain possession of their wealth. And the Christians actually presumed to reproach the Jews with making money unjustly, whereas the rich only amongst them perhaps did so, and then only on a small scale. Immediately after the emperor's accession, the townsmen of Nuremberg appealed to him to permit the expulsion of the Jews on account of "loose conduct." This "loose conduct" was specified in the indictment to be the reception of foreign co-religionists, whereby the normal number of Jews had been excessively increased in the town, the practice of inordinate usury, fraud in recovery of debts, whereby honest tradesmen had been impoverished, and finally in the harbouring of rogues and vagabonds. To stir up hatred against them, and confirm the Latin-reading (*i.e.*, the educated) classes, in the illusion that the Jews were blasphemers, revilers of the Host and infanticides, the rich citizen, Antonius Koberger, had the venomous anti-Jewish *Fortalitium fidei* of the Spanish-Franciscan Alfonso de Spina reprinted at his own expense. After long petitioning, the Emperor Maximilian at last granted the prayer of Nuremberg, "on account of the fidelity with which the town had ever served the imperial house," abrogated the privileges enjoyed by the Jews, and allowed the town council to fix a time for their expulsion, stipulating, however, that the houses, lands, synagogues, and even the Jewish cemetery should fall into the imperial treasury. He moreover granted to Nuremberg the privilege of being for ever exempt from receiving Jews within its walls (5th July, 1598). The Town Council at first allowed four months only for the exodus—and the highly educated, virtuous and humanity-preaching patrician, Willibald Pirkheimer, afterwards so strong a pillar of the Humanists, was then a member of the Council! Upon the supplications of the unfortunate

people, the short reprieve was prolonged by three months. But the Jews, summoned to the synagogue by the sheriffs, had to swear by that time to leave the town. At last, on the 10th March, 1599, the already much reduced community left Nuremberg, to which they had returned at the termination of the Black Death.

About the same period the Jews of other German towns, such as Ulm, Nordlingen, Colmar, and Magdeburg, were sent into banishment.

The community of Ratisbon, then the oldest in Germany, fared still worse, and already heard the warning voice to prepare for expulsion. Since the inhabitants of that imperial city, through disputes with the Jews, whom they had falsely charged with murder, had suffered humiliation and pecuniary loss at the hands of the Emperor Frederick, the former friendly feeling between Jews and Christians had given way to one of bitterness and hatred. Instead of attributing the troubles and misfortunes which had come upon the town by its attempted secession from the empire to the right cause, the citizens charged the Jews with being the authors of their misfortunes, and vented their anger on them. The priests, exasperated by the failure of their plot against the Jews, daily stirred up the fanaticism of the populace, openly preaching that the Jews must be expelled. In consequence of this the millers refused to sell them flour, the bakers bread (1499), and the clergy threatened the tradespeople who should supply them with food with excommunication. On certain days the Jews were not admitted at all into the market place, on others they were allowed to make their purchases only after stated hours, and when the Christians had satisfied their own wants. "Under severe penalties," imposed by the senate, Christians were prohibited from making purchases for Jews; the former were to "secure the glory of God and their own salvation" by being

cruel to the latter. The Town Council seriously discussed applying to the Emperor Maximilian to give his consent to the expulsion of the Jews, allowing perhaps twenty-four families to remain. For a few years more they were permitted to drag on a miserable existence. Besides Ratisbon, only two large communities remained in Germany, viz., at Frankfort-on-the-Main and Worms, and even these were often threatened with expulsion.

There were many Jews in Prague, but this town was not in Germany proper; it was a private possession of the crown, under the rule of Ladislaus, also King of Hungary. The Bohemian Jews were not too well off under him; the Jewish quarter in Prague was often plundered by the populace. The citizens were sincerely anxious to expel the Jews from Bohemia. But the latter had their patrons, especially among the nobility. When at a Diet the question arose as to the expulsion or retention of the Jews, the decree was passed (7th August, 1501), that the crown of Bohemia was for all time to tolerate them. If any one of them offended against the law, he only was to be punished; his crime was not to be visited on the whole Jewish community. King Ladislaus confirmed this decision of the Diet, only to break it very shortly after, for the citizens of Prague were opposed to it, and spared no pains to frustrate its fulfilment. They so strongly prejudiced the king against the Jews as to induce him to decree their expulsion, and to threaten such Christians as should venture to intercede for them with banishment. By what favourable dispensation they remained in the country is not known. Though in daily expectation of expatriation, they grew reconciled to having their habitation on the verge of a volcano. A descendant of the Italian family of printers, Soncinus, named Gershon Cohen, established a Hebrew printing office at Prague (about 1503), the first

in Germany, nearly four decades after the foundation of Hebrew printing offices in Italy.

The Prague community does not seem to have excelled in learning; for some time not a single scientific work, not even one on a Talmudic or Rabbinical subject, issued from the press of Gershon; it merely supplied the needs of the synagogue, whilst Italian and Turkish offices promulgated important ancient and contemporary works. We find but one Rabbinical authority mentioned in those days: Jacob Polak (born about 1460, died about 1530). He was a foreigner, and, with the exception of his namesake Jacob Berab, in the East, the most profound and sagacious Talmudist of his time. Curiously enough, the astonishing facility of ingenious disquisition on the basis of the Talmud, which attained its highest perfection in Poland, proceeded from a native of Poland.

After Italy and Turkey, Poland was in those days a refuge for the hunted and exiled wanderers, chiefly of those coming from Germany. Here, as well as in Lithuania, which was united with it by personal bonds, the Jews enjoyed a better position than in the neighbouring lands beyond the Vistula and the Carpathians, though the monk Capistrano had for a while interrupted the good understanding between the government and the Jews.

Kings and the nobility were, to a certain extent, dependent on them, and, when no other interests conflicted therewith, generally granted them privileges, because with their capital and commerce they were able to turn the territorial wealth of the country into money, and to supply its inhabitants, poor in coin, with the necessary funds. The farming of the tolls and distilleries were mostly in the hands of the Jews. It goes without saying that they also possessed land, and carried on trades. Against 500 Christian, there were 3,200 Jewish wholesale dealers in Poland,

and three times as many artificers, including workers in gold and silver, smiths and weavers. The statute of Casimir IV., so favourable to the Jews, was still in force. For though, constrained by the fanatical monk Capistrano, he had abrogated it, yet in view of the advantages the crown of Poland derived from the Jews, he re-enacted the same laws a few years after. The Jews were generally treated as citizens of the State, and were not compelled to wear ignominious badges; they were also allowed to carry arms. After the death of this politic king, two opponents arose against them: on the one hand the clergy, who saw in the favoured position of the Polish Jews an offence to Christianity, and on the other, the German merchants, who long settled in Polish towns, had brought with them their guilds and old-fashioned prejudices, and hated the Jewish traders and artificers from sheer envy. Both united at times, and succeeded in prejudicing the successors of Casimir, his sons John Albert and Alexander, against the Jews, so that their privileges were abolished, and the Jews themselves confined to particular quarters, or even banished altogether from certain towns (1496—1505). But the next sovereign, Sigismund I. (1506—1548), was more favourably disposed towards them, and repeatedly protected them against persecution and expulsion. The strongest supporters, however, of the Polish Jews were the Polish nobility, who hated the Germans from national and political antipathy, and therefore, both from policy and inclination, favoured the Jews and used them as their tools against the arrogant Germans. And since the nobles held at the same time high official posts, the laws against the Jews remained, to the vexation of the clergy and guilds, a dead letter. Poland, therefore, was an asylum much sought after by persecuted Jews. If a Jew, who had turned Christian, or a man, born a Christian, wished to become

a Jew, he could do so as freely in Poland as in Turkey.

The Rabbis were important intermediaries for the Crown. They had the privilege of collecting the poll-tax from the communities, and paying it over to the State. Therefore the Rabbis of large towns, who were appointed or confirmed by the king, became chiefs in the administration of communal affairs, represented the Jews before the crown, and bore the title of Chief Rabbis. The Rabbis retained, as heretofore, the civil jurisdiction, though they were also authorised to banish unworthy members, and even to inflict the punishment of death. But in the country, which for several centuries was to become the chief home of the Talmud and the nursery of Talmudic students and of the Rabbis, which was, in a certain sense, enveloped in a Talmudic atmosphere, in Poland, there were at the beginning of the sixteenth century, no prominent Talmudists; it only became the home of the Talmud after the immigration of numerous German scholars. Coming from the districts of the Rhine and Main, from Bavaria, Suabia, Bohemia, and Austria, swarms of Jewish families had settled on the banks of the Vistula and the Dnieper, bringing with them, after the loss of their property, their most precious possession, which they defended with their lives, and which they could not be robbed of, namely, their religious convictions, the customs of their fathers, and their Talmudic learning. The German Rabbinical school, which at home had no breathing-space, established itself in Poland and Lithuania, in Ruthenia and Volhynia, spread in all directions, and, impregnated with Slavonic elements, transformed itself into a peculiar Polish school.

But the Jewish-German fugitives did not transplant to Poland the knowledge of the Talmud only, but also that of the German language, as it was

then spoken ; this they imparted to the native Jews, and it gradually superseded the Polish or Ruthenian tongue. . As the Spanish Jews turned portions of European and Asiatic Turkey into a new Spain, the German Jews transformed Poland, Lithuania, and the territories belonging thereto, into a new Germany. For several centuries, therefore, the Jews were divided into Spanish and German speaking Jews, amongst whom the Italian speaking members did not count, since in Italy also the Jews were compelled to understand either Spanish or German. The Jews who had settled in Poland gradually cast off their German awkwardness and simplicity, but not the language. They worshipped it as a palladium, as a holy remembrance ; and though in their intercourse with Poles they made use of the language of the country, in the family circle, and in their schools and prayers, they adhered to German. They valued it, next to Hebrew, as a holy language. It was a fortunate thing for the Jews, that at the time when new storms gathered over their heads in Germany, they found on her borders a country which offered them a hospitable welcome and protection. For a tempest burst in Germany, which had its first beginnings in the narrow Jewish circle, but eventually drew on the Jews the attention of all Christendom. An eventful, historical birth, which was to change the face of European affairs, lay, so to speak, in a Jewish manger.

CHAPTER XIV.

REUCHLIN AND THE TALMUD.

Antecedents of the convert John Pfefferkorn—Pfefferkorn and the Dominicans of Cologne—Hoogstraten, Ortuinus Gratius and Arnold of Tongern—Victor von Karben—Attacks on the Talmud and confiscation of copies in Frankfort—Reuchlin's Hebrew and Kabbalistic studies—The controversy concerning the Talmud—Activity on both sides—Public excitement—Complete victory of Reuchlin's efforts in defence of Jewish literature—Ulrich von Hutten.

1500—1520 C.E.

Who could have foreboded that from that very German nation, everywhere considered as heavy and stupid, from the land of lawless knights, of daily feuds about trifles, of confused political conditions, where every one was both despot and slave, mercilessly oppressing those placed lower, and pitifully cringing towards those of higher rank—who could have anticipated that from this people and this country there should proceed a movement, destined to shake European affairs to their centre, to create a new aspect of political conditions, to give the Middle Ages their death-blow, and to set its seal on the dawn of a new historical era? A reformation of church and politics, such as enlightened minds then dreamt of, was least expected from Germany. And yet there slumbered latent powers in that country, which only needed awaking, to develop into regenerating forces. The Germans still adhered to their ancient simplicity of life and severity of morals, pedantic, it is true, and presenting a ludicrous exterior; whilst the leading Romance countries, Italy, France and

Spain, were already suffering from over-refinement, surfeit, and moral corruption. Just because the Germans had retained their original Teutonic dulness, the clergy could not altogether succeed in infecting them with the poison of their vicious teaching. Their lower clergy, compared with those of other European countries, were more chaste and modest. The innate love of family life and kindly association, which the Germans have in common with the Jews, preserved them from that moral depravity, to which the Romance nations had already succumbed. In the educated circles of Italy, and especially at the Papal Court, Christianity and its doctrines were sneered at; the political power they conferred alone being valued. But in Germany, where there was little laughter, except in taverns, Christianity was treated as a more serious matter; it was looked upon as an ideal, which had once been alive, and should live again.

But these moral germs in the German race were so deeply hidden and buried, that it needed favourable circumstances to bring them to light, and cause them to stand forth as historical potencies. However much the Germans themselves may ignore it, the Talmud indirectly had a great share in the awakening of these slumbering forces. We can boldly assert, that the war for and against the Talmud aroused German consciousness, and created a public opinion, without which the Reformation, as well as other efforts, would have died in the hour of their birth, or perhaps, would never have been born at all. A paltry grain of sand caused the fall of an avalanche, which shook the earth around. The instrument of this mighty change was an ignorant, thoroughly vile creature, the scum of the Jewish people, who did not deserve to be mentioned in history or literature, but whom Providence seems to have appointed like some noisome insect involuntarily to accomplish a useful work.

Joseph Pfefferkorn, a native of Moravia, was by trade a butcher, and illiterate, as might easily be surmised. His moral turpitude was even greater than his ignorance. He committed a burglary, was caught, condemned to imprisonment by Count de Guttenstein, and only released at the urgent prayers of his relatives, and on payment of a fine. It appears that he hoped to wash away this disgrace with baptismal water; the Church was not scrupulous, and received even this despicable wretch, when at the age of thirty-six he presented himself, with wife and children, as converts to Christianity (about 1505?). He seems to have been baptised at Cologne; at any rate he was kept and made much of by the ignorant, proud and fanatical Dominicans of that city. Cologne was then an owls' nest of light-shunning swaggerers, who endeavoured to obscure the dawn of a brighter day with the dark clouds of superstition, hostile to knowledge. At their head was Hochstraten (Hoogstraten), an inquisitor or heretic-hunter, a violent, reckless man, who literally longed for the smell of burning heretics, and would have been a useful Torquemada in Spain. His counterpart was Arnold of Tongern (Tungern), a Dominican professor of theology. The third in the coalition was Ortuin de Graes, of Deventer (who Latinised his name to Ortuinus Gratius), the son of a clergyman. Ortuin de Graes entertained so violent a hatred against the Jews, that it could not have been solely due to religious zeal. He made it his special business, by anti-Jewish writings, to stir up the wrath of the Christians against them. But as he was too ignorant to concoct a book or even a pamphlet for the desired end himself, he surrounded himself with baptised Jews, who had to supply him with materials. A Jew, who, from persecution or for some other reason, had in his fiftieth year become a convert to Christianity, and

assumed the name of Victor von Karben, though he knew but little of Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, was dubbed a Rabbi, in order to give more weight to his attacks on Judaism and to his confession of Christianity. It is not precisely known whether Victor von Karben (who sorrowfully stated that on his conversion he had left his wife, three children, brothers and dear friends) voluntarily or by compulsion reproached the Jews with hating the Christians and reviling Christianity. He supplied Ortuinus Gratius with materials for accusations against them, their Talmud, their errors and abominations, which Ortuinus set down in a book. But Victor von Karben appears, after all, not to have been of much service, or he was too old (born 1442, died 1515) to assist in the execution of a long-planned scheme, destined to bring profitable business to the Dominicans, as the judges of heresy in men or writings. But they wanted a Jew for this purpose; their own order had not long ago got into rather bad odour. Pfefferkorn was the very man for them. He lent his name to a new anti-Jewish publication, written in Latin by Ortuinus Gratius. It was entitled "A Mirror for Admonition," inviting the Jews to be converted to Christianity. This first anti-Jewish book with Pfefferkorn's name dealt gently with the Jews, and even sought to show the groundlessness of the frequent accusations brought against them with regard to stealing and murdering Christian children. It entreats Christians not to banish the Jews, nor to oppress them too heavily, since to a certain extent they were also human beings. But this friendliness was only a mask, a feeler put forth to gain firm ground. For the Cologne Dominicans aimed at the confiscation of the Talmudic writings, as in the days of Saint Louis of France. This was distantly pointed to in Pfefferkorn's first pamphlet which endeavoured to throw suspicion on

the Talmud, and adduced three reasons to explain the stiff-necked unbelief of the Jews: their practice of usury, the fact that they were not compelled to go to church, and their attachment to the Talmud. Let these obstacles be once removed, and the Jews would throng to church in crowds. The pamphlet, therefore, admonished princes and people to check the usury of the Jews, to compel them to attend churches and listen to sermons, and to burn the Talmud. It admitted that it would not be just to infringe upon the Jews' claim to their writings, but since the Christians did not hesitate, in certain cases, to do violence to the Jews, the confiscation of their Talmudic books would be a very venial offence. This was the sole object of Pfefferkorn's pamphlet. It was generally believed in Germany that the Cologne owls expected to do a good stroke of business; if they could induce the ruling powers to sequester all copies of the Talmud, the Dominicans, as inquisitors, would have the disposal of them, and the Jews, who could not do without the Talmud, would pour their wealth into the Dominican coffers to get the confiscation annulled. Hence the latter, in the succeeding year or two, again putting Pfefferkorn forward as the author, published several pamphlets wherein it was asserted to be a Christian duty to expel all the Jews, like so many mangy dogs. If the princes would not do so, the people were to take the matter into their own hands, first soliciting their rulers to deprive the Jews of all their books excepting the Bible, forcibly to take from them all pledges, and above all to see that their children might be brought up as Christians, and to expel the adults as incorrigible rogues. It was no sin to do the worst to the Jews, as they were not freemen, but were body and soul the property of their princes. Should they refuse to listen to the prayer of their subjects, the people should assemble in masses, even join in a riot, and

impetuously demand the fulfilment of a Christian duty, in the degradation of the Jews. The masses were to declare themselves champions of Christ, and carry out his will. Whoso did an injury to the Jews was a follower of Christ; whoso favoured them was worse than they, and would hereafter be punished with eternal suffering and hell fire.

But Pfefferkorn, Ortuinus Gratius and the Cologne Dominicans came rather too late in the day. Riots for the killing of Jews were no longer the fashion, though they were no less hated and despised than in the times of the crusades and of the Black Death. Princes were still less disposed to expel the Jews, since with them a regular revenue would have disappeared. The former zeal for the conversion of the Jews had considerably cooled down; in fact, many Christians pointed scornfully to baptised Jews, of whom they said they resembled clean linen; as long as it is fresh the eye delights in it, after a few days' wear it is cast aside as soiled. Thus a converted Jew, immediately after his baptism, was cherished by the Christians; when some days had passed he was neglected, avoided and finally made sport of.

The German Jews, who dreaded new dangers from Pfefferkorn's zeal, endeavoured to thwart him. Jewish physicians, who were usually held in high favour at the courts of Princes, appear to have exerted their influence with their patrons to show the falsity of Pfefferkorn's accusations, and to render them ineffectual. Even Christians manifested their dissatisfaction with the machinations of the baptised Jews, and loudly proclaimed Pfefferkorn to be a worthless fellow and a hypocrite, who was not to be believed, his object being simply to delude the foolish, and fill his own purse. He therefore published a new pamphlet (March, 1509), which he impudently entitled "The Enemy of the Jews." This venomous libel reiterated all his former accu-

sations, and showed how the Jews, by charging interest on interest, impoverished the Christians. He blackened the character of Jewish physicians, saying they were quacks, who endangered the lives of their Christian patients. It was therefore necessary to expel the Jews from Germany, as the Emperor Maximilian had driven them from Austria, Styria and Carinthia; those who were allowed to remain were to be employed in cleansing the streets, sweeping chimneys, removing filth, carrion, and in similar occupations. But, above all, every copy of the Talmud, and all books relating to their religion, the Bible excepted, were to be taken from them. In order effectually to carry out this step, a visitation from house to house was to be made, and the Jews were even to be compelled by torture to surrender their books. Ortuinus Gratius again had a hand in the drawing up of this pamphlet.

But these venomous writings in German and Latin were but means and preliminaries to an end, which was to realise the hopes of the Dominicans of Cologne, by publicly burning the theological books of the Jews, or convert them into a source of profit. They aimed at inducing the Emperor Maximilian, who did not easily lend himself to the commission of a deed of violence, by putting pressure on him, to deliver the Jews, together with their books and purses, to their tender mercies. For this purpose they called in the aid of the bigotry of an unfortunate princess.

Kunigund, the beautiful sister of Maximilian, and favourite daughter of the Emperor Frederick, in her youth had been the cause of much affliction to her aged sire. Without her father's knowledge she had married his declared enemy, the Bavarian Duke Albert of Munich. For a long time her deeply offended father would not allow her name to be mentioned. When her husband died in the

prime of manhood (1508), his widow, perhaps repenting her youthful error, entered a Franciscan convent at Munich. She became abbess of the nuns of Sancta Clara, and castigated her body. The Dominicans speculated on the gloomy character of this princess. They furnished Pfefferkorn with letters of introduction to her. With poisoned words he was to detail to her the shameful doings of the Jews, their blasphemies against Jesus, Mary, the Apostles and the Church in general, and to demonstrate to her that the Jewish books, which contained all these abominations, deserved to be destroyed. A woman, and moreover a superstitious one, whose mind has been dulled in convent walls, is easily persuaded. Kunigund readily believed the calumnies against the Jews and their religious literature, especially as they were uttered by a former Jew, who could not but be acquainted with their habits and wickedness, and who assured her that on the destruction of the Jewish books, all Hebrews would gradually be converted to Christianity. Pfefferkorn easily obtained from the bigoted nun all he wanted. She gave him a pressing letter to her imperial brother, conjuring the latter to put a stop to the Jewish blasphemies against Christianity, and to issue a decree, that all their writings, except the Bible, should be taken from them and burnt, lest the sins of blasphemy, daily committed by the Jews, should fall on his crowned head. Furnished with this missive, Pfefferkorn straightway went to Italy, to the camp of the Emperor.

The fanatical letter of Kunigund and the verbal calumnies of Pfefferkorn succeeded in extorting from Maximilian a mandate, dated the 19th August, 1509, giving the baptised miscreant full power over the Jews. He was authorised throughout the German Empire to examine Hebrew writings and to destroy all whose contents were hostile to the Bible

and the Christian faith. The Jews were enjoined, under heavy penalties to body and property, to offer no resistance, but to submit their books to Pfefferkorn's examination. Pfefferkorn, with the emperor's authority, returned triumphantly to Germany, to open his campaign against Jewish books or purses. He began his business, which promised to become profitable, with the community at Frankfort, then most important, where many scholars of the Talmud, and consequently many copies of that work, besides numerous rich Jews, were to be found. On Pfefferkorn's demand the Senate assembled all the Jews in the synagogue, and communicated to them the emperor's order to surrender their books.

In the presence of three clergymen and two members of the Senate, all the prayer-books found in the synagogue were confiscated. It was just on the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles (Friday, 28th September). By his own authority, though he pretended to hold it from the emperor, Pfefferkorn forbade the Jews to attend the synagogue on the day of the feast; he intended to utilise the time for a house to house visitation, for he was very anxious to get hold of copies of the Talmud, which everyone learned in it possessed. The clergymen present, however, were not so inconsiderate as to turn the feast of the Jews into a day of mourning, but deferred the search for books till the following Monday. How did the Jews act? It proves that a new order of things had arisen, that they dared to protest against this arbitrary proceeding. No longer as formerly in Germany did they submit, with the dumb submission of lambs, to spoliation and death. They, on the contrary, appealed to the charters granted by various popes and emperors, which secured and permitted them to retain religious liberty, possession of their prayer books and doctrinal works.

They demanded a delay of the confiscation in order to appeal to the emperor and the Supreme Court of Judicature. The superiors of the community of Frankfort immediately sent a deputy to the elector and archbishop of Mayence, Uriel von Gemmingen, to whom the German Jews were subject, and in whose diocese Frankfort was situate, to induce him to forbid the clergy from co-operating in this injustice. When Pfefferkorn began his house to house visitation, the Jews protested so energetically that it had to be deferred until the Senate should have decided whether their objection was to be allowed or not. The decision of the sapient Senate was indeed unfavourable; but just when the confiscation was about to be commenced a letter from the archbishop arrived, prohibiting the clergy from lending Pfefferkorn any assistance. This frustrated the scheme; for the senators also withdrew from the transaction as soon as they knew that the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in Germany sided with the Jews. The latter were not idle. For, though they did not know that the powerful Dominicans stood behind Pfefferkorn, they yet suspected that persons, hostile to the Jews, used their advantage to stir up persecution against them. They at once dispatched a defender of their cause to the emperor, and another to the German communities, far and near, to appoint a general Synod, which should be summoned for the succeeding month, to consider what steps should be taken, and to raise funds.

Temporarily this unpleasant business seemed to take a turn favourable to the Jews. The Senate of Frankfort remained passive, except in laying an embargo on the packets of books belonging to Jewish booksellers, and forbidding their sale. The conduct of the archbishop was what benefited them most. Either from a sense of justice—he was generally fair in his dealings

—from a kindly feeling for the Jews, from a dislike of the Dominican heretic-hunting, or, finally, from jealousy of the emperor's interference with his functions, by giving such a miserable wretch as Pfefferkorn spiritual jurisdiction in his diocese, Uriel von Gemmingen took the part of the Jews. He immediately addressed a letter to the emperor (5th Oct.), wherein he gently insinuated that he was to blame for having given full powers to so ignorant a man as Pfefferkorn, and further asserted that no blasphemous or anti-Christian writings were to be found in the possession of the Jews of his diocese, and also hinted that if the emperor absolutely insisted on the examination and confiscation of Hebrew literature, he must employ an expert. He was so zealous on behalf of the Jews as to write to von Hutten, his agent at the imperial court, to assist the Jews in laying their case before the emperor. In the meantime, not to betray his partizanship, he invited Pfefferkorn to Aschaffenburg, and informed him that his mandate from the emperor was faulty in form, whereby it became ineffectual, for the Jews would dispute its validity.

At this interview the name of Reuchlin was mentioned for the first time, whether by the archbishop or Pfefferkorn is uncertain. It was suggested to request the emperor to appoint Reuchlin, together with Victor von Karben, as Pfefferkorn's coadjutors in the examination of the Jewish books. For the Dominican friars thought it necessary to secure the co-operation of a man whose learning, character and high position would render their proceedings more effective. Reuchlin, the pride of Germany, was to be made their associate, so as to disarm possible opponents. It was a portion of their scheme to throw discredit on the man whom the Obscurantists looked upon with disfavour, and who, to their vexation, first stimulated

German and then European Christians in general, to study the Hebrew language. But by these very artifices Pfefferkorn and his patrons not only spoil their game, but raised a storm, which in less than a decade shook the whole edifice of the Catholic Church. It was justly said afterwards, that the semi-Jewish Christian had done more injury to Christianity than all the most virulent writings of the Jews could have done. John Reuchlin is a personality, who assisted in carrying the Middle Ages into modern times, and therefore bears a name famous in the annals of the sixteenth century; but in Jewish history he also deserves honourable mention.

John Reuchlin, of Pforzheim (born 1455, died 1522), or, Capnio, as his admirers, the students of the *humaniora*, called him, with his younger contemporary, Erasmus of Rotterdam, delivered Germany from the reproach of barbarism. By their example and incitement they proved that, with regard to knowledge of ancient Greek and Latin, a pure style and humanistic culture in general, the Germans could not only rival, but surpass the Italians. Besides his astonishing learning in classical literature and his elegant diction, Reuchlin was endowed with a clear, solid understanding, a noble disposition, integrity which was proof against temptation, a marvellous love of truth, and a soft heart. More versatile than Erasmus, his younger colleague in originating and spreading humanistic and æsthetic culture in Germany, Reuchlin also devoted himself to the study of Hebrew, acquired a mastery of the language blessed by God, and thus emulated Jerome, the Father of the Church, who was his pattern. His love for Hebrew grew into perfect enthusiasm, when, on his second journey to Rome, he became acquainted at Florence with the learned youth Pico de Mirandola, that wonderful child of Italy, and learned from him what deep, marvel-

lous secrets lay hidden in the Hebrew sources of the Kabbala. After that Reuchlin thirsted for Hebrew literature, but could not quench his thirst. He could not even obtain a Bible. Only when Reuchlin had reached a riper age did he find opportunities of acquiring a more profound knowledge of Hebrew. During his stay at Linz, when attending the Court of the aged Emperor Frederick III., he made the acquaintance of the imperial physician and Jewish knight, Jacob Loans; and this Jewish scholar became his teacher of Hebrew language and literature.

Reuchlin devoted every hour he could snatch from his avocations at Court to this study, and mastered it so thoroughly, that he was soon able to do without a teacher. His genius for languages stood him in good stead, and enabled him to overcome difficulties. He speedily endeavoured to turn to account the Hebrew learning he had acquired with such zeal. He wrote a small work: "The Wonderful Word," a spirited panegyric of the Hebrew language, its simplicity, depth and divine character. "The language of the Hebrews is simple, uncorrupted, holy, terse and vigorous; God confers in it direct with men, and men with angels, without interpreters, face to face, as one friend converses with another." A Jew, prejudiced in favour of his ancient treasures, would not have spoken more enthusiastically. The work consists of a series of discussions between an Epicurean philosopher, a Jewish sage (Baruchias), and a Christian (Capnio), and its object is to prove, that the wisdom of all nations, the symbols of pagan religions and the forms of their worship are but misconceptions and travesties of Hebrew truths, mysteriously concealed in the words, and even in the very shapes of the letters of the Hebrew tongue.

Reuchlin may have felt that his knowledge of Hebrew still left much to be desired; he there-

fore gladly seized the opportunity of a further journey to Rome, as Ambassador of the Elector Palatine, whom he represented at the Court of Alexander VI. (1498-1500), to renew his studies of Hebrew literature. Obadyah Sforza of Cesena, then residing at Rome, became Reuchlin's second teacher of Hebrew. Thus the German humanist, already a famous man, whose Latin discourses were the admiration of Italians, sat at the feet of a Jew, to perfect himself in Hebrew, nor did he disdain to accept instruction from a Jew whenever the opportunity offered, so highly did he esteem the Hebrew language.

Being the only Christian in Germany, or we may say in all Europe, sufficiently familiar with the sacred language, Reuchlin's numerous friends urged him to compile a Hebrew grammar, which might enable those studiously inclined to instruct themselves. The first Hebrew grammar by a Christian, which Reuchlin designated as "a memorial more lasting than brass" (finished in March, 1506), was a somewhat poor affair. It gave only the most necessary instructions as to pronunciation and etymology, together with a vocabulary, the imperfections of which need not surprise us, as it is the work of a beginner. But the grammar had important results: it aroused a taste for Hebrew studies in a large circle of scholars, who thenceforth zealously devoted themselves to it; and these studies supplied a new factor towards the Lutheran Reformation. A number of disciples of Reuchlin, such as Sebastian Münster and Widmannstadt, followed in his footsteps, and raised the study of Hebrew to the level of Greek.

But when Reuchlin went down into the Jews' lane to carry off thence some hidden treasure, he, no less than his contemporaries, was at first intensely prejudiced against the Jewish race. Forgetful of its former glory, and blind to the solid

kernel, because enveloped in a repulsive shell, Reuchlin looked on the Jewish people as utterly barbaric, devoid of all artistic taste, superstitious, mean and depraved. He solemnly declared that he was far from favouring the Jews. Like his pattern, Jerome, he testified to "his thorough-going hatred of them." Together with his Hebrew grammar he wrote an epistle, in which he traced all the misery of the Jews to their blind unbelief, instead of looking for its source in the Christians' want of charity towards them. Reuchlin, no less than Pfefferkorn, charged the Jews with blasphemy against Jesus, Mary, the Apostles and Christians in general; but a time came when he regretted this indiscreet lucubration of his youth. For his heart did not share the prejudices of his head. Whenever he met Jews singly, he gave them his affection, or at least his esteem; he probably found that they were better than the Christians represented them to be. His sense of justice did not allow him to let wrong be done to them, much less to help in doing it.

When Pfefferkorn and the Cologne Dominicans approached Reuchlin, he was already at the zenith of his life and fame. High and low honoured him for his rectitude; the Emperor Frederick had ennobled him; the Emperor Maximilian appointed him Counsellor and Judge of the Suabian League; the circle of humanists, the order of free spirits within and without Germany, loved, worshipped and almost deified him. Though hitherto no shadow of heresy had fallen on Reuchlin, who was on the best of terms with the Dominicans, yet the friends of darkness instinctively saw in him their secret enemy. His cultivation of science and classical literature, his anxiety for an elegant Latin style, his enthusiasm for Greek, by which all Germany had been infected, and worse than all, his introduction of Hebrew, his preference for "Hebrew truths" for the Hebrew

text over the corrupt Latin Vulgate, which the Church held as canonical and unassailable, were considered by the Obscurantists as so many crimes, which indeed could not at once be laid hold of by the Inquisition, but which secured to Reuchlin a place in their black book.

The order given to Pfefferkorn, the secret agent of the Dominicans of Cologne, to implicate Reuchlin in the examination of blasphemous Jewish writings, was, as already hinted, a cunningly devised trap. On his second journey to the imperial camp, Pfefferkorn waited on Reuchlin at his own house, endeavoured to make him a confederate in his venomous schemes against the Jews, and showed him the imperial mandate. Reuchlin declined the proposal somewhat hesitatingly, though he approved of destroying the Jewish libels on Christianity; but he pointed out that the emperor's mandate was faulty in form, and therefore the authorities would not willingly enforce it. Reuchlin is said at the same time to have insinuated that he would interest himself in the matter, if invited to do so. Pfefferkorn, in consequence, again applied to the emperor to obtain a second mandate, correct in form and unassailable. But the Jews also had not been idle in endeavours to induce the emperor to revoke the mandate and restore their books.

The community of Frankfort had appointed Jonathan Levi Zion, a zealous member, to advocate their case with the emperor. The community of Ratisbon also had sent an agent to the imperial court. Isaac Triest, a man greatly beloved by the persons surrounding the emperor, took great pains to frustrate Pfefferkorn's plans. The Jewish advocates were supported by influential Christians, including the representative of the Archbishop and the Margrave of Baden. They first insisted on the privilege of religious liberty, guaranteed by charters, granted to the Jews by emperors and

popes, in accordance with which even the emperor had no right to interfere with the management of their private affairs, or to attack their property in the shape of religious books. They further submitted to the emperor an attested certificate, showing their accuser to be a worthless person, a thief, and burglar. The Jewish advocates were in hopes of attaining their ends. The emperor had granted them an audience, and promised them a speedy reply. The friendly reception they had met with led them to look for an immediate settlement of this painful affair; Uriel Von Gemmingen, their protector, was to be appointed commissary—a good omen.

But they did not understand Maximilian's vacillating character. As soon as Pfefferkorn again appeared before him, armed with another autograph letter from his sister, wherein the ultra-pious nun conjured him not to outrage Christianity by the revocation of his mandate, the scales were turned against the Jews. The emperor was in reality secretly piqued, that the despised Jews of Frankfort had in contempt of his mandate refused to give up the books found in their houses.

He thereupon issued a second mandate (10th Nov., 1509), wherein he reproached the Jews with having offered resistance, and ordered the confiscation to be continued. He indeed appointed the Archbishop Uriel as Commissioner, but advised him to associate with himself learned men from the universities of Cologne, Mayence, Erfurt and Heidelberg, as well as Reuchlin, Victor von Karben, and the inquisitor, Hoogstraten, a man wholly ignorant of Hebrew. With this mandate in his pocket, Pfefferkorn hastened back to the scene of his activity, the Rhenish provinces. Archbishop Uriel appointed Hermann Hess, the Chancellor of the University of Mayence, his delegate, to direct the confiscation of Jewish books. Accompanied by

him, Pfefferkorn again repaired to Frankfort, and the book-hunt began afresh. Fifteen hundred manuscripts, including those already seized, were taken from the Frankfort Jews, and deposited in the town hall.

Worse than the emperor's vacillating conduct was the apathy shown by the larger communities of Germany in the appointment of a Conference to discuss and frustrate the malicious plans of Pfefferkorn, or rather, those of the Dominicans. Smaller communities had indeed contributed their share towards the expenses occasioned by this serious matter, but the larger and richer communities of Rothenburg on the Taube, Weissenburg and Fürth, on whom the Jews of Frankfort had counted most, displayed a deplorable indifference. But, when, in consequence of the second mandate, Jewish books were confiscated not only at Frankfort but also in other communities, a more general interest was manifested, which was heightened by another circumstance. The Jewish booksellers were accustomed to bring their bales of books for sale to the Spring Fair at Frankfort. When Pfefferkorn sought to confiscate these also, the Senate of Frankfort refused to assist in the measure, being unwilling to break the laws regulating the Fair. The Jewish booksellers, moreover, had safe-conducts from their native princes, protecting not only their persons, but also their property. The archbishop maintained a sullen silence, and favoured the Jews. He did not call together the learned men whom the emperor had indicated for examining the Jewish books, and did no more than he could help. Many princes also, whose eyes had been opened as to the ultimate results of this strange confiscation, made representations to the emperor. Public opinion was particularly severe on Pfefferkorn. But he and the Dominicans were not idle; they endeavoured to win over the emperor and public

opinion, and it is remarkable that the enemies of publicity should have opened the mouth of that hitherto silent arbitress, and rendered her powerful.

For this purpose there appeared another anti-Jewish pamphlet, with Pfefferkorn's name on the title-page, entitled, "In Praise and Honour of the Emperor Maximilian." It blew whole clouds of incense into the emperor's face, and regretted that the charges against the Jews, from indifference and ignorance, were so little noticed in Christian circles. It re-asserted that the Talmud, the usury of the Jews, and their facilities for making money, were the causes of their obstinately refusing to become Christians. Thus the Cologne Dominicans—always standing behind Pfefferkorn—again attempted, by means of public opinion, to put moral pressure on Maximilian.

But this public opinion must have spoken so strongly in favour of the Jews, that Maximilian was induced to take an unusual step for an emperor, namely to revoke his former commands, and direct the Senate of Frankfort to restore to the Jews their books (23rd May, 1510), "till the completion of our purpose, and inspection of the books." Great was the joy of the Jews. For they had escaped a great danger: not their religious books only, so dear to their hearts, but their position in the Germano-Roman Empire had been at stake, since the Dominicans would not, in case of success, have stopped at this, but would have inflicted new humiliations and persecutions upon them.

But the Jews triumphed too soon; the Dominicans and their confederate and tool, Pfefferkorn, would not so readily surrender the advantages they had already secured. A regrettable occurrence in the March of Brandenburg supplied fresh energy to their machinations, and a pretext for formulating an accusation. A thief had stolen from a

church some of the sacred emblems, and when questioned as to the holy wafer, he confessed having sold it to Jews in the Brandenburg district. Of course, the thief was readily believed, and the Bishop of Brandenburg entered on the persecution of the Jews with a fiery fanaticism. The elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I., an ardent heretic-hunter, had the accused brought to Berlin. The accusation of reviling the Host was soon supplemented by one of infanticide. Joachim had the Jews tortured, and then ordered thirty of them to be burnt. With firmness and songs of praise on their lips these martyrs of Brandenburg met their fiery deaths (19th July, 1510), except two, who, with the fear of the stake upon them, submitted to baptism, and suffered the seemingly more honourable fate of being beheaded. This is the first mention of Jews in Berlin and Brandenburg. The occurrence made a great stir in Germany, and the Cologne Dominicans employed it to induce the emperor to issue a new mandate for the confiscation of Jewish books, seeing that to the Talmud alone could be attributed the alleged hostility of the Jews to Christianity. They sheltered themselves behind the same go-between; the bigoted nun, the ducal Abbess Kunigund, to whom the diabolical wickedness of the Jews, as revealed by the above occurrence, was represented in the most appalling colours, was again to influence the emperor. The Dominicans suggested to her how detrimental to Christianity must be the fact that the Host-reviling and child-murdering Jews could boast of having had their books restored to them by order of the emperor, who thus, to a certain extent, approved of the abuse of Christianity which they contained. The abbess thereupon formally assailed her brother, and at their interview at Munich besought him on her knees to resume his condemnation of the Jewish books. Maximilian

was perplexed. He was loath to refuse his dearly beloved sister what she had so much at heart; on the other hand, he was not highly edified by Pfefferkorn's tissue of lies against the Jews. But he found an expedient to appear just to both parties. He issued a new mandate, the fourth in this affair (6th July, 1510), addressed to the Archbishop Uriel, directing him to resume the inquiry, but in another form. The indictment was not to be considered as proved, but was to be thoroughly investigated. The Archbishop of Mayence was to take the opinions of the German universities named, and also of Reuchlin, Victor von Karben and Hoogstraten, to whom the emperor sent a special summons in official form. The final decision as to the character of the Jewish writings was to be communicated to him by Pfefferkorn, the originator of the inquiry. The Jews had reason to look forward with anxiety to its issue; their weal and woe depended on it.

It was fortunate for the Jews that the honest, truthful Reuchlin, so enthusiastically prepossessed for Hebrew and Kabbalistic literature, was asked to give his opinion of Jewish literature. The Cologne Dominicans, who may have proposed him, thereby frustrated their own design, and as a further effect made him the enemy of their hostile endeavours. As soon as Reuchlin received the emperor's command, he set to work to answer the question, "Whether it was godly, laudable, and advantageous to Christianity to burn the Jewish writings, whereby the Talmud especially was meant?" His judgment was extremely favourable to the writings in question, nor did he miss the chance of bestowing sundry side blows on the vile instigator Pfefferkorn. Jewish literature, the mistress of his heart, was to be charged as a culprit, and should he fail to defend her with all the powers of his mind? Reuchlin's opinion

is conceived in the pedantic and heavy juridical style then prevailing, but does not lack ability. He started from the correct point of view, that, in answering the question, the Jewish writings were not to be treated in the aggregate as a homogeneous literature, but that they (excluding the Bible) were to be divided into six classes. The class of exegetic works, such as those by R. Solomon (Rashi), Ibn Ezra, the Kimchis, Moses Gerundensis and Levi ben Gershon, far from being detrimental to Christianity, he declared to be indispensable to Christian theology, the most learned Christian commentators of the Old Testament had taken the best of their work from the Jews, as from fountains whence flow the real truth and understanding of the Holy Scriptures. If from the voluminous writings of Nicholas de Lyra, the best Christian exegetist, all he had borrowed from Rashi were to be excised, the part which he himself had composed might be comprised in a few pages. It was a disgrace that many doctors of divinity, from ignorance of Hebrew and Greek, interpreted the Scriptures wrongly. The class of Hebrew writings, comprising philosophy, natural sciences and the liberal arts were in no way distinguished from what might be found in Greek, Latin or German works. With regard to the Talmud, against which the chief accusation was laid, Reuchlin confessed his inability to understand it; but other learned Christians understood no more of it than they might learn from its accusers, including Pfefferkorn. He was acquainted with many who condemned the Talmud without understanding it. But how could any one write against mathematics without having a knowledge of them? He was therefore of opinion that the Talmud was not to be burnt, even if it were true that it contained libels on the founders of Christianity. "If the Talmud were deserving of such condemnation, our ancestors of many hundred years ago, whose zeal for Chris-

Christianity was much greater than ours is, would long ago have burnt it. The baptised Jews, Peter Schwarz and Pfefferkorn, the only persons who insist on its being burnt, probably have their own private reasons."

To defend Kabbalistic writings, and save them from being burnt, was easy enough. Reuchlin had but to point to the occurrences at the Papal Court, scarcely two decades ago. The learned and eccentric Count Pico de Mirandola had aroused an enthusiastic admiration for the Kabbala, maintaining that it contained the most solid foundation of the chief doctrines of Christianity. Sixtus IV. had caused some of the Kabbalistic writings to be translated into Latin. Reuchlin concluded his opinion by advising that their books should not be taken from the Jews, nor burnt, but that at every German university two professors of Hebrew be appointed for ten years, who might also be asked to teach modern, or Rabbinical Hebrew; and thus the Jews might be led by gentle means and by conviction to embrace Christianity.

Unquestionably since the Jews had been ill-used and persecuted by the Christians, they had never found so friendly an advocate as Reuchlin, who declared himself in their favour in an official document, to be placed before the Chancellor of the Empire, and even before the Emperor himself. Two points on which Reuchlin had laid stress, were especially important to the Jews. The first was, that the Jews were citizens of the holy Roman Empire, and were entitled to its full privileges and protection. This was in a sense the first stammering utterance of that liberating word of perfect equality, which required more than three centuries to be absolutely enunciated and acknowledged. The mediæval spectre, that the Jews, by Vespasian and Titus' conquest of Jerusalem had become the bondsmen of their successors, the Roman

and German emperors, was hereby partly laid. That the Jews also had rights, which the emperor and State, the clergy and laity must respect, was the first faint and trembling ray of light after the long and dark night. The second point, which Reuchlin emphasized more positively was of equal importance: that the Jews must not be considered or treated as heretics. Since they stood without the Church, and were not bound to hold the Christian faith, the ideas of heresy and unbelief—those terrifying and lethal anathemas of the Middle Ages—did not apply to them.

Of what use this judgment of Reuchlin was to the Jews, we discover by the decision of the faculties consulted—faculties to whom the Talmud of course was a book with seven seals. The Cologne Dominicans in a body, the theological faculty, the inquisitor Hoogstraten, and the grey-haired convert Victor von Karben, who all spoke as with one voice, did not trouble themselves to prove that the Talmud was hostile to Christianity; they assumed it, and therefore quickly arrived at their decision, that the Talmudic writings, and all others of the same stamp, were to be seized and burnt. But they went further, and Hoogstraten in particular had the assurance to demand that the Jews should be indicted. Experts were to extract and arrange heretical passages from the Talmud and other Jewish books; then the Jews were to be questioned whether they admitted the perniciousness of books containing such doctrines or not. If they admitted it, they could raise no objection to have them committed to the flames. If, on the contrary, they obstinately persevered in treating such passages as portions of their creed, the emperor was to surrender them for punishment to the Inquisition as convicted heretics.

The faculty of Mayence delivered a similar sentence, and even went much further. They pro-

nounced all Talmudic and Rabbinical writings to be full of errors and heresy, adding that even the Scriptures must have been contaminated and corrupted by them, especially in articles of faith, wherefore these were to be taken from the Jews, examined, and if their expectation was realized, the Jewish Bibles were to be thrown into the flames. This was a cunning device, because the Hebrew text of the Bible does not agree with the Latin Vulgate, which is used by the Church, and is the work of bunglers. It was like setting the immaculate mother before the degenerate daughter, and telling her that if she did not adopt the vices of the latter, she did not deserve to exist. And it was a clever trick on the part of the Dominicans to get rid of the inconvenient Hebrew text, "the Hebrew Truth," the text which majestically shook its head at the childish trifling of clerical interpretations: Had the theologians of Mayence and Cologne succeeded in enforcing their views, the Book received on Sinai, the words of the Prophets, the Psalms, monuments of a time of grace, would have been cast into the blazing pyre, and a bastard, the corrupt Latin Vulgate, substituted for it. The Dominicans appear to have suspected that the plain sense of the words of the Bible would bring ruin upon them. Fortunately the Cologne Dominicans themselves defeated their cunningly laid plan by an act of villainy.

Reuchlin had sent his opinion on Jewish literature in a sealed packet, and by a sworn messenger, to the Archbishop Uriel, and assumed that, being an official secret, it would only be opened and read by the archbishop and the emperor. But Pfefferkorn, who believed himself to be on the eve of avenging himself on the Jews, had it open in his hand even before the emperor had read it. How this occurred has never been cleared up. Reuchlin plainly denounced the Cologne priests as un-

conscionable seal-breakers. We might almost be grateful to them for having dragged an affair, originally enveloped in official secrecy, into publicity, thereby necessitating another tribunal, and turning the peril of the Jews into a peril to the church. They had grown desperate over Reuchlin's opinion, because his voice had great weight with the emperor and his advisers. Therefore the Dominicans, armed at all points, set to work to publish a refutation of Reuchlin's defence of the Jews and of their books. It was written in German to render the cause popular, and so incense the multitude as to render it impossible for the emperor to listen to Reuchlin.

This libel, entitled the "Handspiegel," which was spread abroad in thousands of copies, against a man so highly placed and honoured, a Judge of the Suabian League, a scholar of such eminence, naturally caused a great sensation. Since the invention of printing it was the first furious attack on a dignitary, and being written in German, every one could understand it. Reuchlin's numerous friends were indignant at the insolence of a baptised Jew, who pretended to be more sound in faith than an honoured man, a born Christian. The Cologne Dominicans had listened more to their envenomed hatred than to prudence. Reuchlin was compelled to take steps against such attacks, by which his honour was too deeply wounded for silence. He hastened to the emperor, and complained of Pfefferkorn, the rancorous calumniator, the author of the "Handspiegel." The emperor, by words and gestures, betrayed his indignation, and quieted the excited Reuchlin by promising him that the matter should be inquired into by the Bishop of Augsburg. But amidst the press of business, in the confusion of Italian quarrels, the emperor forgot Reuchlin, the mortification that scholar had suffered, and the redress which he had promised to him. The Frankfort Autumn Fair was

approaching, at which Pfefferkorn intended to offer for sale the remainder of the copies, without anything having been done for or by Reuchlin.

Thus Reuchlin was compelled to make the Talmud question a personal one, to appeal to public opinion, and thereby render the matter one of almost universal interest. He prepared for the Frankfort Fair a defensive and offensive reply to the "Handspiegel." At the end of August, or beginning of September, 1511, his controversial pamphlet, entitled the "Augenspiegel," (or Spectacles, a pair of spectacles being represented on the title-page), which has acquired a historical celebrity, made its appearance. He therein designed to reveal to the German public the villainy of Pfefferkorn and his coadjutors, but he unconsciously revealed the defects of the Christianity of his time. It was, nevertheless, a pamphlet which, we may say without exaggeration, was equivalent to a great action. It was directed immediately against Pfefferkorn, and indirectly against the Cologne Dominicans, the patrons and instigators of his calumnies. It relates in plain and honest language the progress of the whole affair: how the baptised "Jew" made every effort to prove the Talmud dangerous, desiring to have it burnt, and how Pfefferkorn meant to turn Reuchlin to account in the matter. He publishes the missives of the emperor and of the archbishop addressed to him, and also his "Opinion." He reports how Pfefferkorn by dishonest means obtained possession of the "Opinion," and misused it to concoct a libel against him, containing no less than thirty-four untruths against him (Reuchlin). The whole tenor of the "Augenspiegel" shows the just indignation of a man of honour against a villain, who had set a trap for him.

What roused the indignation of Reuchlin most was the charge that he had written his defence of

the Talmud for money. With honest anger he protested that at no time during his whole existence had he received from the Jews, or on their behalf a single penny, or any other reward. No less hurt was Reuchlin at the contempt expressed for his Hebrew scholarship, and especially at the accusation that he had not himself composed his Hebrew grammar. His defence of the Jews is dignified. The scoundrel Pfefferkorn had reproached him with having learnt Hebrew from the Jews, and thus to have had intercourse with them, which was against the canon law. Thereupon Reuchlin says, "The baptised Jew writes that Divine law forbids our holding communion with the Jews; this is not true. Every Christian may go to law with them, buy of or make presents to them. Cases may occur where Christians can take legacies in common with Jews. It is allowed to converse with and learn from them, as Saint Jerome and Nicholas de Lyra had done. And lastly, a Christian should love a Jew as his neighbour; all this is founded on the law."

It may be imagined what excitement was created by Reuchlin's "*Augenspiegel*," written in German, when it appeared at the Frankfort Fair, then the meeting-place of hundreds of thousands, at a time when there was no public press, and every one readily lent his ear to a scandalous tale. To find that so distinguished a man as Reuchlin would set an accuser of the Jews in the pillory as a calumniator and liar, was something so new and surprising as to make readers rub their eyes, and ask themselves whether they had not hitherto been dozing. The Jews greedily bought the book, where for the first time a man of honour entered the lists on their behalf, and with powerful voice stigmatized the charges against them as calumnies. They rejoiced at having found a champion, and thanked God that He had not forsaken them in their tribu-

lation. Who would find fault with them for having laboured in the promulgation of Reuchlin's pamphlet? On the other hand bigoted priests of the stamp of the Cologne Dominicans did their best to disseminate it widely by preaching against it in their pulpits, and, as far as they could, by prohibiting its sale. From all directions, in learned and unlearned circles, congratulations were sent to Reuchlin, with expressions of satisfaction that he had so boldly and firmly settled the impudent Pfefferkorn and his abettors.

With the publication and circulation of Reuchlin's treatise, and his defence of the Talmud commenced a struggle which every day became more serious, and at last assumed far greater proportions than the mere subject would justify. For the bigots, who were still in the full power of their terrorizing might, did not hesitate to take up the challenge. Pfefferkorn's cause was also theirs. For now had not a man dared to step forward boldly, not only to disapprove of the condemnation of the Talmud, but also to declare that the persecution of the Jews was unchristianlike; and that they ought on the contrary to be treated with sympathy and love. What audacity! It aroused in them such virtuous indignation that they shot beyond the mark, and committed such blunders that the whole affair became obnoxious and disastrous to them.

The Pastor Peter Meyer, of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, who could not obtain the prohibition of the sale of the "*Augenspiegel*," made a second mistake. He announced from the pulpit during service that Pfefferkorn would preach on the eve of the next "*Feast of our Lady*" against Reuchlin's Jewish writings, and he exhorted the faithful to attend in great numbers. Nothing could be more fatal than this error. That Pfefferkorn with a disagreeable and repulsive face, distinctly Jewish features and coarse

vulgar look, should preach before a Christian congregation in his Jewish-German jargon! Each word and each movement would provoke his hearers to laughter, and drive away any inclination to be sincere and devout. Moreover was it in accordance with Catholic law that a layman, and above all a married layman, should officiate in the church? Not long before this a simple shepherd had been judicially sentenced and burned on account of unsanctioned preaching. To observe the form Pfefferkorn preached on the appointed day (September 7th, 1511), not in the church, but before the entrance, to a great crowd of people. It must have been very droll to see how this ill-favoured Jew made the sign of the Cross over believers, and spoke of Christian faith in Jewish jargon. Pfefferkorn was there especially to make the Jews and their well-wishers detestable, and to excite the hatred of his hearers against them.

Until now, the chief mover of the whole scandal, the venomous and malicious agent of the Inquisition, Jacob Hoogstraten, had kept behind the scenes, but had sent his followers to the front one by one: first Pfefferkorn, then Ortuinus Gratius and Arnold von Tongern. Henceforth he could stand in the foreground himself, and could assume an insolent demeanour such as would make priests and laymen, all bow before him, and sink under his frown in the dust, as if he had the right to tread statutes and customs under his feet. To save, by violent measures, the weakened authority of the Order, all Dominicans had to make common cause, and apply their energy to break down Reuchlin's opposition, and carry through the condemnation of the Talmud. The conflict spread over a wider area and became an affair of the Order.

Authorized by the Chief Inquisitor, Hoogstraten suddenly issued (September 15th, 1513) a summons to Reuchlin to appear at Mayence within six days,

at eight o'clock in the morning, to be examined on the charge of heresy and of favouring the Jews. On the appointed day Hoogstraten, with a host of Dominicans, appeared in Mayence; they were confederates, well chosen to sit as judges on the commission. Hoogstraten opened the session and stepped forward as judge and accuser at the same time. He had beforehand prepared an unassailable bill of indictment against Reuchlin and the Talmud. He looked round cautiously for partizans, so that he should not stand alone in the ensuing contest. Shortly before he had addressed letters to four Universities, begging them to express their opinion on Reuchlin's book "*Augenspiegel*" in accordance with his own views, and all had fulfilled his expectation.

The accusation which he brought forward was of course that which Pfefferkorn and Arnold von Tongern had already made. It had for its basis: Reuchlin favours the Jews too much, treats them, "the insolent people," almost as members of the Church, and as men of equal rights, while his writings savour too much of heresy. Hoogstraten therefore laid the motion before the court for it to pronounce sentence: that Reuchlin's "*Augenspiegel*" was full of heresy and error, and too favourable to the unbelieving Jew, iniquitous to the Church, and therefore ought to be condemned, suppressed, and destroyed by fire. One must not overlook the great difference between a German and a Spanish Inquisition Court. Torquemada or Ximenes would have made short work of it, and condemned the book together with the author to the stake. Hoogstraten was not too kind-hearted for such a sentence; but he dared not venture so far, because he would have had all Germany, the ecclesiastical as well as temporal rulers, against him.

The indignation of many was aroused at this

injustice, and the carrying on of a trial by violation of all rules. Those not yet tainted with the corruption of Theology, with judgment not yet warped by casuistry and free from restraint, such as the students of the Mayence University, loudly proclaimed their displeasure at this shameless proceeding of the Inquisition. They carried the Doctors of Law with them, and this also impressed earnest men, and caused them to interfere.

To the surprise of the Dominicans, the already aged and venerable Reuchlin appeared in Mayence, accompanied by two respected counsellors of the Duke of Wurtemberg. The chapter now took the greatest trouble to have some reconciliation effected. But Hoogstraten, who wished to see the smoke rise from the faggots, would consider nothing, and delayed the negotiations till the 12th of October, the time when the final sentence would be pronounced. The Inquisitor had already commanded all the ecclesiastics in Mayence to announce from the pulpit that everyone, Christian or Jew, should be obliged, if he would escape punishment, to give up all copies of the "Augenspiegel" to the flames. Also that the people should be granted thirty days' indulgence if they assembled on the appointed day at the church square to celebrate the Auto-da-fé, and increase its splendour. On the 12th October the place before the church in Mayence was thronged with spectators—the curious, the sympathetic, and the seekers after indulgence! Decked out like peacocks, there strutted along the Fathers and Brothers of the Dominican Order, and Theologians of the Universities of Cologne, Löwen and Erfurt, who had been invited to the tribunal thus established, and "the earth trembled under their feet." Hoogstraten, till now the accuser, again took his place among the judges. He had already prepared himself to pronounce the formulated curse, and to have the fire stirred up, when a mes-

senger arrived hastily from the Archbishop Uriel, bringing a letter, which turned him speechless.

Uriel von Gemmingen was, like most bishops of his time, more worldly than spiritually minded, and had no canonical fanaticism against Jews. The assumption of the Dominicans of Cologne and their unjust proceedings against Reuchlin even agitated him. Therefore he issued a proclamation from his chapter of chosen ecclesiastics that judgment should be delayed for one month, so as to find some new compromise. But should they not consent to this, he would take away from them by mandate their privileges as judges of the Inquisitorial court, and everything that had been hitherto decreed would be null and void. Utterly dumbfounded, the Dominicans listened to the reading of this document by the Notary, which entirely frustrated their schemes and machinations. Hoogstraten alone boldly dared to express his anger at the denial of their rights. The other confederates shunk away ashamed, followed by the jeers of the street boys, and the cry of the men, "May these Brothers, who so wished to outrage a just man, yet burn at the stake."

If it is true, as the Dominicans relate, that the Rabbis of all Germany came together to a synod in Worms, and found in the defeat of the Dominicans who raged against Reuchlin, a sign of the downfall of the Roman (papist) Hierarchy, then were they certainly endowed with a prophetic vision. It was also said that Reuchlin was secretly converted to Rabbinism.

However, Reuchlin was not long permitted to triumph over his enemies and those of the Jews. They were, if subdued for the moment, by no means vanquished. He knew their cunning and malignity too well to give himself up to the enjoyment of victory. He knew that their persecutions would only be redoubled for the future. Therefore he hastened to bring on the appeal to

the Pope, so that silence should be imposed on his embittered enemies. Reuchlin feared, and with reason, that with the vacillation and venality of the Vatican, his cause would go badly if the investigation should be conducted beyond the jurisdiction of the Pope by the Dominicans of Cologne. Therefore he prepared a letter in Hebrew to send to the Jewish physician of Pope Leo X., Bonet de Lates, in order to persuade him to plead for the Pope's favour in his cause.

Leo, of the celebrated family of Medici, who, as his father declared, would be the wisest of his sons, had only succeeded to the Papal Chair a few months earlier. He was a distinguished man, more interested in politics than in religion, and was more a Roman pagan than Catholic priest, who from his Olympian heights looked down with contempt on theological controversy as child's play. He only considered how best to steer between the two warring States or disordered houses of Hapsburg and Valois, without endangering the temporal interest of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. One day in a rash moment this Pope was heard to exclaim, "It is well known how this fable of Christ has been made use of by us and ours!" With him now rested the decision, whether Reuchlin's "*Augenspiegel*" savoured of heresy, or whether he duly or unduly favoured the Jews. Leo, whose Pontificate fell in a time when theological questions threatened to embroil all Europe, knew perhaps less of them than did his cook. It therefore depended in what light the conflict between Reuchlin and the Dominicans was placed before him. For this reason Reuchlin begged the physician Bonet de Lates, who had access to the Pope and care of "the person of his Holiness," to win over Leo X., so that the trial should not take place in Cologne or its vicinity, where his cause would be lost. Reuchlin laid all the circumstances before him,

how Pfefferkorn and the Cologne Dominicans had conspired against the Jews and the Talmud, and how only his extraordinary efforts had saved the Talmud from destruction. Had the letter only come into the hands of the Dominicans, and had they been able to read it, they could have brought forward incontestable proof of Reuchlin's friendliness towards the Jews, for in it he wrote much that at other times he publicly denied.

It is likely that Bonet de Lates brought all his influence to bear on the Pope in favour of Reuchlin. And it was probably owing to his zeal that Leo so soon (Nov. 21st, 1513) issued instructions to the Bishops of Speyer and Worms on this controversy between Reuchlin and Hoogstraten. Leo ordered that they be examined separately or together, by the Bishops or by appointed judges, and without the intervention of any other tribunal to pronounce judgment, which the conquered party must accept without appeal. The Bishop of Worms, a Dahlberg, with whom Reuchlin was on friendly terms, could not take the commission. So the young Bishop of Speyer, George, Elector of the Palatinate and Duke of Bavaria, appointed two judges, who summoned both parties to appear within a month before the tribunal in Speyer. Reuchlin came punctually, accompanied by a Procurator and another friend. Hoogstraten, on the other hand, did not present himself, trusting to the power of the Dominicans, nor did he send any competent representative. The judges commenced the suit, not with becoming energy, but with a certain half-heartedness, perhaps from fear of the revenge of the Dominicans. The trial was therefore spun out over three months (January to April, 1514).

Only when Reuchlin had written two German papers on the progress of the whole proceedings, did the Bishop deign to notice the matter so far as to pass judgment, and then gave it in favour of

Reuchlin. He stated that the "Augenspiegel" contained neither heresy nor erroneous views, and had no inkling of them, that it did not unduly favour the Jews, therefore Hoogstraten had slandered the author, and silence should be imposed on him in this matter; that the writings might be read and printed by everyone, and that Hoogstraten should be charged with the costs (111 Rheinisch gold florins).

The Dominicans of Cologne gnashed their teeth, and stormed and raged at the issue of the suit, and used every effort to overthrow the judgment of the Apostolic Court. At that time, on account of the disunion in Germany, it was very difficult to put into execution a judicial decree, and the Dominicans were not inclined to lessen the difficulty when the sentence was given against themselves. They laughed at the Bishop of Speyer, as being only a stupid youth. The notice of the judgment was torn down by the bold Pfefferkorn in Cologne. Hoogstraten had unofficially—that is to say, without giving notice to the Bishop of Speyer, then acting as apostolic judge—appealed to the Pope, although such an appeal had been before rejected. His hope in winning the suit against Reuchlin and securing the condemnation of the "Augenspiegel" was founded on the vengality of the Vatican. "Rome will do anything for money," he often said; "Reuchlin is poor and the Dominicans are rich, therefore justice can be suppressed by money." Hoogstraten could also count on the goodwill of the Cardinals, who inveighed against free knowledge; and at any rate the suit would last so long before the sentence could be carried into effect that Reuchlin's means would not suffice to meet the costs. Besides this, the Dominicans relied on the belief that the Universities, in particular the leading one of Paris, would favour the condemnation of the "Augenspiegel," and so procure its suppression.

from the Pope. All Dominicans, Thomists and Obscurantists, both in and outside of Germany, made common cause to work the downfall of Reuchlin.

This union of the Dominican party had the effect of binding together the friends of free knowledge, the enemies of scholasticism, bigotry and church doctrine—in one word, the Humanists—and inducing them to take one simultaneous action. They formed themselves into a society of Humanists, a Reuchlinist party, in Western Europe, the members of which silently worked for one another and for Reuchlin: "one supported the other, and said to his comrade, Be brave. All we who belong to the ranks of learning are none the less devoted to Reuchlin than are soldiers to the emperor." It was a formal alliance which the supporters of Reuchlin all loyally adhered to. So in consequence of Pfefferkorn's bitter hostility to the Jews and the Talmud, two parties were formed in Christendom, the Reuchlinists and Arnoldists, who waged fierce conflict with each other. It was a struggle of the dark Middle Ages against the approaching dawn of a better time.

Young Germany was working with all its might on behalf of Reuchlin and against the bigots: besides Hermann von Busche, Crotus Rubianus (Johann Jäger) there was the fiery Ulrich von Hutten, one of the most active and energetic men of the time. Certainly Hutten's energy, through the painful feud between Reuchlin and the Dominicans, was now first directed into its right channel. Formerly he only made play with empty air, his knightly courage and fiery genius having only phantom adversaries. Now, for the first time, the youth of six-and-twenty raised his eyes, and saw a real enemy, to meet whom with his knight's sword and the still sharper weapon of his intellect, in a life and death struggle, would be a praiseworthy and glorious undertaking. To destroy the Dominicans,

the priests and bigots, and to support the kingdom of intellect and free thought, to deliver Germany from the nightmare of ecclesiastical creeds and barbarism, and raise it from its abjectness and make it the arbiter of Europe seemed to him an aim which he might well strive to reach. As soon as Hutten was clearly conscious of this, he worked ceaselessly towards his object, and next to Reuchlin, who was the leader in the struggle for humanism, fought for victory over their mortal foes. A Cardinal, Egidio de Viterbo, who delighted in the Hebrew language and in the Kabbala, openly sided with Reuchlin. He wrote a letter to him in curious terms: "The doctrine (Torah) revealed in fire to man, was saved from fire for the first time when Abraham escaped the burning furnace, and now for the second time, when Reuchlin escaped the fire, and the writings are saved from which the Law received light, for had they been destroyed, eternal darkness would have again set in. So while we are exerting ourselves for your cause we are not defending you, but the Law, not the Talmud, but the Church." It is remarkable that the whole Franciscan order, too, took up Reuchlin's cause from hatred of the Dominicans.

There were in almost every town Reuchlinists and Anti-Reuchlinists, whose mutual hatred brought them at times to blows. The motto of one was "Rescue of the 'Augenspiegel'" and "Preservation of the Talmud," and the other "Damnation and destruction to both." Involuntarily the Reuchlinists also became friends of the Jews, and sought for grounds on which to defend them. The adherents of the Dominicans became fiercer enemies to the Jews, and searched in unknown books to prove the wickedness of their foe.

The report of this contest spread throughout Europe. At first it was limited to Germany, but the controversy soon reached both Rome and

Paris. Hoogstraten and the Dominicans worked with energy to overthrow the judgment of Speyer, both in the German universities and at the Papal See, and to have Reuchlin's writings sentenced to the flames. They had in both places powerful and influential allies, who devotedly and zealously worked for their party.

Reuchlin, although his suit had been lawfully won by the Apostolic judgment in Speyer, was also forced to take steps so that the appeal instituted by the intrigues of his enemies should have no effect. And it so happened that his friends influenced the Pope. Leo X. appointed the Cardinal and Patriarch Dominico Grimani as judge of the inquiry. It was well known that this ecclesiastical prince favoured the Rabbinical literature, and, as patron of the Franciscan order, hated the Dominicans and took the side of Reuchlin. Without doubt there were important allies among Jewish literati working for Reuchlin in Rome, but, like the German Jews, they had the good sense to keep in the background and they did not step forward openly into the controversy, so as to let their advocacy appear, and thus endanger the cause of the Jews. Cardinal Grimani issued (June, 1514) a summons to both parties, but in consideration of Reuchlin's advancing years permitted him to send a representative, while Hoogstraten had to appear himself. Furnished with recommendations and a well-filled purse, the Inquisitor appeared in Rome with undiminished confidence of obtaining a victory. What could not be obtained in Rome for money?

Reuchlin had nothing of the kind to offer: he was poor. He had not the magic wand which commands the gold of bigoted women, nor the sorcery of a father confessor who is an apt treasure-digger. But the recommendations of his friends and well-wishers could not fail. The Emperor Maximilian, the originator of all this disturbance, who lent an

ear to Pfefferkorn's stupidities and the hysterical piety of his sister, only to regret his foolishness later on, often interceded with the Pope for Reuchlin. The emperor wrote that he believed the Cologne people wished to prolong the controversy illegally and through intrigue, and to crush the excellent and inoffensive, learned, and orthodox Reuchlin. "That which he wrote (in favour of the Hebrew Scriptures) had been written by the emperor's express command, with a good object, and for the benefit of Christendom."

But the Dominicans defied public opinion, the Commission and the Pope. They spoke of the Pope as a school-boy who trembled before their rod. If he did not give a decision in their favour, they threatened to withdraw their allegiance, desert him, and even risk a rupture with the Church. They went so far as to threaten that in case Reuchlin should prove victorious, they would ally themselves with the Hussites in Bohemia against the Pope. So blinded was this faction by revengeful feelings, that from sheer obstinacy they would undermine Catholicism. Nor did they spare the majesty of the emperor, but, when they learned that Maximilian had interceded for Reuchlin with the Pope, they heaped abuse on him.

The Dominicans built their hopes on the verdict of Paris, the head of all European universities. If this important school of divinity condemned Reuchlin's writings and the Talmud, then even the Pope would have to submit. Every influence was therefore brought to bear, in order to obtain a favourable opinion from Paris. In particular, the King of France, Louis XII., was worked on by his confessor, Guillaume Haquinet Petit, to influence the divinity school in favour of the Dominicans. The politics which set the German emperor and the French king at variance were also brought into play. Because the Emperor of Germany was for

Reuchlin, the King of France decided for the Dominicans and against the Talmud. But this decision was not easily obtained, for Reuchlin numbered many warm friends in Paris. Therefore the consultation was prolonged from May to the beginning of August, 1514.

Many of the voters were partly in favour of Reuchlin and partly indignant with the unlawfulness of the proceedings; but they were cried down by the fanatics, and could not get in a word. Many French divines cited for example how Saint Louis, at the instigation of the baptised Jew, Nicholas Donin, and by command of the Pope, Gregory IX., had ordered the Talmud to be burnt three centuries ago. With this example before them, the Parisian doctors gave sentence that Reuchlin's "*Augenspiegel*" contained heresy, that it defended with great zeal the Talmudic writings, and that it should be condemned to the flames, and the author be forced to recant.

Great was the joy of the Dominicans, particularly those of Cologne, over this judgment. They believed their game to be won, and that the Pope himself would be forced to submit. They did not delay in making known to the public this concession, so hardly won, by means of another libellous letter.

The lawsuit so prolonged in Rome was still more wilfully delayed by the Dominicans. The commission appointed had another literal translation of the "*Augenspiegel*" prepared by a German in Rome, Martin von Grönigen; but with this also the opposition found fault. Through numerous hindrances, the suit did not progress, and at the outset had already cost Reuchlin 400 gold florins. The Dominicans calculated that their adversaries, the friends of the Jews, would be incapacitated through poverty from pursuing justice. The prospect of seeing Reuchlin's cause triumphant at Rome

diminished. Reuchlin's friends therefore considered whether they should get another tribunal to work on this controversy, and appeal from the badly advised or intimidated Pope to public opinion.

During this tension of minds in small and great circles, whilst high and low ecclesiastics, princes and citizens, anxiously awaited news as to how the Reuchlin lawsuit would end, or would be allowed to end in Rome, a young Humanist (most likely Crotus Rubianus, in Leipzig), wrote a series of letters, which for wit, humour and biting satire, could not be equalled in literature. The "Letters of Obscurantists" (*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*), published in the year 1515, which were in a great measure directed against the rascally Ortuin Gratus, were couched in the language of the unpolished monks. They laid bare their mean intentions and insolence, their astonishing ignorance, their lust, their animosity and vileness, their despicable Latin, and still more contemptible morality, the absurdity of their logic, their foolish chatter—in short, all their intolerable vices were made so evident, and described so simply, that even the half-educated could comprehend. All Reuchlin's enemies, Hoogstraten, Arnold von Tongern, Ortuin Gratus, Pfefferkorn, their accomplices at the Paris University, were lashed with whips and scorpions, so that no spot on them remained untouched. This clever satire, which contained more than Aristophanian scorn, worked so drastically that the Dominicans, the Thomists, the Doctors of Divinity, showed themselves as they were, in their miserable meanness—in fact, it placed them metaphorically in the pillory. It was inevitable that by this derision of the bigots and of the Papacy, the whole tyranny of the Hierarchy and the Church would be laid bare. Were not, then, the Dominicans, with their insolent ignorance and vicious tendencies merely the product and natural effect of the Catholic

order and institution. The satire worked with such corroding bitterness as to entirely destroy the already rotting body of the Catholic Church.

The Jews and the Talmud were the first cause of the Reuchlinist quarrel; now came the Bigot's letters; if such things were permitted to continue, the much-despised Jews would become the most important subjects of the time.

Great merriment was aroused through Western Europe at the reading of these satirical letters. Everyone who understood Latin in Germany, Italy, France and England, was struck [with the form and tenour of these confessions of the Dominicans and scholastics. Their awkward vulgarity, dense stupidity, egregious folly, impurity of word and disposition, stood so glaringly in contrast with their presumed learning and propriety, and suggested such ridiculous things, that the most serious men were moved to mirth. It is related that Erasmus, who at the time of reading the letters, suffered from an abscess in the throat, laughed so heartily that it at once broke, and he was cured. The merry Comedy of the Fools brought the laugh entirely on Reuchlin's side, and the Dominicans were prepared by this public opinion for the way in which the Pope's judgment would be given. All were curious to know who could be the author. Some thought it was Reuchlin himself, others Erasmus, Hutten, or one of the Humanist party. Hutten gave the right answer to the question as to the author: "It is God himself." It showed indeed more and more how such a slight cause as the burning of the Talmud, had taken a world-wide significance, in which the will of one had to a certain extent gone to further the interests of all. In Rome and Cologne, far-seeing Reuchlinists discerned in it the work of Providence.

Only the German Jews could not indulge in this merriment. The Dominicans had meantime

worked in another way to obtain their object, or at least to have revenge on the Jews. What did it matter to them, that some enlightened Christians attentively examined Judaism and were seized with such a predilection for it, that they gave expression to their new convictions in writing! Christendom in its entirety was for once united against the Jewish teachers and their adherents. Erasmus said rightly at that time, "If it is Christianlike to hate the Jews, then we are true Christians." Therefore it was easy for their enemies to injure them. Pfefferkorn had often hinted that there were still in Germany three great Jewish communities, at Ratisbon, Frankfort and Worms, and with the extermination of them, Judaism in the German kingdom would come to an end.

To effect the expulsion of the Jews from Frankfort and Worms, their enemies sought to find effective means. The young Margrave, Albert von Brandenburg, formerly Bishop of Magdeburg, who later attained such melancholy renown in the history of the Reformation, had been elected to the Archbishopric of Mayence. The enemies of the Jews, probably on a suggestion from Cologne, induced the Archbishop Albert to issue an invitation to the religious and secular authorities and to the towns, principally those of Frankfort and Worms, to attend a diet in Frankfort, which should discuss how the Jews should be banished and never be permitted to return. At this intimation (January 7th, 1516), many deputies appeared. The programme was to this purport: That all collective bodies should unite and take an oath to deprive the Jews of their privileges and advantages, to banish all Jewish subjects and never, under any pretext, or for any term, permit them to return. This resolution was to be laid before the emperor for his confirmation.

The Jews of these places saw certain danger hanging over their heads. If at other times the

German princes and rulers were disunited and indolent, in the persecution of the Jews they were always united and energetic. Nothing remained for the Jews but to send a deputation to the Emperor Maximilian, and implore him to grant them his favour and to support them against such a malevolent measure. The emperor happily remembered that the Jews, even when ruled by various great or petty rulers, were in reality the servants of himself and the empire, and that their banishment would be an encroachment on his suzerainty. Maximilian hastened therefore to send a very forcible despatch to the Elector Albert and the chapter of Mayence, to the collective religious and secular authorities of the town (January, 1516), expressing his displeasure at their conference, and forbidding them to meet again at the appointed time. So the Jews were for the moment saved. The Archbishop of Mayence, and in his absence the chapter, gave up the pursuit of their object. But the enemies of the Jews, the friends of the Cologne Dominicans, still hoped to turn the emperor against them. But the hope was vain, the Jews were not to be banished for the present.

Meanwhile Reuchlin's lawsuit, with its main object the defence of the Talmud, although delayed by the struggles of the two parties, whose time was taken up in plotting against and defeating the intrigues of the other, made slow but perceptible progress. Hoogstraten, seeing that the Court would decide in favour of Reuchlin, vehemently demanded a decision by council, who would treat this not as a question of law, but as one of faith. Pope Leo, who desired to oblige every one, had, in opposition to his own repeated desire, to take part in it. On the one side were the Emperor Maximilian and many German princes who wished to declare Reuchlin blameless and shut the mouths of the Dominicans; and on the other side was

the King of France and the young Charles (at that time Duke of Burgundy), the future Emperor of Germany, King of Spain and America. These used threatening language towards the Pope, declared that the matter must be taken up seriously, and that Reuchlin's book must be at last condemned. Leo therefore considered it advisable to free himself from this critical position. He gave over the judgment to a court of inquiry, formed of members of the Lateran Council, at that time in the dawn of its greatness. Thus the dispute about the Talmud was raised to the importance of being discussed before a general Council and there became of wide interest, and almost a European question.

As the Commission had declared in favour of Reuchlin, Hoogstraten and his friends endeavoured to obtain a mandate from Leo X. suspending the suit. This resource exactly suited Leo's character and his position between the excited rival parties. He hated agitation, which he would have brought on himself if he had decided in favour of either party. He did not wish to offend the Humanists, nor yet the bigots, nor the German Emperor, nor the King of France and Regent of Spain; so the suit was suspended, and could at any favourable opportunity be taken up again by the Dominicans. Hoogstraten had to leave Rome in disgrace and dishonour, but he did not give up the hope of winning his cause in the end. He was a strong willed man, who could not be bent with humiliation: he was also so unprincipled that falsehood and misrepresentation were of no moment to him.

If Pope Leo believed that at his dictation the conflict would cease, he over-estimated the authority of the Papacy, and mistook the parties, as well as the innermost cause of the dispute. Their passions were too much inflamed for them to be quieted by a word from those above them. Neither party wished for peace, but for war, and war to the

knife. When Hoogstraten returned from Rome his life was in danger. Furious Reuchlinists often conspired against him, and sought by polemical leaflets to exasperate public opinion still more against the Dominicans. Hutten, since he had taken in the situation at Rome at a glance, was the most eager to bring about the downfall of the ecclesiastical domination in Germany.

The secret could be no longer kept, but it was given out from the house-tops that there was dissension in the Church. It was not their foes, but the head of the Dominican order, Eberhard von Cleve, and the whole chapter who represented in an official letter to the Pope that the controversy brought them, the Dominicans, into hatred and contempt, that they were held up to the mockery of all and that they—so very undeservedly!—were decried, both by speech and writings, as the enemies of brotherly love, peace and unanimity: that their preaching was despised, their confessional avoided, and that everything they undertook was derided and declared to be only the result of pride and meanness.

Meanwhile the contention between Reuchlin and the Dominicans, especially Hoogstraten, proceeded in another direction, and affected the Jews in a different way. The Kabbala was really the hidden motive of this movement. Out of love for this secret doctrine, which offered the key to the deepest knowledge of philosophy and Christianity, Reuchlin had wished to spare the Talmud, because in his opinion it contained mystical elements. The youthful Kabbala became the patron of the old Talmud. Reuchlin understood but little of the Kabbalistic doctrines, and his anxiety and zeal gave him little opportunity for study. But the attack by his adversaries upon his orthodoxy, honesty and erudition, had made it an affair of honour for him to prove that the Kabbala fundamentally agreed with

Christianity. But he had the misfortune to fall into bad hands in his Hebrew studies. For a long time he sought for a guide, until chance brought him to a most confused source of information; the foolish writings of the Kabbalist, Joseph Jikatilla of Castile, which the baptized Paul Ricio had lately translated into Latin. As soon as Reuchlin heard of this literary treasure of Joseph Jikatilla, he did not rest till he had obtained it, and again set about proving that the Kabbala was in accordance with Christianity.

In consequence of the truth which he discovered, that the Kabbala openly ratified and conformed to the highest perception of the mysteries of Christianity, Reuchlin finished a work on Kabbalist science and dedicated it to Pope Leo X., so that the Jewish writings, instead of being burnt, should be preserved, thus bringing additional evidence on his side of the controversy.

Reuchlin must have counted on the approval of the Pope, to whom he dedicated the work, for new support from another side to the tottering faith. He hoped that Leo X. would at length pronounce judgment on the strife between himself and the Dominicans, who though discomfited, would still fight hard for their cause, and that peace and rest would finally be his. The Christianlike Kabbala would be his intercessor at the Vatican. Indeed, at that time he did not stand alone in his scheming for the secret doctrine. Not only the cardinals but the Pope himself expected much from gaining the Kabbala for Christianity.

As the interest in the Reuchlin controversy began to flag, another movement started in Germany, the one continuing what the other had begun; and this was destined to shake the firmest pillars of the Papacy and the Catholic Church, and prepare Europe for a new religion. The long slumbering reformation of Luther, springing originally from the

strife which revolved round the Talmud, had found an impetus without which it could neither have started nor progressed. But the reform movement, which in a short time became a universal power, rose from the smallest beginning, and needed the most powerful protection not to be nipped in the bud. Martin Luther, of a strong, straightforward, obstinate and passionately excitable nature, who held with tenacity to his own convictions and errors, gave it this protection: Luther gradually deduced the conclusions that the existing Pope, and still further the Papacy, was not wholly infallible, and that the basis of faith was not the Pope's will, but the written Word.

The death of the old Emperor Maximilian, over whose head the theological discussion which he had commenced had gradually grown, and the choice of a new emperor, which was spun out for half a year, drew politics into the arena, and gave rise to a confusion in which the friends and foes of free religious thought and gloomy orthodox faith were no longer to be distinguished. Hutten and the Humanists were for the election of Charles V., in whose own country, Spain, the Dominicans had still the upper hand, and where the flames from the stake were still unextinguished; but this was opposed by the Pope, the Reuchlinists and Lutherans, and in a certain measure the Talmud and the Reformation were also mixed up in the disputes. So far did it go that the electors at the time of the nomination declared against the Obscurantists of Cologne and in favour of Reuchlin.

Instead of suppressing the Talmud, Pope Leo X. encouraged the printing of the work. Thus through a movement incomprehensible to all contemporaries, the most unexpected event took place: Reuchlin was justified, and the Talmud was justified, and in a certain measure favoured by the Pope. Indeed, Daniel Bomberg, a rich Christian publisher

in Antwerp, in the same year brought out a complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud in twelve folio volumes, the forerunner of a collective later edition. All this was a severe shock to the Dominicans.

The clever comedy which first appeared in Latin or French, was soon translated into German, and portrayed Reuchlin as the originator of the great and perpetually increasing movement. It represented a doctor on whose back might be read the name of Capnion (Reuchlin) stepping forward to throw down on the stage a bundle of straight and crooked sticks, and then going away. Another figure (Erasmus), having in vain endeavoured to regulate the bundle and put it in order, shook his head over the chaos and disappeared, and Hutten also came in. Luther appeared in monk's dress, and with a firebrand kindled the bent rods. Another figure, adorned as an emperor, struck with his sword the increasing fire, and by so doing only gave it wider play. At length came the Pope who, wishing to extinguish the fire, seized a vessel and poured its contents, namely oil, upon the flames, then clasped his hands on his head, while the bright flames shot up never again to be stifled: Pfefferkorn and the Talmud should not have been missing in this dumb show, for they had originally started the conflagration.

The situation was such that the slightest breath fanned the disturbance. Luther had gained firmness and courage at the Imperial Diet of Worms, or by some word had betrayed himself, and completed the rupture with the Papacy. Although the Emperor Charles, urged by his own bigotry, and besieged by Obscurantists and exhorted by princes, was disposed to condemn the Reformer to the stake as a heretic, yet with political foresight, and hoping to get the Pope into his power, only declared him an exile a month later.

Meanwhile Luther was already on his Patmos, the Wartburg, hidden away. Whilst in solitude he worked at a German translation of the Bible, the ultra-Reformers and others overthrew the Church orders, altered the Church services, did away with masses and priestly decoration, abolished the vows of monks, and introduced the marriage of priests—that is to say, the priests publicly brought forward their former secret mistresses as their wives. The time was ripe for the Reformation, and it took firm hold of North Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, extending to Prussia, Poland, and, on the other hand, to France and even Spain, the country of the darkest and most bigoted ecclesiasticism and the home of persecution. Zwingli, the Reformer of Switzerland, after much wavering, declared himself against Papistry, and endeavoured in his own country—where there was more freedom of action than in submissive Germany—to introduce the new Church service, sanctify the marriage of priests, destroy pictures and crucifixes, and do away with monasteries. A new order of things had set in; all-powerful Rome had gone down before the new doctrine. The enthusiasm of the Anabaptists began to arouse the public feeling, and transform all relations of life.

The beginning of Luther's Reformation affected the Jews but slightly. It happened that the Catholics and Innovators in every town, especially in Germany, were so occupied with fighting each other, that they had no leisure for the persecution of the Jews; so there came a pause. Luther, whose voice was already more powerful than that of the princes, took upon himself at first to defend them from the numerous accusations adduced. In his plain-spoken and fervent way, he expressed himself in this manner:

"This rage (against the Jews) is still defended by some silly theologians, who speak angrily of them, and declare insolently that the

Jews are the servants of the Christians, and subject to the emperor. I beg you therefore to tell me who will join our religion, even if he be the most amiable and patient of men, when he sees that it is so cruel and malevolent, and not only un-Christian, but that it makes us more than brutal? Most of the Passion preachers (in Holy Week) do nothing else but make the sin committed by Jews against Christ heavier and greater, and embitter the hearts of the Believers against them."

In his own work, the title of which, chosen to startle their antagonists, ran, "Jesus was born a Jew," Luther expressed himself against the indelible hatred of the Jews thus:

"Those fools, the Papists, bishops, sophists, monks, have formerly so dealt with Jews, that every good Christian would have rather been a Jew. And if I had been a Jew, and seen such stupidity and such blockheads reign in the Christian Church, I would rather be a pig than a Christian. They have treated the Jews as if they were dogs, not men, and as if they were fit for nothing but to be reviled. They are blood-relations of our Lord; therefore if we respect flesh and blood, the Jews belong to Christ more than we. I beg therefore my dear Papists, if you become tired of abusing me as a heretic, that you begin to revile me as a Jew.

"Therefore it is my advice," continued Luther, "that we should treat them kindly; but now we drive them by force, treating them deceitfully and ignominiously, saying they must have Christian blood to wash away the Jewish stain, and I know not what more nonsense. Also we prohibit them from working amongst us, from living and having social intercourse with us, forcing them, if they would remain with us, to be usurers. If we would help them, so must we exercise, not the law of the Pope, but that of Christian love—show them a friendly spirit, permit them to live and to work, so that they may have cause and means to remain with us and amongst us."

These were words which the Jews had not heard for a thousand years. This was very different to Reuchlin's mild intercession. Many hot-headed Jews saw in Luther's opposition to Papistry the extinction of Christianity and triumph of Judaism. Three learned Jews went to Luther, and tried to convert him. Enthusiastic feelings were aroused among the Jews at this unexpected revulsion, and especially at the blow dealt to Papistry and the idolatrous worship of images and relics; the boldest hopes were entertained of the speedy downfall of Rome, and the approaching redemption by the Messiah.

But the Jewish religion gained much more than

the Jewish race by the Reformation. Despised before, it now came into fashion for the first time through the Reformation. Reuchlin had only expressed the modest wish that at the few German universities a professor of the Hebrew language might be appointed. Through his zeal for Hebrew (he had also published a work on the Hebrew accents and prosody), and through the increasing conviction that without this knowledge the Bible must remain a sealed book, princes and universities sought for teachers themselves, and appointed Hebrew professorships not only in Germany and Italy but also in France and Poland. The light, graceful, and classic muse which had withdrawn many hearts from the Church, was yet more neglected, and the serious Hebrew mother was sought out instead. Young and old desired to flock round the Jews from whom they could learn Hebrew. A friendly connection was formed between Jewish masters and Christian pupils, to the intense anger of the bigots on both sides; but many prejudices died out by these means. The principal teacher of the Christians was a grammarian of German descent, Elias Levita (born 1468, died 1549). This poor man, who had to struggle for his daily bread, considered the Hebrew language as the foundation of all knowledge. The plundering of Padua—where he was perhaps born—brought him through Venice to Rome, where the Cardinal, Egidio de Viterbo, wishing to profit by his grammatical and Kabbalistic studies, took him into the house, where he lived with him and his family for more than ten years. Not only this Church dignitary, but many other Christians of high position sat at Levita's feet. One was George de Selve, Bishop of Lavour, the French ambassador, who was as learned as he was statesmanlike. Against the reproach which some bigoted Rabbis cast at him on this account, Levita defended himself by

the remark that his Christian pupils thereby became friends of the Jews, and tried to promote their welfare. On the inducement of his patron, Egidio, he worked at a Hebrew grammar in the Hebrew language, the greater part of which was translated into Latin by Reuchlin's pupil, Sebastian Munster. Elias Levita had not a mind of any great depth, nor did he propound any new theory on the structure of the Hebrew language. He rigorously adhered to the grammatical system of the Kimchis, because he did not know their predecessors. His usefulness consisted in having the whole Scriptural vocabulary at his command, and in possessing dexterity in learning and the power of making it intelligible. Beyond the elements he certainly did not go, but this perfectly satisfied the wants of the time. Only one deviation did Levita make from the beaten track. Against the firm belief of the time that the original Hebrew Bible was revealed on Mount Sinai with the oral signs and accents, he asserted, as his conviction, that these were not known even at the time of the Talmud, because they were superfluous when Hebrew was a living language. It can easily be imagined what a storm this opinion raised against him. It upset at once all preconceived notions. The bigots raised a cry against him that he had by his assertion disowned Judaism. Elias Levita was, therefore, little liked by his brother Jews, and associated more with the learned Christians, which brought on him much blame from the over-pious, and also produced evil consequences for his successors.

However, he was not the only teacher of the Hebrew language and literature to Christians. As before him, Obadyah Sforno had given Reuchlin instruction in Hebrew, so at the same time as Levita, Jacob Mantino and Abraham de Balmes were also engaged in instructing Christians.

There was throughout Christendom a desire to

know the Hebrew language. The printers reckoned on such a good sale that in most places in Italy and Germany new and old Hebrew grammatical writings were published, even in places where there were no Jews. Everyone wished to know Hebrew and to understand the Hebrew language and literature. Some years before the representatives of the Church had considered the knowledge of Hebrew superfluous, or as a pernicious evil touching on heresy: but through the Reformation it became a necessary branch of divinity. Luther himself learnt Hebrew with the intention of becoming familiar with the Bible.

The most remarkable effect of this revolution was exercised on French thought. The leading Paris university had by a majority condemned Reuchlin's "*Augenspiegel*" in favour of the Talmud and Hebrew studies: scarcely six years later there was a professorship and printing-press for Hebrew, and even the confessor of King Louis, William Haquinet Petit, though a Dominican, whose slander brought about the condemnation of Reuchlin's writings, stepped forward as a patron of Hebrew literature.

At his advice King Francis I. permitted the Bishop of Corsica, Augustin Justiniani, a man well read in Hebrew literature, to come to France. This young king, unlike his predecessors, felt, or at least showed interest in educational matters, and also in the study of Hebrew. He invited Elias Levita to France and to accept the professorship of Hebrew there at the instigation of his admirer, De Selve. One must take into consideration what this signified at that time. In France proper for more than a century no Jew had been permitted to dwell nor even to make a passing stay, and now a Jew was invited, not merely to reside, but to accept an honourable post and to instruct Christians. What a change! Elias Levita, however declined this flattering proposal; he would not have felt at ease there as

the only Jew, and to urge the admission of Jews into France was beyond his powers. Justiniani, therefore, undertook the task of facilitating the study of Hebrew in France.

At the University of Rheims the French students commenced to murder Hebrew. As there were not sufficient grammars, Justiniani had the bad Hebrew grammar of Moses Kimchi reprinted. Yet more remarkable is it that in Paris, where three hundred years previously the Jewish orthodox party, with the help of the Dominicans, had burnt Maimuni's religious philosophical work, entitled "Guide to the Perplexed," the Dominican Justiniani now caused a Latin translation of the same to be published (1520). Naturally the Christian teachers of the Hebrew language remained dependent on their Jewish masters: they could not take a single step without them. Paulus Fagius, a reforming priest and pupil of Reuchlin, wishing to have a Hebrew publisher in Isnia, appointed Elias Levita. This offer was accepted, for Levita was in difficulties and could find no publisher for his Chaldean and Rabbinical dictionary. Paulus Fagius was much pleased with this work, because it appeared to him to offer the key to the Kabbala, so much sought for by Christian scholars.

With the agitation of Reuchlin and Luther in a certain measure came the knowledge of the Bible. Judaism and Christianity are both founded on the sacred Writings, which were yet quite strange to the followers of both religions. The glorious memorial of a much favoured time was so shrouded, and surrounded with a network of senseless explanation, so disfigured by these accessories, that its full value was completely unknown. Everything in the Holy Scriptures was so perverted that the true meaning could not be discovered. To the Christian laity the Bible had been inaccessible for a long time, because the Papacy, with an instinctive fear, had

forbidden its translation into the national language. So the faithful could only get fragments or isolated texts, and these not always correctly, owing to distorted transcriptions. Even the clergy were not deeply acquainted therewith, for they were only acquainted with the Roman Catholic Latin Bible, and in this the fundamental thoughts of Biblical truth were confused by perversions and errors. It was, therefore, a work of great importance that occupied Luther in his solitude on the Wartburg—the translation of the Bible, the Old and New Testament, into German. Luther, for this purpose, had to know Hebrew, and to seek information from Jews. It was as if God's Word was for the first time revealed to the living: as if they had not yet heard the still small voice. Fresh air seemed to come to men as the ramparts were broken down, and they received the spiritual life which they had been so long denied. Classical antiquity had improved the taste of a small circle. Hebrew antiquity, on the contrary, rejuvenated the whole generation, bringing again to their minds simplicity and unaffectedness in the relations of life. The Bible was soon translated into all European languages, and the Catholics themselves were obliged, and by the Papal command exhorted to render it into intelligible language for the people's use. The Jews also felt the want of the Holy Scripture in the vernacular. A translation into Spanish was made at Duarte de Pinel, in Ferrara, by a Marrano, who had escaped from Portugal, named Abraham Usque, as he called himself, a Jew.

The demand for Hebrew Bibles was so great that Daniel Bomberg undertook the great work of publishing the Old Testament, with the commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Gersonides and others. The sale of this Rabbinical Bible was so great that new editions were continually appearing.

CHAPTER XV.

THE KABBALA AND MESSIANIC FANATICISM. THE MARRANOS AND THE INQUISITION.

Internal Condition of Judaism—Division in the Communities—The lack of interest in Poetry—Historical Studies—Leon Medigo's "Dialogues of Love"—Supremacy of the Kabbala—Messianic hopes—The Marranos and the Inquisition—Henrique Nunes—The Traveller David Reubeni in Rome—Solomon Molcho—His relations with David Reubeni—Joseph Karo and his "Maggid"—Clement VII.—Molcho in Ancona and Rome—His favour with the Cardinals—Death of Molcho—The enthusiastic regard in which he was held—Duarte de Paz—Paul III.—Charles V. and the Jews—Emanuel da Costa.

1500—1538 C.E.

It is astonishing, and yet not astonishing, that the surging movement, the convulsive heaving that shook the Christian world from pole to pole in the first quarter of the sixteenth century scarcely touched the Jews at heart. Whilst among the Christians a radical change took place, in thought, customs, studies, and even in language itself; whilst their ancient customs and usages were rejected or put aside in some places, and in others were freshened up and renovated; in one word, whilst a new era was started, everything remained unchanged with the Jews. On account of their having no "Middle Ages," they needed no new epoch to begin for them. They needed no regeneration, they had no immoral course of life to redress, no cankering corruption to cure, no dam to raise against the insolence and rapacity of their spiritual guides. They had not so much rubbish to clear away. It must

not, however, be imagined that within the pale of Judaism all was bright. The refining and civilizing thoughts of Judaism had not yet gained the upper hand. The people were wanting in an under-current of religion, and the ecclesiastics in clearness of mind. Reliance on good works and scholastic sophistry was also prevalent among the Jews. In the service of God spirituality was missing, and honesty in the business of life. The rites of the synagogue, which held firmly to all that had been received from olden time, became filled with unintelligible elements, so that on the whole it had acquired an unattractive character. Preachers both in German congregations and distant colonies gave the most excellent Talmudical discourses, which were utterly unintelligible to the people, especially to the women, and therefore left them cold and uninterested. The Spanish and Portuguese preachers spoke in the beautiful language of their country, but their sermons were so full of pedantry that they were not more easily understood by the laity.

The breaking up of the community was also a misfortune. The persecution of the Jews in the large towns of Italy and Turkey had checked emigration from the Pyrenees and from Germany, and the fugitives, unable to unite themselves with the old race, became still more separated from each other. There were therefore in many towns, not merely Italian, Roman (Greek), Spanish, Portuguese, German, and now and again, Moorish (African) communities, but almost as many as there were provinces and towns in each country. There was, for example, in Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonica, Arta (Larta) in Greece, and many other towns, a large variety of congregations, in which each had his own chief synagogue, Rabbis, schools, charities, and his own prejudices and special jealousies. Among such divisions nothing for the

public benefit or universal good could be accomplished. The spiritual leaders, although generally moral, and, as a rule, inwardly and fervently religious, humbled themselves before the rich members of their congregation, overlooking insolence and misconduct without daring to reprove them.

Worse still than this split in the whole community was the want of strength, the narrow-mindedness, and, so to speak, the humility or self-abasement, not merely among German Jews, but among the Sephardic exiles. Only when it was necessary to die for the faith of their fathers did they show themselves heroic and full of courage; at other times their activity was expended on small things. No new course was taken, not even in sight of the daily changes of the Christian world. Those who maintained themselves on the heights of wisdom kept to the beaten track and went no farther. The ruling idea was to elucidate the old books and the ancients, and to write commentaries, even commentary on commentary. The Talmudists explained the Talmud and the philosophical enquirers Maimuni's "Guide." Higher flight and greater spiritual insight was not possible. No sound of real poetry came from the lips of those who had been nourished on it, not even a thrilling song of lamentation which might have had the power of alleviating pain. The only circumstance testifying to change of position and of the times was an interest in historical research, and that was almost entirely confined to the Jews of Pyrenean descent. The endless suffering which they had endured, they wished to spare to future generations. The present misery brought before them the horrors of past ages, and showed them that the history of the Jewish race was one long course of painful martyrdom.

Otherwise there was nothing new at this period. The open path of philosophical enquiry was

not favoured. Isaac Abrabanel, the transmitter of old Spanish Hebrew tradition, found in Maimuni's philosophical writings many heresies opposed to Judaism, and he condemned the free-thinking commentators who even went beyond their original. A Portuguese fugitive, Joseph Jabez, laid on philosophy the blame of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal. That was the sin which had led Israel astray, so thereon must the greatest restriction be laid.

A new train of thought came with the philosophical writings of the intellectual Leon Abrabanel or Medigo, who while giving the title of "*Dialogues of Love*" (*Dialoghi d'amore*) to his work, explains to the reader that it has nothing to do with the insipidity of commonplace philosophy. No one could show better the elasticity of the Jewish mind than this young scion of the noble ancient family of Abrabanel. Torn from a comfortable home, thrown into a strange land, ceaselessly hunted through all Italy, his heart tortured by gnawing pain over the living death of his first-born who had been snatched from him, Leon Medigo used his intellectual power to immerse himself in Italian language and literature, and reduce his scattered philosophical ideas to perfect order. Hardly ten years after his flight from Spain he would have passed for a learned Italian, and could rival in style the polished writers of the Medici era, and even excel them in extent of learning. With the same pen with which he wrote to his son in Portugal, who was being educated in an assumed Christianity, some Hebrew verses, "Remain continually mindful of Judaism, take pleasure in the Hebrew language and literature, and keep ever before thee the grief of thy father, the pain of thy mother," he also wrote his "*Dialogues of Love*," in which the meaning of the deep love of Philo to Sophia pervades throughout. This apparent romance was the keynote of Leon

Medigo's philosophical system. The whole was more like a philosophical idyll than a hard system; imagination reigned more than reality; and in the conclusions drawn there was more of belief than of proof. Possibly Leon Medigo had put his deeper thoughts into a work, now lost, entitled the "Harmony of Heaven." His "Dialogues of Love" throughout was far removed from Judaism. Leon Medigo paid high honour to Hebrew truth and wearied himself in defending and verifying the scriptural doctrine of creation out of chaos, in opposition to the principles of Greek philosophy, but the spirit of Judaism was not in him. Therefore his work was more valued by Christians than by Jews. The Italians were proud to see, for the first time, the development of philosophical thought in their own charming and beloved language. The work became the favourite reading of the educated class, and in the space of twenty years went through five editions.

The Kabbala with its futilities soon took possession of minds no longer accustomed to strict logical discipline, and in a measure it filled a void. In the sixteenth century it first began to have sway over men's minds. Its adversaries were dead or indisposed to place themselves in opposition to the ideas of the age, which was only too strongly inclined to mysteries, paradoxes and irrational fancies. Sephardic fugitives, Judah Chayat, Baruch von Benevento, Abraham Levi, Meïr ben Gabbai, Ibn-Abi Simra had brought the Kabbala to Italy and Turkey, and with extraordinary energy made many zealous adherents. Also the enthusiasm of Christian scholars, such as Egidio Viterbo, Reuchlin, Galatini and others, for the Kabbala, caused a reaction in its favour with the Jews. The doctrine must have had some deep truth in it, when it was so sought for by learned Christians. Preachers believing in the Kabbala expounded the

doctrine from the pulpit, which had not been done before. On questions of ritual the Kabbalist writings were consulted, and from them a decision was often taken. No wonder if mystical elements out of the Zohar crept into the liturgy, and that it too assumed a mystical character. With the boldest presumption the Kabbalists asserted that they alone were in possession of the Mosaic tradition, and that the Talmud and the Rabbis must give place to them. In this way the secret doctrine with its tricks and fancies, hitherto only indulged in by the adepts, became known amongst all the Jews and affected the sober minds of the people. The opposition on the part of the Rabbis to this interference in the ritual and religious life was in general rather weak, as they also were convinced of the sanctity of the Kabbala, and only objected to the innovations in a fainthearted way.

It could not be otherwise than that the empty Kabbala should arouse enthusiasm in empty heads. With these Zoharist mystics, as with the Essenes, the expectation of the Messiah was the loadstar of existence. To further the kingdom of the Messiah, or the kingdom of Heaven, or the kingdom of morality, and to predict, by means of letters and numbers, the exact time of the Advent, that was a labour in which they delighted. Isaac Abrabanel, although he did not favour the Kabbala, felt this Messianic enthusiasm, and gave it his countenance. The accumulated sufferings of the few remaining Spanish and Portuguese Jews had broken the spirit of many and robbed them of their hope for better times.

The hopelessness and despair of his people, which if it spread, would only further the plans of the Church, pained the faithful Isaac Abrabanel, and in order to avert this dangerous tendency, he prepared three works, based upon the Bible (principally the Book of Daniel) and Agadic

sayings, which he believed would afford the strongest encouragement for Israel. According to his reckoning, the advent of the Messiah must of necessity be in the year 1503, 5263 years after the creation of the world, and the end would come with the fall of Rome, or perhaps twenty-eight years later.

When such a thoughtful and respected man as Isaac Abrabanel thus gave credence to a Messianic calculation, other conjectures were aroused, including Kabbalistic fancies, and one fanatic predicted the nearest time at which the advent of the Messiah might be expected. A German, Asher Lämmlein (or Lämmlein), appeared in Istria, near Venice, as a forerunner of the Messiah (1502). He predicted that if the Jews would show great repentance, mortification, contrition and charity, the Messiah would not fail to come in six months. The people's minds were susceptible to convulsive expectation, through suffering and the Kabbalist craze. Asher Lämmlein gained a troop of adherents, who spread his prophecies. In Italy and Germany he met with sympathy and belief. There was much fasting, much praying, much distribution of alms. It was called the "year of penitence." Everyone prepared himself for the beginning of the miracle. They counted so surely on the redemption and return to Jerusalem, that they, so to speak, tore down all existing things. The sober and thoughtful did not dare to check this wild fanaticism. Even Christians are said to have believed in Asher Lämmlein's Messianic prophecy. But the prophet died, or suddenly disappeared, and with him the extravagant notion came to an end.

But with the termination of the Lämmlein year of penitence the Jews by no means lost their hope in the Messiah; it was necessary to them, to support them in their misery. The Kabbala did not fail to raise this hope, and promise to them its

wonderful realization. Thirty years later an important Messianic movement commenced, which, through its extent and the persons implicated in it, took an interesting course. The Marranos in Spain and Portugal played the principal part in it.

The most unfortunate of all unfortunates were those who renounced the faith of their people, and in a certain measure estranged themselves from their own hearts; they joined in the church rites, which they were obliged to obey, though they hated them in the depth of their souls, while the hate of the Inquisition and the Christians to their race was so strong that the converts suffered, without exaggeration, a life of hell. The greater portion of them, in spite of all their struggles, could not bring themselves to accept Christianity. How could they feel love for a creed the followers of which daily required the sacrifice of human life, and on the slightest pretext sought their victims among the new-Christians? Under the second chief Spanish Inquisitor, Deza, almost greater horrors were perpetrated than under the first, Torquemada. He and his tools, in particular Diego Rodriguez Lucero, a pious hangman in Cordova, had committed so many infamies that a good monk, Pedro Martyr, pictured the Inquisition thirty years after its origin in glaring colours. "The Archbishop of Seville (Deza), Lucero, and Juan de la Fuente have all dishonoured this province. Their people know neither God nor justice. They kill, steal, and violate women and maidens, to the disgrace of the religion. The injury and unhappiness which these servants of the Inquisition have caused in my land is so great and wide-spread that every one must suffer through it." Lucero (the luminous), called by his confederates on account of his horrible deeds, Tenebrero (the dark one), brought destruction on thousands; he was insa-

tiable for the blood of Hebrew martyrs. "Give me Jews to burn," was always his cry. His fanaticism degenerated into cannabalistic fury.

The officers of the Inquisition on all sides had their hands full. In consequence of this, a threatening disturbance took place in Cordova. The principal people of the place complained of the proceedings of the Inquisitor Lucero, and applied to the Chief Inquisitor to have him removed from office. But Deza was at one with him, and so the discontented knights, nobles, Donnas, priests and nuns were all accused of favouring Jewish heresy. The third Chief Inquisitor, Ximenes Cisneros, was forbearing towards the suspected Christians, but condemned not a few converts of Jewish and Moorish descent to be burned. It was also he who made a threatening speech against Charles V. when he proposed granting the Spanish Marranos freedom of belief for a fee of 800,000 gold crowns. He forbade his royal pupil to tolerate the Jews, as Torquemada had forbidden it to Charles' ancestors. His successors were not less orthodox, that is to say, not less inhuman. Under them the victims were not only Jews, for Christians suffered death with them. The reform movement in Germany was also felt in Spain. Luther's and Calvin's onslaught against Papistry, priestcraft, and ceremonial services, was, through the connection of Spain and Germany, and owing to the nationality of the Emperor Charles V., brought over the Pyrenees. The emperor, who had been so troubled with the Reformation in Germany, empowered the Holy Office to proceed against Lutheran doctrines in Spain. This was most welcome to the blood-thirsty monsters, and persecution set in against Jews, Mahometans and Lutheran Christians. At every auto-da-fé the martyrs of the three different religions perished together.

The state of affairs with the Jewish Marranos in

Portugal was different to their condition in Spain. King Manuel, who had pledged his word to the emigrating Jews that they should go in safety, had nevertheless seized upon them and caused them to be baptized by force. In order that they should not be driven to utter despair, he now promised them that for twenty years they should not suffer molestation at the hands of the Inquisition. Relying on this promise the Portuguese Marranos followed Jewish observances, and conformed to Jewish institutions, with less secrecy than those of Spain. In Lisbon, where they mostly resided, they had a synagogue, in which they assembled the more regularly seeing that they had formerly been compelled to follow the Roman Catholic rites, and now in their own place of worship, with much contrition, they implored forgiveness of God for their past sin of idolatry. The old instructed the young in the Bible and Talmud, bidding them take Judaism truly to heart, and warning them, from past experience, against stepping over to Christianity. The Portuguese Marranos had also more freedom to travel, and left singly or in numbers, for Barbary or Italy, and thence went on to Turkey. At last Manuel resolved to stop the emigration of the Marranos by issuing an order that a Christian should not conclude an exchange or barter with a convert under pain of forfeiting his possessions, and should only buy ground from him by royal permission; moreover that no Marrano, with wife, children and servants, should leave the land without a special licence from the king. But orders of this description were only made to be evaded. The Spanish Marranos had every reason to envy their fellows in Portugal, and gave themselves all possible trouble to escape beyond the frontier of the land where the stake was ready and the faggots lighted for them. Very naturally the vindictive

Spanish Government worked on Manuel, and though Ferdinand doubtless demanded more, Manuel passed a law that no Spaniard should step on Portuguese soil unless he brought with him a certificate that he was not guilty of heresy.

Under these conditions the Portuguese Marranos would have had a tolerable existence if the popular hatred had not been so fierce against them. This unfriendliness showed them, after their baptism, that they were hated less as followers of Judaism than as a different race, and as an active, industrious, superior class. The Christians' dislike to them increased when the converts claimed the right of pursuing any trade, of collecting church tithes, of taking office, even Holy Orders, and of becoming monks. At first they showed their hatred by calling them insulting names, "cursed convert of a Jew" (*Judæo Marrano, converso*), till Manuel stopped this by law. Bad harvests, which for many years had brought famine into Portugal, now resulted in a plague, and this added fuel to the popular animosity. It was commonly said, "The baptized Jew is a usurer in corn; he makes the necessaries of life dear, and exports grain to foreign countries." The person most hated was a Marrano upstart, John Rodrigo Mascarenhas, the farmer of taxes, but in a less degree all the Marranos shared in the general dislike.

This feeling was employed by the crafty Dominicans to gain the expulsion of the favourites of King Manuel. They began not merely by preaching the godlessness of the converts, but by immediately preparing a miracle to excite the fanaticism of the people. The moment was opportune. The plague raged in Portugal and swept away thousands daily, while the continuous drought threatened another bad harvest. Of these troubles, the Marranos alone were the cause, at least so it was everywhere stated. The Dominicans loudly

proclaimed that, in one of their churches, in a mirror attached to a cross, the Virgin Mary had appeared in a glow of fire and assured them of other astonishing miracles. They were practised in such deceit. Many people flocked to the church to behold the marvel. On a Sunday after Easter (April 19th, 1506), the church was filled with devotional gazers and also Marranos who were compelled to attend.

A Dominican, in a passionate sermon, charged the people collected in the church to murder the accursed converts, because the king favoured them; and two others, John Mocho and Fratre Bernardo, led them through the street, bearing crosses, and crying "Heresy, heresy!" All the scum of the populace in this turbulent capital was aroused, and together with German, Dutch and French sailors, took this opportunity to plunder. Thus 10,000 people went through the town and killed Marranos, men, women and children, wherever they found them, in the streets, in the houses, or in hiding.

This, however, by no means ended the massacre, which continued for two days. A German, who was present in Lisbon at the time, reported: "On Monday I saw things that I certainly would not have believed had they been said or written, or unless I had seen them myself: women with child were flung from the windows and caught on spears by those standing underneath, and their offspring hurled away. The peasantry followed the example of the townspeople. Many women and girls were violated in this fanatical chase. The number of new-Christians slain is estimated at between 2,000 and 4,000."

By this slaughter the fate of the Portuguese Marranos was decided. The people were so embittered against them for having gained the favour of the king, that they longed for their extermination. Their lives hung on the chance of the con-

tinuance of the king's favour. Manuel declared by proclamation (March, 1507) that the converts were to be treated the same as the Christians, and that they should be permitted to emigrate: and by another order that for the next sixteen years they should not be liable to be arraigned before a tribunal for their religious conduct. The Christian population remained hostile and embittered against the converts, both through racial antipathy and envy of their industrial success, and Manuel himself was unwillingly compelled to modify his attitude towards them.

The condition of the Portuguese Marranos changed under Manuel's successor João III. (1522—1557), a blockhead who brought about the ruin of his country. Already as Infante he was the declared enemy of the new-Christians. At first he respected the decision of his father to place the Jews on a par with the Christians, and to allow no trial to take place regarding their religious belief within the prescribed time (1522, 1524). For this indulgence the Marranos had to thank the old counsellors of Manuel who remembered the violent mode of their conversion, and on the other hand knew how much they had increased the prosperity of the little State. For the Marranos were a most useful class on account of their energy, their wholesale business, their public banks, and their skill as armourers and cannon founders. They also alone possessed a knowledge of medicine and physical science and all pertaining to it. There were in Portugal hardly any but Jewish, that is to say Marrano, physicians. When, however, other influences were brought to bear on João, and he gradually freed himself from these wiser counsellors, his fanatical detestation of the converts gained the upper hand. Queen Catherine, a Spanish Infanta, filled with admiration of the religious tribunal of her country, and the bloodthirsty Dominicans,

who were envious of the power of their Order in Spain, besieged the king with complaints of the disgraceful and wicked conduct of the Marranos towards the Christians, and urged him to put a stop to the proceedings of the Marranos by instituting an Inquisition. João III. thereupon commissioned George Themudo to inquire into the life of the Marranos in Lisbon, their headquarters, and to report to him upon it. Themudo did not go far from the truth when he informed the king (July, 1524) that some Marranos observed the Sabbath and Passover, that they joined in Christian rites and ceremonies as little as possible, were not present at mass and divine service, did not go to confession, did not desire the extreme unction for the dying, were buried in unconsecrated ground and not in a churchyard, and that they had no masses said for their departed relatives, and committed other offences of a similar character.

But João was not satisfied with Themudo's report; he thereupon appointed a spy to watch over the Marranos. A convert, who had travelled from Spain, named Henrique Nunes, and who afterwards received from the Church the title of honour *Firme-Fé*, was chosen by the king. In the school of the bloodthirsty Lucero, this man had acquired a fierce hatred of the Marranos, and it was his ardent wish to see the faggots kindled in Portugal. To him the king gave secret instructions to insinuate himself into the families of the converts, to associate with them as a brother or companion in adversity, to observe them and report upon all the information he could gain. Blinded by fanaticism and hatred of his own race, Nunes did not consider what a contemptible rôle, that of a common spy, was allotted to him. He undertook the work only too willingly, learned all the secrets of the unhappy Marranos in Lisbon, Evora and other places, and communicated all that he had seen and heard

in letters to the king. He betrayed with a brother's kiss those who showed him the hidden corners of their hearts. He informed the king not only that he found no Catholic prayer-books in their houses, that they had no holy images among their ornaments or on their plate, that they did not care for rosaries and other things of that kind, but he also gave the names of the Jewish Marranos, making hateful accusations against them. João, as soon as, through this treachery, he had received the desired intelligence, resolved to introduce the Inquisition into his country on the Spanish model, and secretly sent the trusty Nunes to Charles V. in Spain to learn something more of it from him. The Marranos had got wind of this, and were so furious with the treacherous spy, that two of them followed him to punish his perfidy with death. These were Diego Vaz, of Olivença, and André Dias, of Viacina, who either were actually Franciscans or disguised themselves in monks' dress. They reached him not far from the Spanish frontier, near Badajoz, and killed him with sword and spear. They found letters on him which treated of the installation of the Inquisition. The avengers, or murderers as the orthodox Christians called them, were discovered, brought to trial, stretched on the rack to betray their accomplices, and were finally condemned to the gallows. But the traitor, Nunes, was regarded as a martyr, was spoken of almost as a saint, and given the honourable title of "Firme Fé" (Firm Believer).

One would have expected that the fanatical king after this occurrence would have pursued with greater zeal his object of establishing an Inquisition, so as to proceed against the Jewish Marranos whose names he had obtained from Nunes. The king did, indeed, institute a strict inquiry to discover the accomplices of the two Marrano monks. Contrary to expectation João issued no restrictions

on the Marranos. Also the inquiry about the conspirators for Nunes' death seemed to be intentionally protracted as much as possible. It was positively declared that the king had given up the plan of establishing the Inquisition. A chance, the boldness of an adventurer, appears to have brought about in the first instance this favourable alteration in the mind of the weak and vacillating king.

From obscurity and out of the far East, appeared a man of whom no one rightly knew whether he was an impostor or a foolish fanatic, or whether he intended to play the rôle of a Messianic or political adventurer, but he caused a great stir among the Jews, which even affected the Marranos in the extreme West. David, an Oriental by descent, who had been for a long time in Arabia and Nubia, suddenly came to Europe on a particular mission, and started the wildest hopes, both by his imaginative discourses and by his reports of actual occurrences. He declared himself a descendant of the old Hebrew tribe of Reuben, which still flourished independently in Arabia, and claimed to be a prince, and brother to a reigning Jewish king, and gave his own name as David Reubeni.

This man with a longing for travel and adventure, had journeyed much in Arabia, Nubia, and Egypt, and came finally to Italy. He said that he was sent by his brother, who commanded 300,000 chosen warriors, and by the seventy elders of the land of Chaibar, to the European princes, and especially to the Pope. His object was to obtain fire-arms and cannon with which to fight the Mahometan people who hindered the union of the Jewish race on both sides of the Red Sea, and also to assist the brave Jewish army to drive the Turks out of the Holy Land.

David Reubeni's appearance and manner were such as to inspire alike fear and confidence. In both, there was something strange, mysterious and eccen-

tric. He was of dark complexion and dwarfish in stature, and so excessively thin that continuous fasts had almost reduced him to a skeleton. Possessed of courage and intrepidity, he had at the same time a harsh manner that admitted of no familiarity. He only spoke Hebrew, and that in so corrupt a jargon that neither Asiatic nor European Jews understood him. He came to Rome (February, 1524), and, accompanied by a servant and an interpreter, rode on a white horse up to the Vatican and requested an interview with Cardinal Giulio, in the presence of another Cardinal. Pope Clement, to whom he handed his credentials, also gave him audience.

Clement VII. (1523-1534), one of the most excellent of the Popes, and an illegitimate scion of the Florentine Medicis, was sensible and liberal, and earnestly desired to see Italy freed from the barbarians—which meant from the Germans. But he reigned at a time when Europe had lost its balance. On the one side Luther and his Reformation, which gained ground daily, threatened to undermine the Papacy; and on the other side was the great scheme of Charles V., to unite the powerful kingdoms of Spain, America and Germany. If Clement quarrelled with the emperor, the latter would favour the Reformation, and endeavour to restrain the Papal power. If, however, the Pope became reconciled to him the liberty of Italy would suffer. Thus notwithstanding his firm character, he was continually wavering, and like most of his contemporaries had recourse to astrology, in order to learn from the stars what was beyond the wisdom of men.

To Pope Clement VII., David Reubeni seems to have handed as credential a letter from a Portuguese consul, whom he may have met in Arabia or Nubia. This letter the Pope sent to the Portuguese Court, where it was confirmed, and David was treated with the greatest distinction,

and received all the honours due to an ambassador. He rode through Rome on a mule, accompanied by ten Jews and more than two hundred Christians. The Pope, whose enterprise, through opposition and complicated conditions, became every moment more confined, may have been flattered by the plan of sending a crusade against Turkey, and by letting loose the Israelite army to drive out of the Holy Land this dangerous enemy to Christianity; he may have hoped thereby again to take military affairs into his own hands. Even the incredulous among the Jews could not conceal from themselves the astonishing fact, that a Jew was treated with respect and politeness by the Vatican, and were on their side convinced that there must be at least a grain of truth in David's declarations. The Roman and foreign Jews at that time pressed round him, for a hopeful future seemed to open to them. The Señora Benvenida Abrabanela, wife of the rich Samuel Abrabanel, sent him great sums of money from Naples, a costly silk banner with the Ten Commandments embroidered on it, and many rich garments. He however played his part in a masterly manner, keeping the Jews at a respectful distance.

At length a formal invitation came from the King of Portugal, summoning David Reubeni to his Court. The latter left Rome, travelling by sea with a Jewish flag on his ship. In Almeirim, the residence of king João III., near Santarem, where David was met by a numerous retinue with beautifully embroidered banners, as if he were a wealthy prince, he was also received with the greatest honour, and a scheme was discussed with him as to how the weapons and cannons could be transported from Portugal for the Israelite army in Arabia and Nubia. David's appearance in Portugal seemed to have changed the feeling towards the Jews, and João was persuaded to give up their immediate per-

secution. For so great an undertaking João would need their support, their money, and their advice. If he wished for an alliance with the Hebrew king and people he must not persecute the half-Jews in his own country. So his zeal for the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal suddenly cooled. One can imagine the astonishment and joy of the Marranos in Portugal, when they understood that not only might a Jew remain in Portugal, but that he could also be received at Court and be treated with respect. Thus had come the hour of deliverance of which they had so long dreamed. Unexpected help had come to them, freedom and deliverance from their anguish; they breathed again. Whether David Reubeni had declared himself to be the forerunner of the Messiah or not, did not matter to the Marranos; they believed it, and counted the days to the time when he would make them behold the new Jerusalem in all its splendour. They pressed round him, kissed his hands, and treated him as if he were their king. From Portugal the supposed message of salvation passed to Spain to the still more unfortunate Marranos there, who received it with ecstasies of joy. The state of mind of these poor people was inconceivable, and they were unable to bear the strain. Daily and hourly they suffered torments of soul, through having to join in religious customs which they abhorred with their whole heart. It was no wonder that many of them lost their mental balance, and became quite mad. In the vicinity of Herrera, a Marrano maiden came forward as a prophetess, declaring she had been shown signs and visions, and in particular had seen Moses and the Angels, and had given them her promise to lead her suffering companions into the Holy Land. She found many believers among the Marranos, and when this was discovered, she was burned together with thirty-eight adherents. The messianic expectation of a redemption through

a miracle from Heaven, was the atmosphere in which the Marranos breathed and worked. At the news of the arrival of an ambassador from a Jewish kingdom at the Portuguese Court, a crowd of Spanish converts flocked to Portugal to be near their supposed redeemer. David, who enjoyed freedom in moving about in Portugal, appears to have behaved very circumspectly: he gave them no promises, and did not encourage them openly to acknowledge Judaism. He knew well that he was walking by the edge of a precipice, and that one expression, one act of his directed towards bringing back the new-Christians to Judaism might cost him his life. Nevertheless, all eyes were fastened on him: all were aroused and excited by the wonderful events which must certainly come to pass.

David Reubeni's appearance and the hopes it awakened took the strongest hold upon one noble, talented, handsome youth, and indeed changed the whole course of his existence. Diogo Pires (born about 1501, died a martyr, 1532), whose glowing poetic imagination under more favourable circumstances might have accomplished much in the domain of the beautiful, became a tool in the hands of the self-proclaimed envoy from Chaibar. Pires, who was born a new-Christian, had been able to acquire a good education; he understood and could converse in Latin, the universal language of the time. He had risen to be royal secretary at a high court of justice and was a great favourite at Court. With Hebrew and Rabbinic literature he must have been familiar from his earliest youth, and was probably initiated too into the Kabbala, by one of the Marrano teachers. At the time when David and his chimerical plans made so much stir in Portugal, Diogo Pires was completely possessed by wild dreams and visions, all of which had a Messianic background. He hastened, therefore, to David, to ascertain whether his

coming was in accordance with these visionary revelations. David Reubeni appears to have treated him with coldness, and to have told him plainly that his military embassy had nothing to do with Messianic mysticism. But Diogo Pires fancied this coldness of the alleged envoy was owing to the circumstance that he had not accepted the sign of the covenant, and he forthwith proceeded to undergo the dangerous operation of circumcision. The consequent loss of blood laid him on a sick bed. David was highly incensed when Pires told him of this, as both of them would be in danger if it came to the king's ears that a Marrano by such an act had declared himself a Jew; for it would be asserted that David had persuaded him to take this course.

After circumcision Pires (who took the name of Solomon Molcho) had yet more terrible visions, owing presumably to his bodily weakness. Their import always had reference to the Marranos and their redemption by the Messiah. According to his own account a strange being (Maggid), who communed with him in a dream from heaven, charged him to leave Portugal and set out for Turkey. David Reubeni also had advised that he should leave Portugal with all speed, as the act of circumcision might bring him also into danger and frustrate his schemes. Leaving Portugal cannot then have been difficult for Marranos. Diogo Pires (or Solomon Molcho) reached Turkey, and sought a martyr's death.

A great sensation was made there by this enthusiastic and handsome young Kabbalist, the new Jewish recruit. At first he gave himself out as a delegate from David Reubeni, of whose good reception at the Papal and Portuguese Courts rumours were current even in the East, and had not failed to inflame people's imagination. In Salonica, Joseph Taytasak's Kabbalistic circle took possession of him, and greedily listened to his dreams and

visions. At Adrianople Molcho converted to the Kabbala the sober-minded Joseph Karo, who had left Spain when a boy, and had hitherto busied himself entirely with Talmudic learning. Enthusiasm is infectious. Karo in his turn fell into the same Kabbalistic enthusiasm as Molcho. He also had his dream-prompter (Maggid), who disclosed the signification of empty mystical writings and revealed the future. He was so faithful an imitator that he too lived, like Molcho, in the most certain expectation of being burnt at the stake as a "wholly acceptable sacrifice unto the Lord." Molcho inoculated his followers with a longing for martyrdom. His captivating person, pure enthusiasm, romantic disposition, past career, astonishing knowledge of the Kabbala (though born a Christian), everything connected with him, roused up a host of adherents, who greedily listened to his mystic utterances and believingly accepted them. He often preached, and words flowed like a torrent from his lips. Grey-headed men went with questions to the youth, seeking explanations of obscure verses of Scripture, or revelations of the future. At the urgent request of his friends in Salonica he published a brief abstract of his Kabbalistic sermons, the substance of which was : The Advent of the Messiah is at hand ; his reign will begin at the end of the year 5300 dating from the creation (1540). The sack and havoc of Rome (5th May, 1527) confirmed the Messianic hopes of Kabbalistic zealots. Rome, the iniquitous Catholic Babylon, filled with the spoils of the whole earth, was taken by storm by German soldiers, mostly Lutherans, and was treated to some extent as a hostile city by order of the Catholic emperor, Charles V. The fall of Rome, according to the Messianic and Apocalyptic acceptation, was a precursory sign of the Messiah's advent. And Rome had fallen. In Asia, Turkey, Hungary, Poland and Germany hopes of the

coming of the Messiah were stirring in Jewish hearts, and were associated with the name of Solomon Molcho, who was to bring about their realisation.

In Spain and Portugal the Marranos held yet more firmly to their visions of Messianic redemption, and their trust was unbounded in David Reubeni, whom, with or without his consent, they took for a forerunner of the Messiah. Their illusion was so complete that they boldly inaugurated enterprises which could only end in death for themselves. Several Spanish Marranos, condemned to the stake, had curiously enough found a place of refuge in Portugal (in Campo-Mayor), where they were suffered to remain unmolested. A host of young people under them sallied forth with arms in their hands to Badajoz, whence they had fled, for the purpose of rescuing some Marrano women who were languishing in the Inquisition dungeons. Their irruption greatly alarmed the inhabitants, but the Marranos succeeded in rescuing the unfortunate victims. This incident made a great stir in both countries, and led to the most prejudicial results for the pseudo-Christians: This occurrence as well as the denunciation of several Marranos for outrageously disfiguring an image of the Virgin Mary, again induced the king to consider the scheme of establishing a Court of Inquisition. David Reubeni's favour with the King of Portugal was of brief duration. He was at first received by João III. with extraordinary friendliness, and often admitted to audience (when conversation was carried on by means of an Arabian and Portuguese interpreter), and received the distinct promise that eight ships and 4,000 fire-arms should be placed at his disposal to enable his brother, the alleged King of Chaibar, to hold his own against Turks and Arabs, but the king gradually cooled down: Miguel de Silva, Portuguese ambassador at the Papal Court when

David was at Rome, and who even then held the alleged Jewish Prince of Chaibar for an adventurer, had been recalled to Portugal, where he made strenuous efforts to oppose the other councillors (who were deluded by David's daring character), and to deprive him of the king's favour. Moreover, the homage so remarkably and openly offered to him by the Marranos had roused suspicion concerning him. Miguel de Silva, entrusted with the commission to establish the Inquisition in Portugal, pointed out that the king himself, by favouring the alleged Jewish prince, plainly fortified the Marranos in their unbelief or adherence to the Jewish cause. Then came the circumcision and flight of the Royal Secretary Diogo Pires (Solomon Molcho). This occurrence gave great offence at the Portuguese court, and it was insinuated to the king that David had been his abettor.

Thus it came to pass that David Reubeni suddenly received orders to quit Portugal after he had tarried there and been treated with distinction for nearly a twelvemonth. Only two months' grace before embarkation was granted to him. The ship that carried him and his retinue was cast away on the Spanish coast and David was taken prisoner in Spain, where he was forced to appear before the Inquisition. However, before that could take place, the Emperor Charles set him free, and David Reubeni betook himself to Avignon which was under Papal jurisdiction. As soon as King João broke with David Reubeni nothing was left to uphold and protect the Marranos. The vacillating king was hardly pressed by the queen, the Dominicans, and some of the nobles, to decide on introducing the Inquisition. The Bishop of Centa, Henrique, formerly a Franciscan monk and a fanatical priest, struck the first blow. In his diocese of Olivença five new-Christians were suspected of Jewish practices. He made short work

of them. Without greatly troubling as to whether the tribunal of the Inquisition was or was not sanctioned by the Pope and legally established by the king, he prepared stakes and faggots and burnt the victims to death, condemning them without any regular trial (about 1530). The people jubilantly applauded him and celebrated the murder of these Jewish-Christians with bull-fights. Far from wishing to hide his deed, Henrique prided himself on it and pressed the king to commence in earnest the chastisement of the heretical and sinful new-Christians. Upon this João decided to address himself to Pope Clement respecting the organisation of Commissions of Inquiry in Portugal.

Meanwhile there were still some priests left who loudly raised their voices against this violent treatment of the Marranos. Two especially deserve to have their names made known to posterity—Ferdinand Coutinho, Bishop of Algarbia, and Diogo Pinheiro, Bishop of Funchal. They had been witnesses of the inhuman cruelties with which, under Manuel, the Jews were driven to baptism, and from no point of view could they recognise them as Christians deserving to be punished for relapsing into heresy, or to be entrusted with judicial power or spiritual benefice. Coutinho, untiring in ridicule of the simulated zeal of the younger priests, reminded the king that Pope Clement VII. himself had not long before allowed several Marranos to acknowledge Judaism openly in the very City of Rome. This Pope, convinced of the injustice shown to new-Christians, had, with consent of the College of Cardinals, given them asylum at Ancona, permitting them freely to confess themselves Jews. In Florence and Venice also they could live without molestation. Nay, the Papal Consistory itself had given out that the Portuguese Marranos were to be regarded as Jews. He considered, so Coutinho expressed himself in his friendly consideration of

the question, that instead of the new-Christians (who were accused of outraging what Christians held sacred), the witnesses ought to be punished for bearing false testimony. The new-Christians should only be won to the true faith by gentle means. At length the king decided to submit the question to the Pope, who, should he sanction the establishment of the Inquisition, would immediately free him from promises made to the Marranos. The Portuguese ambassador at Rome, Bras Neto, received orders to extract a Bull to that effect from the Pope. But what a stroke of the pen had so easily conceded to Spain, cost the King of Portugal many an effort and a struggle to obtain, and he was after all never able fully to enjoy his Inquisition.

Now the weak hand of the amiable Kabbalist Solomon Molcho seized on the spokes of this revolving wheel. He had come to Italy, from the East, to fulfil the Messianic mission with which he was inspired, or with which he was credited. He wished to speak fearlessly of the approaching redemption before princes in the capital of Christendom. At Ancona, where he had found followers (towards the end of 1529), according to his own story, certain malevolent persons laid traps for him. They were in fact prudent men, who were informed of his appearance in the East and feared that, as a result of his impetuous striving for martyrdom, evil consequences would ensue for Jews all over the world, or at least for the Marranos in Italy, Portugal and Spain. Molcho, when cited, is understood to have confessed fearlessly that he had preferred Judaism because it taught the Truth. The Bishop of Ancona discharged him as being one of the Portuguese Marranos to whom freedom was allowed by Pope and Cardinals, but forbade him to preach against Christianity. Molcho remained some time longer at Ancona, where his

preaching became very popular, even priests and Christians of the higher classes being present at the synagogue. However, he seems to have compromised himself, and in consequence repaired to the Duke of Urbino (at Pesaro) Francesco Maria della Rovere I., who thought a settlement of Marranos in his little State would be of advantage to him. But there was no rest for Molcho, he burnt with impatience to be at Rome, in order there to prepare the way for the coming of the Messiah, though without any clear conception how to begin. On that account he waited for some prompting from on high which he believed could not fail him. In obedience to a vision he abandoned his household at Pesaro and set out alone on horseback for Rome. At the first sight of the Eternal City his feelings overcame him (Molcho, like Luther held Rome to be the seat of anti-Christ) and he sank into fervent prayer, imploring redemption and forgiveness of sin for Israel. A voice broke in upon his prayer, predicting in a verse of the Bible, "Edom (Rome) shall be the heritage of Israel, his foot shall be unsteady, but Israel will gain the victory." In this mood he entered the walls of Rome and took up his abode at an inn kept by Christians. Leaving his horse and clothes at the inn he took his stand, after putting on a tattered suit, blackening his face and wrapping his feet in dirty rags, among the tribe of beggars on the bridge over the Tiber opposite the Pope's palace. This equipment was designed in accordance with Messianic tradition, which had it that the Messiah would tarry amongst the lepers and ragged beggars of Rome, from whence he should be summoned to triumph. For thirty consecutive days the Portuguese enthusiast led this miserable existence, neither eating meat nor drinking wine, but contenting himself with the scantiest and poorest fare, and waiting for the prophetic ecstasy.

In this condition of bodily tension and mental exaltation Molcho fell into a deep sleep and had a confused dream, noteworthy enough, since part of it was afterwards fulfilled to the very letter. It was predicted in this vision that a devastating flood would break over Rome and a northern country and his native land be panic-stricken by an earthquake, that when he himself reached his thirtieth year he should be raised to a higher degree and clad in Byssine raiment because of his own free will he had devoted himself to death. He would return to Rome, but leave it again before the flood took place. Then the Holy Spirit, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, would rest on the Messianic king, the dead would rise from the dust, and God would give His people glory.

Next morning, enfeebled by his long mortification and with troubled sleep, Molcho dragged himself back to his inn and took a long rest. He laid his disguise aside and went out to hold converse with Jews (February, 1530). Being still a complete stranger in Rome, and in order to avoid the denunciation of his opponents, he gave himself out as a messenger from Solomon Molcho. In spite of this he was recognised and denounced to the Inquisition as a Marrano. He had, however, some time previously made himself known to the Pope and some of the cardinals, to whom he predicted the flood. Clement VII., who for several years had tasted the cup of sorrow and experienced humiliations such as had fallen to the lot of few Popes before him, and had been forced to crown at Bologna his deadly enemy, Charles V., as King of Italy and Emperor of Rome (22nd-24th February, 1530), was but too readily inclined to listen to dreams and visions. Other unknown relations may have existed between the Pope and Molcho, in consequence of which the latter was regarded with surprising favour by the Pope, and Molcho also

had friends among the cardinals. Lorenzo Pucci, for example, Grand Penitentiary of the Papal See, who had once taken Reuchlin's part against the Dominicans, was attached to him. Hence while the Papal police were lying in wait at the gates of Rome for Molcho, he escaped over the walls and hastened to the Pope, from whom he obtained a Pontifical passport that guaranteed him against harm.

Furnished with this, Molcho came back secretly to Rome, and one Saturday suddenly appeared in the chief synagogue, where he preached, astounding all present by his discourse, on a text taken from the Prophets. His adherents in Rome increased in numbers so largely that he was able to preach in the synagogue every Sabbath until autumn. He was able to inspire his hearers, yet seemed powerless to disarm his opponents. Molcho was the Jewish Savonarola. He spoke with unshakable certainty of his visions, and even announced to the King of Portugal (through the ambassador, Bras Neto) the earthquake which threatened Lisbon, so that precautionary measures might be taken. Molcho was himself so firmly convinced that the flood would come to pass that, as the predicted time approached, he went away to Venice. Molcho and David Reubeni, who meanwhile had returned from Avignon to Italy, again met face to face. Each found the other cold and disconcerted, and expected to hear marvels from the other. Each of them, through the other's instrumentality, would surely have to fill the sublime rôle. They were both embarrassed. Molcho's eyes were opened on this occasion to the true character of his once-admired master. He no longer believed in Reubeni's ignorance, but felt convinced that it was assumed by him in order to deceive people; as an Arabian prince it was not in character that he should possess Talmudical and Kabbalistic learning. Molcho even recanted his own former declaration

that he was David's emissary. "Before the God of heaven and earth I proclaim the truth that my circumcision and abandonment of my country were not counselled by flesh and blood (David), but took place at the express command of God." Molcho was thus a deluded enthusiast, whereas David was an adventurer who intentionally deceived others. After his unsuccessful attempt to win over the King of Portugal and Charles V. to his schemes, David went to Venice with the purpose of influencing favourably the president of that republic, which had close relations with the East. Remarkably enough he found sympathy there; the Venetian senate sent a man well acquainted with the country to question him respecting his plan and means of conquest in the East (1530).

Both Molcho and David were in the meantime harassed by the more temperate Jews, who apprehended danger for themselves and their religion. While at Venice Molcho was poisoned by Jewish hands and fell into a dangerous illness.

Meanwhile the inundation of Rome which he had predicted really took place and transformed the city into a stormy lake, causing great havoc (8th October, 1530). At the same time a brilliant comet appeared, shooting out rays of light till the heavens seemed about to open. In Portugal the earth shook thrice, and the earthquake destroyed many houses in Lisbon, beneath the ruins of which human beings were buried (26th January, 1531).

After the inundation of Rome, Molcho again appeared in that city, where he was deemed a prophet. The Pope, to whom he had predicted the calamity, seemed to have taken him to his heart. He bestowed formal marks of honour upon him. The Portuguese ambassador, Bras Neto, told him that if the king of Portugal had only known how favoured a man in God's sight was Molcho, and how well able to read the future, he would have

permitted him to dwell in his dominions. And this was the moment when the ambassador received the mandate from his sovereign to work secretly for a Bull from the Papal See to introduce an Inquisition against the Marranos! A more unfavourable time could not have been chosen. The affair was laid for decision before the Grand Penitentiary, Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci. But the latter, as well as Pope Clement, influenced by Solomon Molcho, strongly opposed the proposal from the beginning. Pucci straightforwardly said to the Portuguese ambassador, "The king of Portugal, like the king of Spain, is more attracted by the Marranos' wealth than concerned respecting the orthodoxy of their creed; let him rather leave them free to live according to their own law, and punish only those who, after voluntarily embracing Catholicism, relapse to the Jewish faith." For the moment Bras Neto was powerless. He even feared Molcho's influence with the Pope, and kept his doings secret, lest anything should come to the ears of the Marranos in Portugal and they should supply Molcho with money wherewith to bribe the Pope's retainers to work against the establishment of the Inquisition.

All this time Molcho was untiringly persecuted by his fellow-believers, more especially however by his enemy, Jacob Mantin, the learned though unscrupulous physician and philologist. This revengeful man came from Venice to Rome for no other purpose than to cause the ruin of him whom he so gratuitously hated. As far as he dared, he took the Portuguese ambassador to task for allowing a former Portuguese Christian, who preached against Christianity, to remain at liberty in Rome. As the ambassador would not listen to him, Mantin carried his complaint to the Inquisition. He had procured witnesses from Portugal who testified that Solomon Molcho formerly lived as a Christian in Portugal, and managed to have him

cited before the congregation. Hereupon Molcho exhibited his passport, from the Pope, trusting with such support to remain unmolested; but the Inquisitors tore it from his hands, and betook themselves with it to the Pope, to whom they represented how indecent it was that he should protect a scoffer at Christianity. Clement replied that he needed Molcho for a secret purpose, and requested that he be left undisturbed. As soon as the Inquisition showed itself inclined to disregard his denunciation, Mantin raised new points against Molcho. He contrived to get possession of the letter which Molcho had written to Joseph Taytasak some years before from Monastir, respecting his past life and return to Judaism. This was now translated into Latin, and laid before the tribunal. As the letter undoubtedly contained abuse against Edom, *i.e.*, against Rome and Christianity, the Inquisition was forced to take notice of it, and Clement also no longer dared set his face against Mantin's denunciation as far as this was concerned. The congregation now proceeded with the case, and sentenced Molcho to be burnt to death. A funeral pile was built up, and the faggots kindled. People came in crowds to the place to witness the attractive sight. A wretched victim brought thither in penitential shroud was thrown without ceremony into the fire. One of the judges intimated to the Pope that the act of faith had been completed by the offender's death. Judges and witnesses of the execution alike must have felt no small astonishment when Solomon Molcho was encountered still living in the Pope's apartments.

It seems that Clement, to save his favourite's life, foisted off someone else, who ascended the scaffold, whilst Solomon Molcho was kept hidden in the Pope's chambers.

The Pope personally communicated this fact to the perplexed judge, and enjoined silence on him

as to this subject, in order that Jews and Christians might not have fresh fuel with which to feed their excitement. Solomon Molcho was saved, but he dared no longer remain in Rome; that was plain even to him, and he begged the Pope to let him go. Escorted by a few faithful servants of the Pope, Solomon Molcho rode out of Rome by night (February or March, 1531).

After Molcho's departure from Rome, and especially after the death of Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci (August, 1531), a different feeling towards the Marranos sprang up. A Portuguese negotiator with the aid of the pressing demands of the Emperor Charles and the Grand Penitentiary, Antonio Pucci (successor to his uncle), obtained from the Pope the Bull establishing the Inquisition, which had been so long prayed for (17th December, 1531), although Cardinals Egidio Viterbo (Elias Levita's disciple), and Geronimo de Ghinucci had declared themselves against it. As though this mild-tempered Pope were ashamed of allowing his former *protégés* to be persecuted, he bracketed the Lutherans with them. He was careful, too, not to permit the fanatical Dominicans to acquire power over the Marranos. The king's confessor, a Franciscan, the gentle-minded Diogo de Silva, was appointed Inquisitor-General of Portugal. Three tribunals were nevertheless established at Lisbon, Evora, and Coimbra, modelled on the pattern of the Spanish courts instituted by Torquemada and improved on by his successors, which were still more glaringly tyrannical in constitution. After the king and the grandees had withdrawn their protection, the Portuguese Marranos were in a far worse plight than their Spanish brethren. The populace had hated them for so long that even otherwise upright Christians turned informers, whereas in Spain spies had to be specially hired for the purpose.

When the Inquisition was ready to begin its execrable work, many of the Marranos naturally contemplated leaving the country. But flight was not easy; it was with them, as it was with their forefathers when they came out of Egypt—the foe behind, the sea, with all its dangers and terrors, in front. A law was made (14th June, 1532), strictly forbidding emigration to Africa, not even excepting the Portuguese colonies. Ship captains were warned, under penalty of death, not to carry Marranos, and all Christians were prohibited from buying landed estates of new-Christians; these must not send their goods away to foreign countries, nor effect exchanges at home. Nevertheless, many of them prepared for emigration, in order to flee from the land touched by the trail of the poisonous serpent (the Inquisition); but before they could even set foot on board ship, they and their wives and children were seized and hurried away to gloomy dungeons, from whence they were dragged to the stake. Others perished in the waves of the sea before they could reach the vessel which was to bring them to a place of safety. Many were drawn forth from the most hidden retreats and burnt to death. Those who escaped from the claws of this bloodthirsty monster found no relief in strange lands—they were imprisoned in Flanders, arrested in France, maltreated in England. In the midst of such torments many lost their fortunes, and, in consequence, their lives. Those who reached Germany succumbed in extreme misery on the Alps, leaving behind them wives about to become mothers, who, on cold and deserted roads, brought forth children and endured a new form of misfortune.

Nevertheless the Marranos did not intermit their attempts to escape, but prosecuted them with increased caution. No other way out of their troubles was left. Appeals to justice, to humanity, and their

chartered rights and privileges found none but deaf ears in the cabinet.

Marranos who had escaped to Rome made bitter complaints to Pope Clement of the inhumanity with which the Inquisition persecuted them and their brethren, and also that the king had only obtained the Pope's Bull by fraud, inasmuch as the facts of the case had not been set before the Papal Consistory in a proper light. They especially complained that emigration was prohibited, in direct opposition to that legal equality which had been granted. Clement VII., who in any case regretted that he had issued the Bull (which, to a certain extent, he had been forced to do), sympathised with their grievances. He also felt that the fires of the Inquisition, employed against those who were neither Catholics nor willing converts, might implicate the Catholic Church, and give the Lutherans more material with which to continue their hostile assaults upon it, and enable them to depict it as bloodthirsty and as a just object of hatred. Moreover, he was well aware that the Inquisition had only been introduced into Portugal because Spain and his arch-foe the Emperor Charles desired it, with the object of placing Portugal in an unequivocally dependent condition. Hence Clement set to work with a plan to revoke the Bull. At this time Solomon Molcho and David Reubeni again resumed their mystical activity, and conceived the daring scheme of going to the emperor at Ratisbon, where the Reichstag was then assembled. With a floating banner, embroidered with the letters "Machbi" (initials of the Hebrew words of the verse, "Who is like unto thee, among the gods, O Lord"), they travelled from Bologna, by way of Ferrara and Mantua, to Ratisbon. The Emperor Charles gave them audience, and they warmly pleaded the cause of the Jews. An unwarranted and improbable report affirms

that they attempted to convert the emperor to the Jewish faith. But they were not so absurd as to make this attempt. They simply petitioned the Emperor that he should grant to the Jews of Arabia weapons with which to attack the Turks. Joslin Roshlim, who was also in Ratisbon, warned them not to make this request, but in vain; the end of it was that Charles put them both in chains (June—September, 1532), and carried them fettered with him on his journey to Mantua. The banner was left behind at Ratisbon. An Inquisition, at the emperor's wish, was set on foot at Mantua, and by it Molcho was condemned to be burnt to death for relapse and heresy. While triumphal processions, festivals, hunting, plays, and all imaginable merry-makings made the emperor's stay in Mantua pleasant, the funeral pile of the Lisbon Marrano was built up and set on fire. They led him to the place of execution with a gag in his mouth, for his eloquence was so powerful and persuasive that emperor and tribunal feared its effect on the crowd were he able to use his tongue. He was therefore forced to keep silence. Yet when the under-executioner was ready to throw him into the blazing fire, a courier from the emperor arrived, removed the gag, and asked him in the emperor's name, whether he repented of his transgressions, and was willing to return to the bosom of the Church, if so, he should be pardoned. As might be expected, Molcho replied he had longed to die a martyr, "a wholly acceptable sacrifice on the altar of the Lord." His answer rang with no uncertain sound. He only repented him of one thing—that he had been a Christian in his youth. Come life, come death, he commended his soul unto God. And now having made answer, he was thrown into the midst of the flames. He died with unshaken constancy.

Molcho was the victim of a caprice and delusion, into which, as though at feud with reality, he had

allowed himself to fall. The rich gifts bestowed on him by nature—a handsome person, glowing imagination, quick perception and comprehension, ready enthusiasm—which would have been steps on the ladder of fortune for any character less fantastical, only served to ruin him, because, swept away in the vortex of the Kabbala, he fondly hoped that he would be enabled to perfect the work of Redemption. David Reuben had not even the martyr's crown. Charles carried him to Spain, and cast him into a dungeon of the Inquisition, in which he was still living three years afterwards. At length it appears that he was put to death by poison. As a Jew, the Inquisition had no power over him. But many of the Spanish Marranos who had been perverted through him, and whose names he probably had betrayed on the rack, were burnt to death.

Enthusiasm for Molcho was so great that a mistaken faith was pinned to him, and various fictions respecting him were invented. In Italy and Turkey numbers believed he had on this occasion, too, escaped from death by fire, even as he had once before escaped a similar death. Some would have it believed that they had seen him eight days after his auto-da-fé; others gave out that he had visited his bride at Safet. Joseph Karo, whose name was soon to be more widely known, longed for a martyrdom like Molcho's. Even the circumspect Joseph Cohen of Genoa, a careful historian, averse to believing in miracles, was caught by the infection, and knew not what to think of the affair. An Italian Kabbalist, Joseph of Arles, would not abandon the hope that the time of the Messiah, as announced and prepared for by Molcho, would soon dawn on the Jewish world. Molcho's fiery death, according to him, would soon find avengers. By the silly trick of transposing the letters of two verses from Isaiah (Notaricon),

he predicted the downfall of the religion of Jesus from various causes—Luther's coming to the front, the many new sects that sprang up among Christians, the recent sack of Rome, and the mutually inimical attitude of the Pope and the emperor.

The Kabbalist of Arles was ill-disposed, though unreasonably so, towards the Pope, for he was certainly not guilty of Molcho's death; on the contrary, the Pope had to look on while the emperor to gain his own ends executed one and imprisoned the other of the Pope's two favourites. However, Clement seems to have made a counter move. He strove to bring about the revocation of the fatal Bull authorising the institution of the Inquisition in Portugal, or at least to make it less drastic in its effects. The Marranos knew this and made every effort to win the Papal Curia to their side. As soon as they understood that Solomon Molcho, their most successful advocate, was no longer to be reckoned upon, they sent another envoy to Rome, to bring their grievances before the Pope and defend their cause. This new advocate of the Marranos, Duarte de Paz, was the very opposite in character to Molcho: cool-headed, far removed from any extravagance, cunning, calculating, bold and eloquent, initiated into all the trickery of diplomacy, possessing a profound knowledge of human nature, and able to make use of men's foibles for his own ends. Duarte de Paz for nearly eight years looked after the interests of Portuguese new-Christians. He was himself of Marrano descent, and as a reward of his services in Africa to the Portuguese Court had obtained an important post and the confidence of King João III. Removed from this post to perform a secret mission and therefore honoured beforehand with the knighthood of the Order of Christ (styled also Commendatore),

he set out, not for the appointed place but for Rome, to work for the Marranos. However Duarte de Paz entwined the threads of his intrigues so intricately that to this day it is impossible to ascertain exactly whom he deceived, whether the king or the Marranos. His clients, the Marranos, kept him well supplied with money, which, for good or evil, was almighty at the Pope's Court. Duarte de Paz obtained substantial successes in return for his pains and his presents. Clement was convinced anew that most atrocious injustice was done to the new-Christians in demanding Catholic orthodoxy from those who had been dragged with brutal force to be baptised, and felt that a special hardship was inflicted in denying them liberty to make any journey beyond the confines of Portugal. In consequence of this feeling the Pope issued an Apostolical Brief (17th October, 1532) by which he stopped the proceedings of the Inquisition until further notice. Duarte de Paz still maintained his efforts to procure a general pardon for all Marranos already denounced or imprisoned. It appears that intrigues were set on foot in favour of the Marranos even at the Court of João III. The party in favour of the Inquisition at the same time worked for Spanish interests, and from the first, in view of the probability of the king remaining without issue, was eagerly bent on making the Portuguese Crown one with the Spanish. On the other side, the National Party, which sought to preserve the independence of Portugal, seems to have been against the Inquisition. Hence this plotting and counter-plotting continued for several years to such an extent, that the Inquisitor-General, Diogo de Silva (appointed by the Pope himself), declared that he would not undertake so great a responsibility, and resigned his office. Duarte de Paz obtained a second extraordinarily important Brief

from Pope Clement. The Pope therein recognised as fair and legitimate the reasons urged by new-Christians to justify the slenderness of their attachment to the Church.

"Since they were dragged by force to be baptised, they cannot be considered members of the Church, and to punish them for heresy and relapse were to violate the principles of justice and equity. With sons and daughters of the first Marranos the case is different, they belong to the Church as voluntary members. But, as they were brought up by their relatives in the midst of Judaism and had their example continually before their eyes, it would be cruel to punish them according to the standing Canonical law for falling into Jewish ways and beliefs; they must be kept in the bosom of the Church through gentle treatment."

By this Brief Clement VII. abrogated the power of the Portuguese Inquisition, ordered that every denunciation of the Marranos should be carried to his own tribunal, and granted to all a thorough absolution or amnesty for past relapses from the Church. Those who were languishing in the dungeons of the Inquisition were to be set free, the banished allowed to return, and those who had been robbed of their goods to have them restored. Clement declared (with the peculiar systematic untruthfulness of the Papacy, from which even the best Popes were unable to free themselves) that he had issued this Brief of his own accord without the suggestion of the Marranos, although the whole world knew to the contrary, and counted up how many scudi the See had received for the letter. Clement also declared all who should resist this Brief, clergy as well as laity, to be under the ban, and urgently pressed his envoy, Marco della Ruvere, to make it known throughout Portugal. To do Pope Clement VII. justice, he defended steadfastly enough the cause of humanity towards the unhappy Marranos against the bloodthirsty spirit of the Christendom of his time, though it must be admitted that other and not quite pure motives may have conduced to his action—viz., hatred of Charles V., who upheld the proposal for a

Portuguese Inquisition and greed for the sums of money which he and his retainers pocketed. The thought of delivering the Marranos to the tender mercies of those bloody-minded wretches in Portugal was not to be lightly endured. Although the question had been well discussed, Clement again took counsel of a Commission, selected by two neutral Cardinals, De Cesis and Campeggio. The Grand Penitentiary, Antonio Pucci, Cardinal de Santiquatro could not fail to be a member, although a partizan of the Portuguese Court. Nevertheless this Commission officially attested the perpetration of devilish atrocities by the Inquisition against pseudo-Christians. In consequence of their report, Clement VII. (26th July, 1534), feeling that his end was near, issued a Brief to the Nuncio at the Portuguese Court to press on the release and absolution of imprisoned Marranos. There were about twelve hundred of them, and it may be doubted whether this Brief could have effected their deliverance. Clement's death (25th September, 1534), however, brought to naught his good intentions and the Marranos' hopes.

Intrigues concerning the Inquisition were woven anew under the Pope's successor Paul III., Farnese (1534—1549), and at first to the prejudice of the Marranos, though this Pope belonged to the old school of worldly-minded, diplomatic, and by no means bigoted princes of the Church. Above all he was a subtle calculator, and paid more attention to earthly than to heavenly powers. Paul III. was specially well-disposed to the Jews. If a description by a narrow-minded bishop (Sadolet of Carpentras) can only be accepted as partly true, it still proves that this friendliness must have been remarkable enough. "No Pope has ever bestowed on Christians so many honours, such privileges and concessions as Paul III. has given to the Jews. They are not only assisted

but positively armed with benefits and prerogatives." Paul III. had a Jewish physician-in-ordinary, Jacob Mantin, who dedicated some of his works to him.

As soon as Paul III. ascended the Apostle's chair, the king of Portugal deemed it most important to procure a revocation of Clement's Bulls and Briefs in favour of the Marranos, which destroyed the efficacy of the Inquisition. But Duarte de Paz, the Marranos' advocate, to whom a supporter had been given in Diogo Rodrigues Pinto, spared no effort to oppose the contemplated change of policy. Gold also was not wanting. Duarte de Paz, although apparently engaged in a traitorous correspondence with the king, Don João, offered Cardinal Santiquatro, the partisan of Portugal, a yearly pension of 800 crusados if he would give his support to the Marranos. The Pope, diplomatically cautious as he was, and disinclined to binding himself expressly, decided at first (3rd November, 1534), that Clement's Brief should not be promulgated. But when he learned that it had already been issued and obeyed, he ordered the case to be again taken into consideration, and for that purpose named two Cardinals, Ghinucci and Simoneta, of whom the first decidedly favoured the Marranos, and had published a tract in their defence. The result of their investigation was that Paul III. emphatically admonished the Portuguese Court to manifest their obedience to Clement VII.'s Bull of absolution. He gave his decision against the imprisonment of Marranos in inaccessible dungeons and against the confiscation of their property. But as all the Catholic kings of that day showed obedience to the Papal See only as long as it suited them and their interest, João III. paid but small heed to the Pope's admonition. His envoy even advised him in order to carry on the Inquisition to cut himself adrift from the Romish Church as

England had done. A complete web of intrigues was spun over this affair in Rome and Portugal. In Portugal the Court on the one side and the Marrano leaders Thomé Sarrão and Manuel Mendes with the Papal legate on the other—at Rome Duarte de Paz and Pinto against or with the Portuguese ambassador and Cardinal Santiquatro.

Disgusted and wearied with moves and counter-moves, Paul III., who did not readily let slip an intention once formed, issued a new and decisive Bull (2nd October, 1535), giving absolution to the Marranos and protecting them against all clerical and civil penalties for relapse and heresy, provided that they would not be guilty of similar offences in future. The foundation of the Inquisition in Portugal, which for the sake of appearance could not proceed without the authorisation of the Pope, was thus once again arrested. The Nuncio set to work with decision, made the Bull known throughout Portugal, and carried matters so far, that even the inimically-disposed Infante Don Alfonso opened the prison doors to free those whose release was so pressingly recommended from Rome. Altogether there were eighteen hundred Marranos liberated (December, 1535).

At first thunderstruck and stupefied, the Portuguese Court later on set every lever in motion once more to obtain a sovereign power over the Marranos and their property. It did not even shrink from assassination to gain its ends. One day Duarte de Paz was attacked on the high road by assassins and left lying there for dead, covered with fourteen wounds (January, 1536). All Rome believed the murderers to be hirelings of the Portuguese Court. The Pope was greatly provoked at this crime, and sent doctors to pay every attention to the Procurator, who eventually recovered. Nevertheless, with respect to the Inquisition, the Pope had to comply with the wishes of the Portuguese Court, which

had at last found out the right way to reach its goal. It had recourse to the victorious Charles V., urgently requesting him to manage the affair. Just at that time the emperor had fought a hard battle near Tunis with the Mahometan Barbarossa, who, supported by Turkey, had disquieted all Christendom. After many struggles the numerous host of Christians, led by Charles himself, gained the day, and Barbarossa was defeated.

When Charles arrived in Rome after a triumphal progress through Italy, he asked the Pope, as a reward of his victory for Christianity, to authorise the Inquisition in Portugal. Paul III. did not yield without a struggle. He always returned to the contention that the Portuguese Marranos were originally dragged by force to be baptised, and that therefore the Sacrament had no hold upon them.

Unfortunately for the Marranos their means were exhausted and the greed of the Papal Court for gold could not be satisfied. Their advocate, Duarte de Paz, had promised exorbitant sums for the frustration of the Inquisition, and in addition to that had misappropriated to his own use part of the money entrusted to him. The pseudo-Christians thus found themselves obliged, when pressed by the Papal Nuncio for payment, to declare that they were not in a position to redeem the exaggerated promises of Duarte de Paz. Moreover, this commerce between the Nuncio and Marranos was betrayed, and the latter had to exercise yet greater caution. Hence at the Pope's Court interest in the Marranos gradually cooled down. As the emperor put increasing pressure on Paul III. to authorise the Inquisition in Portugal, the Pope at last finally and officially sanctioned the Tribunal for the Portuguese dominions (23rd May, 1536). The Pope, friend of the Jews as he was, only granted his sanction with a heavy heart, forced thereto by pressure from

the emperor. But he added all sorts of restrictions, that for the first three years the method of procedure in current civil courts must be adhered to, *i.e.*, open confrontment with witnesses—at least as regarded the not very greatly esteemed class of Marranos—and that the confiscation of condemned Marranos' goods should take place only after the expiration of ten years. Personally, the Pope recommended gentle measures in dealing with pseudo-Christians. Don João's joy at the ultimate fulfilment of his heart's desire was so great that he accepted the conditions. But this concession was only a pretence; in reality the same rigour was employed against the Portuguese Marranos as against the Spanish. The admonition published by the Inquisition that it was everyone's duty, under penalty of excommunication or a yet more severe punishment, to denounce any Jewish observances or expressions of the new-Christians, differed in no respect from that published by the first bloodthirsty Spanish Inquisitor, Torquemada. In the November of the same year, after the expiration of the thirty so-called days of grace, the Bloody Tribunal began its revolting and abominable activity, once again outraging and dishonouring human nature. The Portuguese Inquisition was conducted almost with more cruelty than the Spanish, because on the one hand its introduction had cost so much trouble, and the public mind was thereby embittered; on the other because the Portuguese Marranos were more steadfast than their Spanish brethren, and finally, because the common people supported the Inquisition and took part against the new-Christians. On these last João III. even laid a distinguishing mark to separate them visibly from other Christians.

They did not, however, so easily accept their defeat, but rather set to work with all imaginable energy to bring about a revocation of the Bull. The most subtle intrigues were again commenced

at the Papal Court. Duarte de Paz once more displayed his diplomatic skill. The Marranos raised complaints of the cruel dealings of the judges, who neglected to obey the Pope's instructions. More especially they complained that liberty to emigrate and dispose of their real estate was still denied to them.

In a memorial to the Pope they ventured on almost threatening language:

"If your Holiness should despise the prayers and tears of the Hebrew race, or despite our hopes, refuse to redress our grievances as would beseem the Vicar of Christ, then we protest before God, and with tears and cries that shall be heard afar off will we protest in the face of the universe, that finding no place for us where the Christian host first admitted us, with our lives, honour, children (who are our own blood and very salvation) made the butt of persecution, we will nevertheless try to hold ourselves away from the Jewish faith; but if tyranny ceases not we will do what no one of us would else think of, *i.e.*, return to the religion of Moses and abjure Christianity (which we are made to accept by main force). We solemnly cry aloud that we are victims, by the right which that fact gives us—a right which your Holiness recognises. Leaving our native land we will seek protection among less cruel peoples."

The Nuncio who had returned from Portugal, knowing by long years of experience the position of men and affairs, managed to convince the Pope that his sanction of the Inquisition was a mistake, and as Paul III. had only given way to momentary pressure, a change of sentiment soon followed, and he repented the step he had taken. He went so far as again to submit the Bull he had granted to a committee, and examine whether it was not illegally issued. To this Commission the Marranos' friend, Cardinal Ghinucci, was elected along with another of like mind, Jacobacio. They contrived so much to prejudice the third member, the honest but narrow-minded Cardinal Simoneta, against the Inquisition, that he begged the Pope to right matters by the revocation of his former Bull. Another Nuncio was sent to Portugal, who had authority within certain limits to nullify the proceedings of the Inquisition against the Marranos, to protect the latter,

and particularly to render easier their emigration from Portugal. The Pope also sent a brief after the Nuncio (dated August, 1537) empowering and, to some extent, encouraging all to give protection and assistance to the accused Marranos—in fact, to do exactly what in Portugal was held to be conniving at and participating in heresy. The king must have been considerably puzzled. Here he was at length in possession of a Bull, a Tribunal, a Grand-Inquisitor and his colleagues—the whole apparatus of a slaughter-house for the glory of God—and he might just as well have had nothing at all.

Meanwhile an incident turned the chances of the game in favour of the king and the fanatics. One day (February, 1539) a placard was discovered fastened on the door of Lisbon Cathedral. On it was: "The Messiah has never yet appeared—Jesus was not the Messiah, and Christianity is a lie." All Portugal was provoked at such blasphemy, and a strict investigation was set on foot to find out the offender. The king offered a reward of 10,000 crusados (ducats). The Nuncio also offered 5,000 crusados, as he, with many others, was of opinion that this was a blow from some enemy of the Marranos, designed to excite the king's fanaticism to a higher degree, and to get the Nuncio into trouble. To turn aside suspicion the new-Christians posted a notice on the same place—"I, the author, am neither Spaniard nor Portuguese, but an Englishman, and though you raise your reward to 20,000 crusados, you will not find me out." After all the original writer turned out to be a Marrano, one Emanuel de Costa. He confessed everything when cited before the Inquisition. The Civil Court then took him in hand and put him on the rack to make him name his accomplices. Finally after both hands had been cut off, he was burnt to death. The Marranos foresaw evil consequences for themselves

and took to flight. The king made the best of this opportunity to enforce the rules of the Inquisition with increased severity and bloodthirstiness, and to thwart the Nuncio's efforts. The maddest fanatics were at once elected Inquisitors, to the great anger of the Pope and his Nuncio. João Soares, whom the Pope himself once described as "not a learned monk, but one most daring and ambitious, with opinions and ideas of the very worst kind, who takes a pride in his enmity to the Apostolic See," was now given unbounded power over the lives of the new-Christians, and had as colleague, Mallo, an arch-foe of the new-Christians. For the Marranos the state of affairs grew worse every day. On three points, it is true, the Pope showed immoveable firmness: the Infante Don Henrique must not remain Grand-Inquisitor; Marranos accused of heresy should have the witnesses' (that is, their accusers') names declared; finally, after sentence was passed they should be allowed to have recourse to the Papal Court of Appeal. Indeed Paul III. caused a new Bull to be drawn up (12th October, 1539)—a renewal of that issued three years before—which was throughout of a favourable tenor to new-Christians, and would completely have crippled the Inquisition. But this likewise remained a dead letter. After this, fires for the obstinate heretics were kindled more frequently than ever, and more victims were sacrificed (from ten to forty in a year) without permitting them to appeal to the Pope. The denounced and suspected Marranos filled the prisons.

A contemporary poet, Samuel Usque, gives a dreadful picture of the tortures of the Portuguese Inquisition, which he had himself experienced in his youth :

"Its arrival deprived the Jews of peace of mind, filled their souls with pain and grief, and drew them forth from the comforts of home into gloomy dungeons, where they dwelt amid torment and sighs of anguish. It (the Inquisition) flings the halter round their necks and drags them to the flames; through its decrees they must see their sons

murdered, husbands burnt to death, and brothers robbed of life ; must see their children made orphans, the number of widows increased, the rich made poor, the mighty brought low, the nobly born transformed into highway robbers, chaste and modest women housed in lewd ignominious dwellings, through the poverty and desertion that it brings in its wake. It has burnt numbers to death, not one by one, but by thirties and fifties at a time. Not content with mere burning and destroying, it leads Christians to boast of such deeds, to rejoice when their eyes behold the members of my body (the sons of Jacob) burning to death in the flames which it has kindled with faggots dragged from afar on men's shoulders. Those who have been baptised against their will, steal about overpowered with fear of this savage monster (the Inquisition) ; they turn their eyes on every side lest it should seize them. With ill-assured hearts they pass to and fro, trembling like a leaf, terror strikes them suddenly, and they stay their steps lest it should take them captive. When they sit down together to eat, every morsel is lifted to their mouths in anguish. The hour that brings repose to all other beings only increases their anxiety and exhaustion. At times of marriage and the birth of children, joy and feasting are turned into mourning and disquietude of soul. At last there remains no moment which is not paid for by a thousand deadly fears. For it suffices not that they make themselves known as Christians by outward signs. Fire rages in their hearts, their tortures are innumerable."

Is this an exaggerated description? Did the poet's imagination transform petty sufferings into the pains of martyrdom? Every word of it is corroborated by an assembly of Cardinals officially gathered to investigate the proceedings of the Portuguese Inquisition against the Marranos.

"When a pseudo-Christian is denounced—often enough by false witnesses—the Inquisitors drag him away to a dismal retreat where he is allowed no sight of heaven or earth, and least of all to speak with his friends, who might be able to succour him. They accuse him on obscure testimony and inform him neither of the time nor the place where he committed the offence for which he is denounced. Later on he is allowed an advocate who often, instead of defending his cause, helps him on the road to the stake. Let an unfortunate creature acknowledge himself a true believing Christian, and firmly deny the transgressions laid to his charge, they condemn him to the flames and confiscate his goods. Let him plead guilty to such and such a deed, though unintentionally committed, they treat him in a similar manner under the pretence that he obstinately denies his wicked intentions. Let him freely and fully admit what he is accused of, he is reduced to extremest necessity and condemned to the dungeon's never-lifting gloom. And this they call treating the accused with mercy and compassion and Christian charity! Even he who succeeds in proving his innocence clear as the day is condemned to pay a fine, so that it may not be said that he was arrested without cause. The accused who remain steadfast are racked by every instrument of torture to admit the accusations against them. Many die in prison, and those who are set free bear, with all their relatives, a brand of eternal infamy."

As the Inquisition grew more and more severe and bloodthirsty, the Portuguese new-Christians clung with increasing tenacity to the last anchor of hope they had left—to the Pope and their other protectors. They had found a new advocate and mediator who gave promise of being more honest and energetically active on their behalf. The battle between the Portuguese Court and the Papal See blazed up afresh. It was a battle to the death, not for those immediately concerned, but for the miserable beings who, in spite of all self-repression, could not become reconciled to Christianity, and yet were not courageous enough to suffer for Judaism, who would give up neither convictions, wealth, nor position. To influence the Pope, or at least those about his person against the Marranos, the Infante and Grand-Inquisitor Henrique had a list of the delinquencies of the new-Christians made out and sent to Rome (February, 1542). The Marranos also, to wrest the weapons from their opponent's hands, in Rome and elsewhere, and once for all to refute the lying reports and statements of the Portuguese Court, drew up a bulky memorial (1544) wherein their troubled lot, from the time of King João II. and Manuel, who forced them to accept Christianity, until the most recent times, was set forth in detail and verified by documentary evidence, a monument of everlasting disgrace to that age.

Yet these reciprocal indictments led to no settlement. At length, when they saw that nothing would stop the execrable activity of the Inquisition now it had once been called into existence, the Pope and the Marranos felt how extremely important it was for them to secure at least two concessions. First, free right of emigration from Portugal for new-Christians; second, a general absolution (*Perdaõ*) for all those who had already been denounced or imprisoned, provided they

would promise to give up their Jewish creed and remain good Christians for the future. But these were the very points on which king and Dominicans would not yield. As though in defiance of the Pope, the king issued an ordinance (15th July, 1547), that for three years longer no new-Christian could leave Portugal without express permission or payment of a large sum of money.

Paul III. felt himself crippled for further action. He might shudder at the cruelties of the Portuguese Inquisition—the important sums which the Marranos spent on him and his sycophants might be ever so much needed to aid in carrying out his policy in Italy and in prosecuting war against the Protestants, yet he dared not show too stern a determination to thwart the Court at Lisbon. He too was held in bonds by Catholic fanatics. To fight the Protestant heretics and reinstate the Papal dignity, he had authorised the institution of the order of Jesuits (1540) who inscribed their banner with the watchword of the church militant. He had agreed to the proposition of the fanatical Pietro Caraffa for an Inquisition at Rome (1542). Loyola and Caraffa now lorded it over Rome, and the Pope was only their tool. Moreover, the Council of Trent was to be convened to settle the standard of faith, whereby the Protestants were to be humbled and their influence crushed. For this Paul III. needed ardent fanatical helpers who would keep the luke-warm up to the mark. Such men only Spain and Portugal could furnish. In Portugal the most friendly reception had been accorded to the Jesuits. Thus the Pope was forced to offer only a mild opposition to the Portuguese Court and to proffer requests where he should have been able to give orders.

At the Council, Bishop Balthasar Limpo was a worthy representative of the fanatical king of Portugal, and dared to make a speech against

the Pope which should have enabled him to see clearly that he was no longer master in his own house. The bishop vehemently asked Paul III. once for all to sanction the Inquisition against relapsed new-Christians, and censured his sympathy with them. He justly remarked:—

“As Christians, and under Christian names they leave Portugal by stealth and take their children, whom they themselves have carried to be baptised, with them. As soon as they reach Italy they give themselves out for Jews, live according to Jewish ordinances, and circumcise their children. This takes place under the eye of the Pope and the Papal See, within the walls of Rome and Bologna. This happens because his Holiness has granted to heretics the privilege that in Ancona no one may molest them on account of their belief. Under these circumstances it is impossible for the king to leave them the right of free departure from the land. Perhaps his Holiness asks it in order that they may settle in his States as Jews, and the Papal See derive advantage in that way. Instead of hindering the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal, it was his Holiness's duty to have introduced it long since into his own dominions.”

The Pope could only have given answer to such an harangue had he possessed a clear conscience and in very deed and truth preached Christianity as a religion of gentleness and humanity. But since he had need of blind fanaticism to keep up an obstinate warfare with Protestantism, and on the outbreak of the war against the latter had issued the murderous Bull (“Of the cross”) wherein Catholics, in the name of the Vicar of Christ, were called upon to “smite the Protestants to death!” when Limpo spoke he could make no reply. He was caught in his own trap. Yet he still tried to save one thing, the Marranos' free right of emigration from Portugal; on this condition he would give way to the Portuguese Court. But new-Christians wishing to depart from the land, would be required to give security that they would not emigrate to infidel countries, such as Turkey or Africa. To this also Bishop Limpo gave a convincing reply:

“Does it then make any difference whether these heretics take refuge under infidel governments or come to Italy? At Ancona,

Ferrara, or Venice, they can be circumcised and then go on to Turkey. They have Papal privileges, forsooth, so that nobody dare ask them if peradventure they are Jews! They have no distinguishing marks and can go undisguised and free wherever they like, can observe their ceremonies and attend their synagogues. Oh, how many attend these, who were baptised in their youth in Portugal, or were condemned to death or burnt in effigy! Give them free right of emigration, let them set foot in the land of the infidel, and they can openly confess themselves as Jews. The king will never allow such a thing, no theologian—do I say theologian?—no simple Christian could advise such a thing. Instead of his Holiness exerting himself to make the secret Jews safe, let him rather increase the number of Inquisitions in his own States and not alone punish Lutheran heretics, but those Jewish heretics also who seek refuge and protection in Italy."

Yet another circumstance compelled Paul III. to show a yielding disposition. Charles V., inspired thereto by his victory over the Protestants (April, 1547), sought to set himself above the Papacy, and would have liked to see a new ritual established which would be agreeable to Protestants as well as to Catholics. This was tantamount to declaring war against the Pope. The latter was therefore forced to break with the emperor, and that he might not stand unsupported against so powerful a foe, Portugal and the central Catholic States had to be won over to his side. To conciliate Portugal he sent thither a special Commissary provided with Bulls and Briefs wherein he partially sanctioned the Inquisition, though requesting that it might be put in force with less severity. Before all, however, the new-Christians accused of heresy and so-called relapse were for the present not to be sentenced, but on the other hand they might be made answerable for their conduct in the future. Even then, for the first ten years, the property of relapsed heretics was not to be touched, but to descend to their heirs. Paul III. consented to the restriction of Marrano emigration, on which so much depended for the Portuguese Court.

Prisons of the Inquisition at Lisbon, Evora and other cities were thrown open in obedience to the Pope's general absolution for new-Christians, and

eighteen hundred of the last-named were set at liberty (July, 1548). Soon after this all the Marranos were called together and forced to abjure their Judaizing tendencies. From that moment only were they recognised as being complete Christians and liable to be punished in case of heretical transgression. Even in such a case the Pope, in a Brief, desired the king to see that the Tribunals should deal mercifully with the heretics, since they only fulfilled Jewish observances from habit. Thus throughout his life Pope Paul III. kept the Marranos under his protection. Nevertheless they fell victims to their tragic fate. It was a cruel injustice to demand an open confession of Catholicism from them (when they protested against it with all their hearts), and then to punish them when detected in the performance of Jewish rites or ceremonies. On the other hand the State could never allow that a whole class of the population outwardly belonging to the Church should be left in a certain sense free to hold the Church in derision. Justice certainly demanded that the Marranos should have liberty of choice either to emigrate or confess themselves genuine members of the Church. But, as the Court acknowledged, their loss meant ruin to the State, for the Marranos of Jewish descent formed the most profitable class of the population. Their capital and far-reaching business transactions increased the revenue, caused a general circulation of money, and offered a market for imported raw materials from the Indian and African colonies. Without them the wealth of the whole country would be capital idly and unprofitably stored. Marranos were also the only artisans, and on them depended industrial prosperity. Plainly the State could not afford to lose them, and therefore the king tried to turn them into good Christians by the terrors of the Inquisition, so as to keep a certain hold on the profit and utility which sprang from their presence.

He laboured in vain. Every year fresh victims perished at the stake, although the survivors did not thereby become any the more faithful believers. The Portuguese Court could not, like the Spanish, rejoice at the Inquisition. Portuguese new-Christians were not yet, in spite of their confession, true Christians on whom the penalty of heresy could according to the Canonical laws be legally inflicted by the Inquisition. After Paul's death (Nov., 1549), Julius III. continued to give absolution to the Marranos. Even the succeeding Popes, who went with the current of reaction and persecution, allowed the Portuguese Inquisition to continue more as an accomplished fact than as a legal institution. Hence, even half a century later, a Pope (Clement VIII.) condemned the judicial murders of the Inquisition, and once more issued a general amnesty for condemned Marranos.

CHAPTER XVI.

STRIVINGS OF EASTERN JEWS FOR UNITY. SUFFERINGS IN THE WEST.

Efforts towards Unity—Jacob Berab proposes the re-introduction of Rabbinical Ordination in Palestine—Successful opposition of Levi ben Chabib—Joseph Karo—His connection with Solomon Molcho and his Messianic Visions—Karo's Religious Code—Converts to Judaism at the era of the Reformation—Expulsion of the Jews from Naples and Prague—Their return to the latter town—Dr. Eck—Martin Luther and the Jews—Moses Hamon—Three Jewish Histories by Joseph Cohen, the Ibn Vergas, and the Usque family—Poems of Solomon Usque and Elegies of Samuel Usque—The Printing-press of Abraham Usque—Re-action in the Catholic Church: Loyola establishes the Order of Jesuits—The Censorship of Books—Eliano Romano and Vittorio Eliano—Fresh Attacks on the Talmud—Paul IV. and his anti-Jewish Bulls—Persecution of the Marranos by the Inquisition in Ancona—Joseph Nassi—The Levantine Jews—Expulsion of the Jews from Austria and Bohemia—Relations of the Popes Pius IV. and V. to the Jews.

1538—1566 C.E.

EVERY fresh heaven-pointing column of smoke from the fires of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal was a signal that drove Marranos, singly or in groups, far away to the East, to Turkey, beyond the shadow of the cross. They no longer felt safe even in Italy, since the Popes, against their own higher convictions, allowed themselves to be overborne concerning the Inquisition. In Turkey there was thus by degrees formed a little Jewish world on which the Sultan's despotic rule allowed no encroachments, however much individuals might be exposed to arbitrary treatment. Here as in Palestine, where their numbers and prosperity had raised them in their own estimation, they could indulge in dreams of obtaining some degree of independence,

might strive for national and religious unity and realise their wild Messianic fancies. More especially the career of the Mantuan martyr, Solomon Molcho, did not close without leaving an impression, one might even say that his words were still echoing in the ears of his brethren. At Safet, the largest congregation in Palestine, where he had made a long stay, entering into alliances and awakening hopes, the fulfilment of his Messianic predictions was looked for even after his death. The completion of the round number 5300 from the creation of the world (1540) seemed to be a suitable year for the coming of the Messiah. But the Messianic period, according to then prevailing ideas, would not come suddenly, for the Israelites must do their part in preparing the way. Maimuni, the highest authority, taught that the Messianic time would or must be preceded by the establishment of a universally recognised Jewish court of justice or Synhedrion. Hence the necessity was felt of having authorised and appointed judges, such as existed at the time of the Temple and the Talmud in Palestine, and more especially of having the long-disused Ordination (Semichah) again introduced. There was apparently no hindrance to be feared from the Turkish State. Moreover the Rabbis had their own civil and even criminal jurisdiction; but then these Rabbis (who were also judges) being appointed by the community, had not the proper warrant of authority required by Talmudic rules. Obedience was not wanting, but there was also opposition. Authority was conventional and not built on the foundation of Talmudic Judaism. No unity of legislation and exposition was possible while every Rabbi was absolute in his own congregation, and was not subject to any higher authority. It was therefore a need of the times to create a sort of High Court for the Religion, and where else should that be done but in Palestine? The sacred memories connected with

that country might alone lend the dignity of a Synhedrion to a College of Rabbis. Teaching that was to meet with universal acceptation could proceed from Zion alone, and the Word of God only from Jerusalem.

How excellent and necessary it was to re-introduce the Ordination of Rabbis by a higher authority had been discussed by many, but only one had the energy to set about doing the thing in earnest, the acute-minded but wrong-headed and daring Jacob Berab. After long travels from Egypt to Jerusalem and thence to Damascus, Berab in his old age had settled at Safet. He was in good circumstances, and, owing to his wealth and intellect, enjoyed marked respect and consideration. He determined to give a definite direction to the aimless ideas floating in men's minds with regard to the coming of the Messiah. This was a praiseworthy aim, no doubt, but some little gratification of personal ambition was undoubtedly mixed up in his plan: to be himself the highest authority, perhaps within certain limits to be Chief of the Synhedrion in Palestine, and consequently revered throughout the East, and even by the whole Jewish race. The first step was difficult. Ordination could only be lawfully given by those who themselves had been ordained, and there had been no such men for a very long time. An utterance of Maimuni happily offered ground for a new departure, viz.: when wise men gathered together in Palestine shall agree to ordain one of their number, they have the right to do so, and the ordained Rabbi can also ordain others. At that time no community in Palestine could, in point of numbers, compare with Safet, which had grown through frequent immigrations till it contained more than 1,000 Jewish families. Safet, or rather the Talmudists of that city, therefore had it in their own hands (if they could only agree) to re-establish the dignity of the Synhedrion, even in the face of

opposition from other congregations, because the Safet party had the majority in numbers. The officiating and non-officiating Rabbis of Safet, men without name or fame, had far too high a respect for Berab's intellectual power, Talmudic learning and wealth, to gainsay his proposition or put any obstacle in his path. A hint from him sufficed to bring together five and twenty men ready to confer on him the dignity of an ordained Judge and Rabbi. Thus Ordination was re-established (1538), and the focus for a new Synhedrion determined. It rested with Jacob Berab to ordain as many colleagues as he pleased. From principles laid down in the Talmud he demonstrated in a lecture the legality of the step, and confuted every possible objection. One after another, Talmudists from other congregations in Palestine, announced their assent to this innovation. By this step Berab and his followers thought they had reached the first stage of preparation for the Messianic age. In fact, putting aside the question of its relation to the Messianic time, this renewal of Ordination might very well have been the nucleus of Jewish unity. A re-established Synhedrion in the Holy Land would have had a grand sound in Europe, might have exercised special attraction, and brought still more immigrants to Palestine. Persecutions of Jews in Italy and Germany, the war of extermination against Marranos in Spain and Portugal, a thirst for what was eccentric and out of the common in an age distinguished by strongly excited desire for the Messiah, all this would have been sufficient inducement to allure rich and educated Jews from Western lands to the East. With the help of their imported capital, and of the foundation of a Synhedrion, a Jewish community having the character of a State might have been organised, and Berab was the right and suitable person to carry out so great a scheme with perseverance—not to say with stubbornness.

But difficulties immediately arose. It was to be expected that if the congregation at Jerusalem and their representative were not consulted with regard to an act so pregnant with consequences, that there would be the danger of the whole arrangement being declared null and void, for the holy city should have the first vote in a matter of such weight for the Holy Land and all Israel. Jacob Berab saw this perfectly well, and proposed, as the first exercise of his newly-acquired dignity, to ordain the head of the Jerusalem College of Rabbis. Levi ben Jacob Chabib, who held that position, was born in Zamora, and was now about the same age as Berab. As a youth, in the times of forced baptism, under King Manuel, he became a pseudo-Christian, received a baptismal name, made the sign of the cross, and performed other ceremonies of the Catholic Church with a heart full of despair. On the first favourable opportunity he fled from Portugal, joyfully cast off his assumed garb of Christianity, and seeking safety in Turkey, finally betook himself to Jerusalem. There, by virtue of the wide range of his Talmudic learning (this was perhaps more extensive than profound) he became as Rabbi the first person in the community. By caring for the physical and spiritual welfare of his congregation he had deserved their gratitude, and especially by having piloted them through the disturbed state into which they were in danger of falling afresh through the new arrivals from various countries, who were disinclined to submit to law and order. Levi ben Chabib had also some knowledge of mathematics, astronomy and chronology. But between himself and Jacob Berab, with whom he had lived for some time in Jerusalem, there was no friendly relationship. Hence they had on several occasions come into collision, though Levi ben Chabib had always behaved in a friendly and

unassuming manner, and avoided aught that might wound his opponent. Their relations of late years had been more intimate, but Levi ben Chabib could not forget how slightly Jacob Berab had treated him.

And now, as Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem, he was invited to acknowledge the election of Jacob Berab as lawfully ordained Chief Judge and Rabbi of the Synhedrion, and to make known his approval of the same. Jerusalem was thereby subordinated to Safet, and he himself to Jacob Berab. This was certainly a real offence, for Berab had not thought it worth while to ask the consent of the Jerusalem College beforehand, but had haughtily made his innovation known through a decree in which, by virtue of the dignity conferred upon him, he designated Levi ben Chabib an ordained Judge. At the same time he announced that any disapproval from Jerusalem would disturb him but little, since it could only be regarded as opposition on the part of a minority against the majority at Safet. The moment for taking an important step towards Jewish unity had come, and it found Levi ben Chabib (whose vote at all events was of some importance) wanting in magnanimity. Resentment gained the upper hand; he forgot that in earlier days it had been his desire also to re-establish the Ordination of Rabbis. As soon as a notification of the act at Safet reached him, he immediately and emphatically declared himself against the election. His antagonism seems, however, to have found no response in Jerusalem, for only one of his Rabbinical colleagues, Moses de Castro, adopted his view, the remainder were content to acquiesce in Berab's action. In Talmudical and Rabbinical law arguments could not fail to be discoverable against the revival of Ordination and the Synhedrion. Such a confused host of various opinions existed therein, that proofs might be found for or against

almost anything. Berab and the doctors obedient to his nod in any case, gave a handle for suspicion. Rabbinical Judaism is so thoroughly practical that it offers no foothold for romantic enthusiasm and sentimentality. Consequently the Jews of Safet dared not give utterance to their underlying hope that through Ordination the Messianic time would be brought nearer, and they were also precluded from urging this reason for establishing the practice. Though the Rabbis might be filled with Messianic hopes, such a motive for the re-introduction of Ordination would have sounded too fantastic and ridiculous in their own ears. Other plausible grounds were not just then to be found. The calendar of holidays and festivals, which used to be prepared by ordained members of the College, had been fixed for a thousand years, and could not now be meddled with. Other cases where the Talmud required an ordained Judge were of too rare occurrence to permit the necessity of Ordination being proved on that head. The people of Safet therefore made the most of a reason, which was meant to appear practical and suited to the times, but which was nevertheless very far-fetched. Many Marranos were to be found in Palestine who had been forced during their outward assumption of Christianity to commit what according to the Talmud were deadly sins. With contrite hearts they repented of their transgressions, and longed for forgiveness and atonement—they had not given up the Catholic doctrine of outward penance when they cast off the mask of Christianity. Such forgiveness of sins however (Berab made it appear) could only be theirs when the scourging prescribed by the Law (39 stripes) was fully inflicted; but again this punishment could only be decreed by a lawfully ordained College. Therein therefore lay the necessity for Ordination.

If Levi ben Chabib were at all disposed to extend his antipathy to its originators, there could be no difficulty in proving this reason for the scheme itself to be invalid. But not content with this, he brought forward a host of sophistries. Jacob Berab had not expected such antagonism at Jerusalem from Levi ben Chabib and his colleague Moses de Castro, because he credited them either with less courage or more self-denial, and it embittered him extremely. It was all the more painful to him, since their opposition was capable of wrecking his whole undertaking. How could he hope that it would be acceptable to Asiatic, European and African Jews when Jerusalem, the holy city, would have none of it? And without such acceptance how could he make it the central point of a re-organisation? Added to this, his life was in danger at Safet, probably through denunciation to the Turkish authorities, who would grasp at any opportunity to get hold of his property. For the moment Berab had to leave Palestine. He consecrated four Talmudists (as Judah ben Baba had formerly done in Hadrian's time) so that the practice of Ordination might not immediately fall to the ground. These four were chosen not from the elder Rabbis but from the younger. Joseph Karo (the enthusiastic adherent of Solomon Molcho and his Kabbalistic Messiahship), who entered heart and soul into the Ordination scheme, was one of them. Such a preference, shown to younger and more pliable, if also more gifted men, stirred up increasing ill-will in Jerusalem. The two Rabbis of Palestine in the epistles exchanged on the subject (written with a view to publication) grew more and more bitter against each other, so offensive indeed that the most passionate warmth cannot excuse their language. In reply to Levi ben Chabib's censorious remark: "One who is consecrated and

ordained should not only have learning but holiness also," Jacob Berab made a spiteful reference to Levi's former compulsory adoption of Christianity—"I have never changed my name; in the midst of distress and despair I kept always in the way of the Lord." He also upbraided Levi ben Chabib with still having somewhat of Christian dogma sticking to him. This thrust reached his opponent's heart. The latter confessed that in the day of forced baptisms in Portugal his name had been changed and he had been made a Christian, and that he had not been ready to die for the religion of his fathers. But he brought forward his youth as an excuse; he was not then twenty years old, had scarcely remained a pseudo-Christian for a year, and now hoped that the flood of tears he had shed since then, and which he still shed, would wipe out his sin before God. After this humiliation Levi ben Chabib's violence against Berab knew no bounds. He flung the grossest insults at him, and declared that he hoped never more to meet him face to face. Through this intemperate violence of the Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem and Berab's death which followed immediately after (January, 1541) the system of Ordination fell to the ground.

Joseph Karo alone, one of those so ordained, refused to give in. This remarkable man, who later on had so deep an influence on Jewish history (born 1488, died 1575), was when a child driven from Spain with his parents. He early learned the bitter lessons of suffering, and after long travelling about Nicopolis, came to Turkey in Europe. There he studied the text of the Mishnah so well that he knew it by heart. Later on Karo left Nicopolis to settle at Adrianople, where on account of his extraordinary Talmudical learning, he was looked up to with respect and found disciples. In his thirtieth year he undertook a gigantic work, to furnish with a commentary, authorities and correc-

tions, Jacob Asheri's Code, to which he devoted twenty years of his life (1522 to 1542). Twelve years more were spent in a further revision (1542 to 1554). His imagination, kept in entire inactivity by such a dry task, was fired by the appearance of Solomon Molcho. That young enthusiast from Portugal made so overpowering an impression upon him, that Karo allowed himself to be initiated into the tortuous mazes of the Kabbala and to share Molcho's Messianic dreams. After this time his mind was divided in its activity, between dry Rabbinical scholarship and the fantastic ideas of the Kabbala. He kept up a correspondence with Molcho during the latter's stay in Palestine, and formed plans for going thither himself. Like Molcho, he prepared for a martyr's death "as a wholly acceptable sacrifice to be burnt on the altar of the Lord;" and like Molcho too, he had strange visions, which, according to his belief, were inspired by some superior being. This superior being (Maggid) was not however an angel, or an imaginary voice, but—drolly enough—the Mishnah personified, who descended to him generally at night-time and whispered revelations, because he had devoted himself to its service. Joseph Karo had these visions (which he for the most part committed to paper) not for a short period of time, but at intervals, to the end of his life, for nearly forty years. Part of them were afterwards published, and it is melancholy to see what havoc the Kabbala played with the intellect of that day. The superior being (or the Mishnah) laid the heaviest penances on Karo, forbade him to indulge in meat and wine, and went to the extent of prohibiting much drinking of water. If he were guilty of any fault, sleeping too long, being late at prayers, or slightly neglecting his study of the Mishnah, the mother Mishnah appeared and made the most tender remonstrances. She certainly made some most astonishing revela-

tions to him. These predictions were far from being mere deceptions, but were the promptings of a tumultuous epoch or an excited imagination, and were more in accord with the spirit of the warm luxurious East than of the cold and temperate North.

Joseph Karo was so full of the thought that he would be called to play a part in Palestine, which would end in his death as a martyr, during the time of preparation for the Messiah as begun by Solomon Molcho, that he left Adrianople. He stayed for some time at Salonica, a place swarming with Kabbalists. At length, in that nest of Kabbalists, Safet, he met one of like mind with himself, Solomon Alkabiz, a dull, spiritless writer, whose song of welcome for the Sabbath bride (*Lecha Dodi*) has become more famous than its author. At Safet, Joseph Karo experienced the joy of seeing part of his fantastic dreams fulfilled; he was ordained by Berab as a member of the future Synhedrion. After Berab's death Karo dreamed of nothing but his future greatness; he was to bring about Ordination, and to be recognised by the sages of Palestine and foreign countries as a patriarch and leader of the Jews in Palestine. He should educate the best Talmudists, so that only disciples of his school would be accepted. Every one would do him reverence as the holy likeness (*Diokna Kadisha*), and he should work miracles. True, like Molcho, he was to die the martyr's death, that God's name might be hallowed; but his resurrection would soon afterwards follow, and he should enter into the Messianic kingdom.

All these advantages and prerogatives were to be won by a single achievement which of itself would make the Jews into one great people, and gain them universal admiration. When his thorough commentary on Jacob Asheri's Code should be completed, printed, published and in circulation,

when he should have elaborated a comprehensive code of religious law grounded on that work and compiled by himself, he must surely be acknowledged as Patriarch and lawgiver in all Israel. His guardian angel had whispered to him that he would be made worthy to train many disciples and to see his writings printed and circulated throughout Israel. Then even the supernatural worlds would ask, "Who is the man with whom the king is well pleased, the Patriarch of Palestine, the great writer of the Holy Land?" He thus hoped to be able to publish his commentary, elucidations and decisions without fault or error.

Devoted piety, fantastical imagination, and some degree of ambition, were the elements which constituted and determined the manner of man who could elaborate, for the whole Jewish race, that final code of religious law which was designed to end all wavering, uncertainty, and antagonism of opinion. Kabbalistic enthusiasm combined with the Messianic hopes excited by Solomon Molcho, and the ceremony of ordination administered by Berab, gave Karo no rest until by means of a comprehensive written work he had accomplished these hopes at least so far as religious unity was concerned. Yet several decades were to elapse before the Jewish world received this gift. It was a colossal work which required years for its completion. Joseph Karo's astounding and incessant industry had to eke out any lack of genius. Such a work could only be accomplished by religious application and inspiration united with fantastic imagination. Of all these lofty dreams one only was actually realised, that he would be Chief Rabbi of Safet after Jacob Berab's death, and by degrees would be acknowledged as the Rabbinical authority. But his importance was not absolute; he had a rival in Berab's best disciple, Moses de Trani.

While the Jews of the East were rejoicing in a

certain peace and independence, and were able in consequence to build castles in the air concerning the Messiah, and endeavouring, although by mistaken means, to bring about an ideal state of things, the Jews of the West were subjected to the weight of fresh persecutions which were instituted against them. The old accusations of their hatred of mankind, their child-murder, their hostile attitude towards Christianity, which had ceased for a time during the excitement of the Reformation, were again heard. The bigoted ecclesiastical policy, which at this time was emphasized by those who sought to maintain their position against the ever-increasing strength of Lutheranism, re-acted upon the Jews and brought fresh sufferings upon them, principally in Catholic countries. To the old accusations was added a new one, which was brought against them by the Lutherans. The Lutheran and Calvinistic Reformation, which had extended both into England and Poland, had opened the eyes of many concerning religion and Christianity; and led them by thinking for themselves to find much that even the Reformers considered essentials of Christianity to be false, mistaken, and blasphemous. The Bible translated into most European languages, gave thoughtful readers an opportunity of forming a religious system for themselves differing from any of the dogmas of Rome, Wittenberg, or Geneva. In reading the Bible the Old Testament came before the New, and in the transition from the one to the other many perceived that there was much in both that was irreconcilable; that the doctrine of the Unity of God in the prophets was in direct contradiction to the doctrine of the Trinity propounded by the Church fathers. Besides this the Reformation had started, not only with an endeavour after religious freedom, but with an attempt to obtain political deliverance from the iron yoke of the princes, in

whose eyes the people were nothing, and only of importance for the payment of taxes and the forced service of bondmen. Now it struck not a few that the Hebrew scriptures promise justice to the people, and condemn the despotism of kings, whilst evangelical Christianity does not recognise a people but only humble believers, whom it exhorts to bow the neck to the yoke of the tyrants. The contrast between the Old and the New Testament, the one teaching active virtue together with a God-fearing life, and the other glorifying passive virtue together with blind faith, could not be overlooked by eyes sharpened through deep research into the Bible.

Among the host of religious sects which the Reformation called forth in the first decades, there arose some which nearly approached Judaism, and which were stigmatised by the ruling party as Half-Jews or Judaizers (*Judaizantes*, *Semijudæi*). These found the doctrine of the Trinity a special stumbling-block, and maintained that God must only be conceived as an absolute Unity. Michael Servetus, an Aragonese, perhaps instructed by Marranos in Spain, wrote a pamphlet on the "Errors of the Doctrine of the Trinity," which created a great sensation and brought him some faithful adherents; but he was burnt at the stake by Calvin at Geneva. The Reformers had retained the fanatical intolerance of the Catholic Church! Notwithstanding this a sect of believers in the Unity (Unitarians, Anti-trinitarians) arose which rejected the equality of Jesus with God. In England where Catholicism had only been overthrown by the whim of a tyrant, Henry VIII., and to gratify his sensual desires, a religious-political party began to be formed, which proposed to take the Old Testament system of government and adapt it to English circumstances. It appeared to recognise only Old Testament types and not to take any account of the praying brethren and

sisters of the New Testament. Many kept the Sabbath as the day of rest appointed by God, but with their windows closed. Some eccentric Christians conceived a sort of liking for the Jews as the successors of the Patriarchs, as the remnant of that people whom God had once favoured with the fulness of His grace, as the direct descendants of the great prophets. In the view of certain Christians they on this account deserved the highest respect.

Among the innumerable pamphlets which were written there appeared one, a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian, in which the grounds of the Christian dogmas were overthrown by texts out of the Old Testament. Publications of this sort helped also to make the Jews obnoxious to the Reformers. The adherents of the new faith simulated to a certain degree a hatred of the Jews in order to avert from themselves the suspicion that they wished to undermine Christianity and set up Judaism in its place. The Jews, therefore, had enemies on both sides, and were soon compelled to relinquish the illusion that Catholicism was overthrown, and that the new religion was in sympathy with them.

At that time, when the peasants of Southern Germany, Alsatia, Franconia and elsewhere, trusting too readily in the evangelical freedom proclaimed by Luther, had attempted to throw off the yoke of all their oppressors, the few Jews who were in Germany found themselves between two fires. On the one hand they were accused by the nobility and the upper classes of supporting and inciting the rebellious peasants and citizens by aiding them with their money; and, on the other, the peasants attacked them as the confederates and abettors of the rich and the nobility. Thus every hand was uplifted against them. The fanatical priest, Balthasar Hubmaier, who had effected the expulsion of the Jews from Ratisbon, was the adviser of the peasants of the Black Forest, and probably

the author of the twelve written demands (articles) which the peasants had proposed. Instead of becoming milder and more humane by his apostasy from the Roman Catholic faith, he had become still more fanatical as an adherent of the Anabaptists. He had no doubt excited the rage of the townspeople who wished to free themselves from their debts to their Jewish creditors, and that of the peasants who desired to enrich themselves with the property of the Jews. The province of the Rheingau made the following demand among others—namely, that no Jew should be allowed to remain in the district. The annals of the age of the Reformation thus continue to present annual accounts of banishments, tortures, and restrictions. But the times were improving. There were no longer sudden attacks, massacres, wholesale murders, but quiet, legal expulsion, and mere exile into poverty. Only such sad events as were of deep and far-reaching effect can here find a place.

In Naples, where the Spaniards ruled, the ultra-Catholic party had long tried to introduce the Inquisition against the Marranos who resided there. When Charles V. returned from his victorious expedition in Africa, this party tried to induce him entirely to banish the Jews from Naples because the Marranos were but strengthened in their unbelief by intercourse with them. But Donna Benvenida, the noble wife of Samuel Abrabanel, who was held in high respect by the Spaniards, had so ardently entreated the emperor to revoke the decree of banishment, and her young friend the daughter of the Viceroy so warmly supported her request that he could not refuse them. It is also possible that Abrabanel's money may have had something to do with it. But a few years afterwards, Charles ordered the Neapolitan Jews to wear the badge of shame on their dress, and in case of any transgression to suffer punishment in their person

and property, or leave the country. They chose the latter alternative, probably by the advice of Samuel Abrabanel, because they saw that the persecution would not end there, but that it would form the prelude to yet harsher treatment. But this voluntary exile was turned into banishment, and every Jew who should venture to show himself again in Naples was threatened with severe punishment (1540-41). Many turned their steps towards Turkey, a few went to Ancona, under the Papal protection, or to Ferrara, under the rule of Duke Hercules II. who passed for a friend of the Jews. Those who had emigrated by sea suffered much hardship and many of them were taken by pirates and carried to Marseilles. The Marranos who were living there did much for them, and King Henry II. also treated them humanely. As he could not venture to keep them in his country, he sent them in his ships to Turkey. Samuel Abrabanel also left Naples, although he was offered exceptional licence to remain there; but he refused to separate himself from the lot of his unhappy co-religionists. He settled in Ferrara, and lived there for about ten years. His noble wife, highly respected by Leonora, the daughter of the Viceroy of Naples, who had meanwhile become Duchess of Tuscany, survived him.

A year later the Jews of Bohemia experienced a milder, and so to speak, more decent form of hatred. There had been many fires in the towns, especially in Prague. The Jews and shepherds were accused of having caused them by hiring incendiaries to do this villainous deed. The Jews were also charged with having betrayed to the Sultan the secret preparations which were being made for war against the Turks. The Bohemian diet therefore resolved to banish all the Jews from Bohemia, and King Ferdinand, brother of Charles V., gave his assent. Thus they were compelled to start on their exile

with all their belongings (Adar, 1542), for of all the numerous Jews of Prague only ten persons or families received permission to remain there. Many of them found their way into Poland and Turkey, then the two most tolerant countries. The innocence of those who had suffered death, and also of the banished Jews, was however established in the course of the same year. A few of the more important people interceded for their recall, for they were more indispensable than trade jealousy, fanaticism, and the hatred of race would allow them to confess. Thus those who had settled near the Bohemian frontier were able to return to their home. But for this favour they were obliged to pay a tax of 300 schock (60 groschen), and were ordered to wear a badge of yellow cloth as a mark by which they might be distinguished.

At the same time two persons of exalted rank and great influence, the one on the Catholic and the other on the Protestant side, attacked the Jews so mercilessly, that it is a marvel they were not exterminated to a man. The cause of provocation in one instance was as follows:—About Easter, a peasant boy of four years old, belonging to the Duchy of Neuburg in Bavaria was missed, and suspicions arose that he was with the Jews. After Easter the boy was discovered by means of a dog, and enemies of the Jews sought to find signs of Jewish torture on his body. Upon this the Bishop of Eichstädt caused certain Jews to be seized and dragged to his residence that they might be tried, and also sent a request to all the neighbouring princes to seize the Jews in their domains. But the enquiry did not prove the guilt of the Jews. On this occasion Duke Otto Henry of Neuburg warmly espoused the cause of the Jews, and exerted his influence to oppose the Bishop of Eichstädt. The latter moved heaven and earth to have them banished at all events. A courageous writer,

probably at the suggestion of the duke, boldly defended the Jews against the prejudice of Christians in a pamphlet. This publication, a "Little Jews' book," the author of which was a Lutheran pastor (perhaps Hosiander) for the first time placed the whole falsehood and malice of the accusation of the murder of Christian children in a clear light. The author, who professed to have had much intercourse with the Jews, and to have become thoroughly acquainted with their language, laws and customs, declared with a loud voice that a shameful injustice was done to the Jews by these perpetual accusations of child murder. The wealth and the pure faith of the Jews were the reasons of it. On the one hand avaricious and cruel princes, or impoverished nobles or citizens, who owed money to the Jews, invented such tales in order to be able to use violence against them; and on the other, such fables were invented by the monks and secular clergy in order to make new saints and fresh shrines for the encouragement of pilgrimages. In all the long period which had elapsed since the dispersion of the Jews among Christians, no one had ever asserted till within the last 300 years that they had murdered Christian children. These idle tales had only become current since this period, and since the monks and priests had practised so much deception with pilgrimages and miraculous healings. For the priests feared no one more than the Jews, because the latter disregarded human invention and understood the Scripture better than the priests, who therefore persecuted the Jews to the utmost, slandered them, and caused them to be hated. They even wished to burn their sacred books. Therefore it was fair to assume that the priests had invented the story of the murder of the child in the province of Neuburg. The author further points out that till the third century the Christians were accounted by the heathen world as child-murderers

and shedders of blood. The confessions of the Jews themselves, upon which the accusations were founded, had been made under the infliction of torture, and ought not to be received as evidence.

The fanatical Catholic priests, and especially the Bishop of Eichstädt, saw with indignation that the Jews instead of being shunned and persecuted were glorified in this book, and hastened to efface the impression. Dr. John Eck, so notorious in the history of the Reformation, and a favourite of the Bishop of Eichstädt, was commissioned to write an answer to it, to prove the crime of bloodguiltiness, and to defame the Jews. This juristical theologian, with the broad shoulders of a butcher, the voice of a seditionist, and the disputativeness of a sophist, who had brought the Catholic Church, which he intended to defend against the Lutherans, into discredit by his vanity and his intemperate habits, this unprincipled disputant gladly took upon him the commission to have a fling at the Jews. In 1541 he wrote an angry reply to the above-mentioned pamphlet, in which he set himself to prove "the evils and wickedness that the Jews have brought about in all the German territories and other kingdoms." He revived the old accusations against baptised Jews, patched together old wives' tales about the cruel nature of the Jews, raked up the false stories about Trent and Ratisbon uttered by Jews when undergoing torture, and added his own experiences to them. Eck was so shameless as to bring proofs of the cruelty of the Jewish character from the Old Testament. In order to cast infamy upon them he even slandered the Old Testament heroes held sacred by the Church. In bitter words and with a false show of learning he maintained that the Jews mutilated the children of Christians, and used their blood in the consecration of their priests, to assist their wives in child-birth,

and to heal sickness; and that they desecrated the Host. He exclaimed indignantly: "It is a great mistake that we Christians leave the Jews so much freedom and grant them protection and security." It was probably on the petition of the Jews against these accusations that the emperor, Charles V., renewed their privileges, and declared them innocent of shedding the blood of Christians.

It is not edifying to find that Luther, the champion against obsolete prejudices, the founder of a new faith, should have agreed completely on the subject of the Jews with his mortal enemy Dr. Eck, who had employed similar falsehood with the same effrontery towards himself. These two passionate opponents were of one heart and one soul in their hatred of the Jews. Luther had become greatly embittered with advancing age. He had lost much among his own followers by his obstinacy and persistent cavilling, had disturbed the unanimity of those who were of the same way of thinking, and created a lasting breach in his own camp which caused infinite harm to the Reformation for several centuries. His hard disposition had always gained the mastery over his gentle religion and humility, and his monkish narrowness could not at all comprehend Judaism with its laws, which brought forth and developed not only the faith, but the morality and elevation of man. He even became enraged when his colleagues Karlstadt, Münzer, etc., referred for example to the year of Jubilee, and the enfranchisement of the slaves and serfs. A pamphlet in the form of a dialogue, probably written by a Christian, had now been sent to him, in which Judaism was involved in a contest with Christianity; this was too much for him. Could Judaism be so bold as to think of measuring itself against Christianity! Luther at once set about writing a passionate, stinging pamphlet: "Concerning the Jews and

their lies" (1542), which even exceeded the writings of Pfefferkorn and Eck in spitefulness.

Luther began by saying that he had made up his mind not to write anything further about the Jews, nor against them, but because he had learnt that "this miserable and wicked people" dared to entice Christians to join them, he wished to warn such weak-minded men not to allow themselves to be befooled. Luther's principal argument for the truth of Christianity, against the denial of the Messiahship of Jesus by the Jews, is written in very monkish style. Because the Christians had for more than a century robbed them of all the rights of man, had treated them as evil beasts, had trodden them under foot, torn them asunder and slain them: in a word, because they had fallen into distress through the harshness of the Christians, therefore they must be rejected, and the Saviour of the world must have appeared!

This is mediæval logic. But it exceeds the limits of all indulgence towards the amenities of a marked individuality, when Luther employs, in his uncharitableness towards the Jews, language such as was only usual with those who openly condemned the Jews to the stake. "Why should the Jews complain of their hard captivity among us?" he says. "We Christians suffered persecution and martyrdom at their hands for nearly 300 years, so that we might well complain that they took us captive and killed us. And to this very day we know not what devil has brought them into our land" (as if Jews had not dwelt in some districts that then belonged to Germany long before the Germans were there). "We did not bring them from Jerusalem; besides that, no one wishes to keep them: the country and the roads are open to them, let them return to their own land, we will gladly give them presents if we can but be rid of them, for they are a heavy burden upon us,

a plague, a pestilence, a sore trial." Luther like Pfefferkorn and Eck stated with malicious delight how the Jews were often driven out by violence "from France and recently from Spain by the beloved Emperor Charles (an historical blunder); this year also from the entire dominion of Bohemia, for one of their strongest nests was in Prague; also from Ratisbon, Magdeburg, and many other places in my time."

Without a glance at the great patience displayed by the Jews in the midst of bitter enemies, and untaught by history, Luther did nothing but repeat the lying accusations of the vindictive Pfefferkorn whose falsehood and villainy had been so palpably proved by all people of true humanity. In imitation of this arch-enemy of the Jews he wrote that the Talmud and the Rabbis taught that it was no sin to kill the Goyim, that is, heathens and Christians, to break an oath to them, or to rob and plunder them, and that the one and only aim of the Jews was to weaken the Christian religion. It is incomprehensible that Luther, who had taken the part of the Jews so strongly in the first heat of the Reformation, could repeat all the false tales about the poisoning of the springs, the murder of Christian children, and the use of human blood. He also maintained, in agreement with Eck, from whom in other respects he was so widely divided, that the Jews were too prosperous in Germany, and had in consequence become insolent.

What is to be done with this wicked, accursed race that can no longer be tolerated? asked Luther, and he gave an answer to the question which shows equal want of charity and of wisdom. First of all the reformer of Wittenburg recommended that the synagogues should be reduced to ashes, and that this be done "to the honour of God and of Christianity." Next, the Christians were to destroy the houses of the Jews, and drive them all under one roof,

or into a stable like the gipsies. All Prayer Books, copies of the Talmud, and of the Old Testament were to be taken from them by force (just as Luther's opponents the Dominicans had advised), and even prayer and the use of God's name were to be forbidden under penalty of death. Their Rabbis were also to be forbidden to teach. The authorities were to prohibit the Jews from travelling, and to bar the roads against them, so that they must stay at home. Luther advised that their money should be taken from them, and that this confiscated wealth be employed to establish a fund from which those Jews who should embrace Christianity might be maintained. The authorities were to compel able-bodied Jews and Jewesses to forced labour, and to keep them strictly employed with the flail, the axe, the spade, the distaff and spindle, so that they might earn their own bread in the sweat of their brow, and not live in idleness, feasting and splendour. The Christians were not to show any tender mercy to the Jews. Luther urged the emperor and the princes to expel them from the country without delay, and to drive them back into their own land. But anticipating that the princes would not consent to such folly, he exhorted the clergy and teachers of the people to fill the minds of their hearers with hatred of the Jews. He observed that if he had power over the Jews he would assemble the best and most learned among them and enforce upon them the argument that Christianity teaches not that there are *three* Gods, but *one* God, under penalty of having their tongues cut out. Luther even stirred up highway robbers against them. He had heard that a rich Jew was travelling through Germany with twelve horses. This Jew was known at the time as the wealthy Michael from Frankfort, the protégé of the Margrave of Brandenburg; if the princes did not close the road against him and his fellow-believers, Luther

urged the robber-knights to do so, because Christians would learn from his pamphlet how depraved was the Jewish nation. These absurd charges Luther ascribed to a worthless convert, Arnton Margalitha, the son of a Rabbi of Ratisbon. He had become a Catholic, and being punished on account of calumnies, had turned Lutheran, and had written a foolish book against the Jews, and from this book Luther had taken his unjust attacks upon them.

Shortly before his death he further exhorted his hearers in a sermon to drive out the Jews:—

“Besides all this you still have the Jews who do great evil in the land. If they could kill us all they would gladly do so, aye and often do it, especially those who profess to be physicians—they know all that is known about medicine in Germany, they can give poison to a man of which he will die in an hour, or in ten or twenty years; they thoroughly understand this art. I say to you lastly, and as a countryman, if the Jews refuse to be converted, we ought not to suffer them, or bear with them any longer.”

Thus the Jews had almost a worse enemy in the reformer and regenerator of Germany than in the Pfefferkorns, Hoogstratens and Ecks, and certainly a worse one than in the Popes till the middle of the century. But few heeded the words of those who were known to be sophists and liars, while Luther's uncharitable utterances were worshipped as oracles by the Christians of the new faith, and but too well followed out. As Jerome had infected the Catholic world with his openly avowed hatred of the Jews, so did Luther poison the Protestant world for a length of time with his Jew-hating testament. The Protestants, or Lutherans, became even more bitter against the Jews than the Catholics. The leaders of Catholicism demanded absolute submission to canonical law, but on this condition granted them permission to remain in Catholic countries; Luther, on the other hand, required their absolute expulsion. The Popes often issued exhortations that the synagogues should be spared; but the founder of the Reformation insisted

upon their desecration and destruction. His was the reproach of placing the Jews on a level with the gipsies. This arose from the fact that the Popes occupied the highest rank in life and dwelt in Rome, the metropolis of the world, the centre-point of affairs in the four quarters of the globe; thus they had no eye for petty events, and left the Jews almost unnoticed because of their small importance. Luther, on the other hand, who lived in a petty country town and amidst narrow surroundings, listened to all the gossip against the Jews, judged them by the measure of a country bumpkin, and reckoned up every farthing that they earned against them. He therefore was the cause of their being expelled by the Protestant princes. In Roman Catholic States the Dominicans alone were their deadly enemies.

This hatred of the Jews followed them even into Turkey. If there were neither Roman Catholics nor Protestants, at all events there were Greek Catholic Christians. Turks and Greeks lived together in the towns of both Greece and Asia Minor. The latter, who would not give up their arrogance, but dared not display it towards the ruling Turks, persecuted the Jews with silent hatred, and took advantage of every opportunity to draw upon them the persecution of the government. On one occasion some of them gave rise to a persecution in the town of Amazia in Asia Minor. They caused a poor Greek, who was in the habit of associating with the Jews, and who had been supported by them, to disappear, and then accused some Jews of having murdered him. Hereupon the Turkish Cadis seized the accused, put them to the torture and forced them to acknowledge the murder. They were hanged, and an eminent Jewish physician, Jacob Abi-Ayub, was burnt (about 1545). A few days afterwards a Jew recognised the Greek who was supposed to have

been murdered, learned from him the manner in which he had been made to disappear, and brought him before the Cadi. The latter, justly incensed against the malicious Greek accusers, had them executed. A similar accusation, the falseness of which was brought to light, was about the same time brought against a Jew of the town of Tokat.

Incensed by these cruel events, Moses Hamon, the Sultan Solymán's Jewish physician, took occasion to obtain a decree from the Sultan that an accusation against Jews in Turkey of having murdered a Christian, as well as other horrible calumnies should not be brought before the ordinary judges, but before the Sultan himself.

The hatred against the Jews, though restrained in Turkey, only raged the more openly in Christian countries. The republic of Genoa had not for a long time suffered a Jew to remain more than three days within its boundaries. Notwithstanding this, fugitives from Spain or Provence were from time to time received in the town of Novi, near Genoa; they went in and out of the capital itself, and were suffered to remain there. In the party differences between the Patrician families the little community repulsed by the one side was again taken up by the other. Most of them were industrious, intelligent Jews; capitalists or physicians. But here again the Dominicans stirred up the people against them and roused the professional jealousy of the Christian physicians. In consequence of this, and contrary to the wishes of the Doge Doria, the Jews were driven out of Genoa (April, 1550), and a proclamation was made to the sound of trumpets that henceforth no Jews should be suffered to remain. This expulsion from Genoa was only so far of importance because a clever Jewish historian was included in it, whose fate represents in miniature the

painful lot that the Jewish race experienced on a large scale.

The vicissitudes in national life as well as the changes in the life of the Jewish people, especially since their cruel expulsion from Spain and Portugal, and the heartless persecution of the Marranos, at length brought some clear-seeing Jews to the conviction that history is not ruled by chance, but that a Higher Hand guides it, bringing to pass destined events by means of bloodshed and tears. Since the time of the Crusades no century had been richer in changeful, almost dramatic events than the sixteenth, when even fresh continents were discovered, for a new spirit prevailed among mankind, which strove after new creations, but which was always kept down by the leaden weight of existing systems. This general activity, however, led a few thoughtful Jews, mostly of Sephardic origin, to the firm conviction that the work of Providence was to be perceived in the apparently whimsical and irregular course of universal and Jewish history. They considered that the narrative of history afforded comfort to that portion of mankind which had been overthrown, overridden and downtrodden by the tumultuous course of events. And what race stood in more need of consolation than the Jewish, a martyred people that appeared as if born only to sorrow and which ate the bread of tears? Almost at one and the same time three enlightened Jews undertook the task of casting a retrospect upon history, and of placing before the Jewish reading world their brazen tables. These were, the physician Joseph Cohen, the learned Talmudist Joseph Ibn Verga, and the highly intellectual poet Solomon Usque. All three began with one and the same fundamental idea. The spirit of the prophets, which recognised in the course of historical events the fittest means for instruction and improvement, had come upon them, and they incontestably showed that the Jews

even in their degradation were not like the gipsy rabble, who neither had a history nor knew that they stood higher than those who wielded the sceptre and sword, the rack and the club, for the subjugation of mankind.

The greatest of these historians was Joseph ben Joshua Cohen (born at Avignon, 1496, died 1575). His ancestors came from Spain at the great expulsion, his father Joshua had emigrated to Avignon, and thence moved to Novi, in the Genoese State, had also lived for a while in Genoa, and been expelled thence. Joseph Cohen had studied medicine, devoting himself both to the theory and practice. He appears to have been family physician in the House of the Doge Andreas Doria. His heart beat warmly for his Jewish brethren, and he was zealous in his endeavours to lighten their unhappy lot. He once exerted himself to obtain the release of a father and son who had been cast into prison by the heartless Giannettino Doria, nephew and presumptive heir to the Doge. But Joseph Cohen only succeeded in delivering the father, the son did not escape till the memorable night of Fiesco's conspiracy. At the last expulsion from Genoa (1550), the inhabitants of the little town of Voltaggio begged him to settle amongst them as a physician, and he lived there for eighteen years. But history attracted him more than the practice of medicine, and he began to search for chronicles which should enable him to write a sort of universal history in the form of annals. He began with the period of the decline of the Roman empire and the substitution of a new form of government, and represented the course of the world's history as a struggle between Asia and Europe, between the Crescent and the Cross; the former represented by the then powerful dominion of Turkey; the latter by France, which had set up Charlemagne, the first Christian monarch of several nations now united as one. Joseph Cohen

connected the whole of European history with these two groups of nations. He included all the events and wars of Christendom, and of the Mahometan countries in "The Annals of the kings of France and of the House of Othman" (such was the title of his historical work). In the history of his own times, which he either witnessed himself or obtained from the experience of contemporaries, he is an impartial narrator, and therefore his work is a trustworthy source of information. The Hebrew form of writing history which he borrowed from the best books of the Bible renders his account most forcible. The Biblical language and dramatic style give a charm to the work, and raise it above the level of a dry chronicle.

Joseph Cohen introduced the history of the various persecutions of the Jews at the different periods when they occurred. His chief aim was to point out the just guidance of God in the course of history, showing how violence and cunning met with their desert, and were cast down from the height they had attained. He sympathised with the sorrows which he described; therefore he often wrote with intense bitterness.

Very different is another historical work of the same period, upon which three generations, father, son and grandson were employed. Judah Ibn Verga was a member of the distinguished family of Ibn Verga, which was related to the Abrahanel. He was both a Kabbalist and astronomer, had noted down in a book some of the persecutions which the Jews had undergone in different countries and at various times. Solomon Ibn Verga, who had witnessed the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, and who for a time pretended to be a Christian, and then emigrated to Turkey as a Marrano, added a few facts to the remarks made by his father. He understood the Latin language, and so borrowed and

added fresh material from various Latin documents. His son Joseph Ibn Verga, who belonged to the College of Rabbis at Adrianople, completed the work by adding some of the events which took place in his own times and the age immediately preceding, and then published the whole under the title of "Judah's Rod of Correction" (Shebet Jehuda). Joseph Ibn Verga was also learned in Latin, and incorporated with it many narratives from Latin documents. This martyrology of the Ibn Vergas is not composed of one work, but is a medley without plan or order, destitute of chronological sequence. Imaginary conversations between Jews and Spanish or Portuguese kings are given in it as having actually taken place. But the Hebrew style is brilliant and graceful, without possessing a Biblical colouring like that of the historical works of Elias Kapsali and Joseph Cohen. Ibn Verga sought (towards the end of the first part) to show the reason why the Jewish race, and, above all, the Spanish Jews were visited with so many intolerable trials, and found it in the preference which was once shown for the Jewish nation: "Whom God loves most He chastens most." But the chief sources of persecution were to be found in the division between Jews and Christians in the matter of food and drink, in the revenge taken by the Christians for the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, in the offences of Spanish Jews against Christian women, in the envy of their riches and in the false oaths of which they were guilty. Ibn Verga did not conceal the faults of his race; perhaps he overstated them. Joseph Ibn Verga added a heartfelt prayer that the numerous sufferings which Israel had undergone, and was still enduring, might cause its sins to be forgotten. All the nations of the world were united in hatred to this race; every creature in heaven and on earth was sworn to enmity against it; before the Jewish child began to prattle it was

pursued by hatred and scorn. "We are despised like the lowest worms, may God soon fulfil his promises to His people."

The most original of the three members of the Usque family was Samuel, who had no doubt fled from the fire of the Inquisition in Portugal, and settled with his relations in Ferrara. He was a poet like Solomon Usque, known under his Spanish name of Duarte Gomez, but his muse did not occupy herself with foreign material, with imitations and translations, but created something original and peculiar. The brilliant and tragical history of the Israelite people had great attraction for him, and it did not exist merely as a lifeless mass of learning in his memory, but lived in his heart as a fresh bubbling spring from which he drew comfort and inspiration. Biblical history with its heroes, kings, and men of God, the history subsequent to the banishment, with its alternations of splendid victory and unhappy overthrow, the history of the destruction of the Jewish rule by the Romans, all the events and changes of these three periods were present to Samuel Usque's mind. Into these materials he infused a poetical spirit, and wrote a long and most touching poem, which was at once a lament and consolation in the Portuguese language; it was not in verse, but in such elevated prose that it charms the reader even more in this garb. It is a conversation between three shepherds, Icabo, Numeo, and Zicareo, the first of whom laments with tears of blood the tragical fate of Israel since its appearance on the scene of history; the other two pour the balm of comfort into the broken heart of the unhappy shepherd, and show him how these sufferings are the necessary steps to the attainment of a glorious goal. Samuel Usque named this historical dialogue: "Consolation for the sorrows of Israel." He intended to comfort the Portuguese fugitives in Ferrara and

elsewhere, who had again attached themselves to Judaism, in their great sorrows and sufferings by his vivid picture of the Jewish past, and to lead them to look forward to a happy future.

He represented the Israelite nation now as a mourning widow who wrings her hands in lamentation, and weeps day and night over the long list of the sufferings of her sons for thousands of years; now as a prophetess inspired by God, clothed in a radiant robe, whose eye pierces the darkness and sees a glorious future, and whose lips utter wisdom and pour balm on the burning words. Though he was not a regular historian, yet no one has represented the principal features of Jewish history from the earliest times down to the present with so much light and life as Samuel Usque.

The external form of this historico-poetical dialogue is as follows: the shepherd Icabo (or Jacob as the representative of the Jewish nation), laments in a lonely spot the misery of his flock, which is dispersed throughout all parts of the world, humiliated and torn in pieces. "To what quarter of the globe shall I turn and find healing for my wounds, oblivion of my sorrows and comfort in this grievous, heavy torment? The whole earth is full of my misery and my distress. I am like a poor, heavy-laden pilgrim in the midst of all the riches and delight of favoured Asia. Amid the wealth of the gold of sun-burnt Africa, I am an unhappy, starving, fainting exile. And Europe, Europe! my hell upon earth! what shall I say of thee, thou who hast adorned thy greatest triumphs with the limbs of my flock? How can I praise thee, Italy, thou blasphemous and warlike land! Thou who hast fed upon the flesh of my lambs like a ravenous lion! Ye accursed pastures of France, which did furnish poisoned grass for my flocks to feed on. Thou proud rough mountain-land of Germany, which hast taken my children and dashed

them in pieces from the tops of thy wild Alps. And you sweet fresh streams of England, from you my flocks have only drunk bitter, brackish waters. Hypocritical, cruel and bloodthirsty Spain, in you voracious and ravening wolves have devoured, and still devour my fleecy flocks!" The two shepherds, Numeo and Zicareo, attracted by the heartrending lamentations of Icabo, induce him by much persuasion to tell them his sorrow and thus obtain relief for his burdened heart. But not without a struggle does he bring himself to do this. He then describes to his two friends the former splendour of his flock, and thus brings before their eyes the prosperous days of Israel. Then he passes to the trials which God's flock have had to endure. Icabo is at length induced by gentle persuasion to relate the history of his unhappy race in detail, first the ill-treatment and exile during the existence of the first temple, then in a second dialogue the bitterness they endured, and the exile till the second destruction of the temple by the Romans; and in a third dialogue, the sufferings which his people bore during the long exile; the first forced baptism which Sisebut, king of the Western Goths imposed upon the Jews of Spain; the expulsion of the Jews from England and France, Spain and Portugal; the horrors of the Inquisition which Usque had himself beheld; and lastly, the desecration of a synagogue at Pesaro, (1552). In this manner does Icabo (or Samuel Usque) go through the long range of Jewish history. He concludes this summary of their sorrows thus:

"Scarcely hadst thou ceased to drink of the poisoned cup of the Babylonians, which had well-nigh proved fatal to thee, O Israel, when thou wast revived to endure the torments inflicted by the Romans; and when this double misfortune which so cruelly tore thee in pieces was at an end, thou wert indeed still living, but fast bound to suffering and misery, tortured by fresh pangs. It is the fate of all created beings to experience change; only not thine, for thy unhappy lot is not changed, and has no ending."

The friends again offer comfort and consolation to Icabo. They say :

"Sorrows, be they never so great and intense, all have their object. They have been partly incurred by a sinful life and by backsliding from God, and are intended to serve for the correction and purification of Israel. It is also a blessing that this people should be scattered abroad among all the nations of earth, that the wicked may not succeed in utterly destroying them. When the Spaniards drove thee out and burnt thy people, God ordained that thou shouldst find a country ready to receive thee and where thou couldst dwell in freedom, namely, Italy."

The enemies who had treated Israel so unmercifully were said to have received their punishment. The poet said of the Spaniards that Italy had become their grave, of France, that Spain had been to it a rod of correction; of Germany, that the Turks were its executioners, who made of it a wall against which to direct their cannon; and of England, that wild and savage Scotland was a perpetual thorn in its side. One great comfort was that all these sufferings, sorrows, and trials which came upon the Jewish race were literally announced and precisely foretold by the prophets. They had only served to elevate Israel, and as the prophecies of evil were verified, so they might trust that the prophecies of good would also not remain unfulfilled.

The dialogues end with comforting prophecies in the feeling words of Isaiah. This encouraging description served doubtless to sustain the Marranos in their newly-recovered creed, and to endure sufferings of every kind, even death itself for it.

Samuel Usque was of opinion that the sufferings of the Jewish people were soon to decrease; and that the long looked-for morning would follow the darkness of night. But the Church showed him that this anticipation was but ill-founded. He lived to see fresh tribulations arise in his immediate neighbourhood, and there began a whole system of fresh persecutions which the Jewish historian, Joseph

Cohen, was able to record in his annals of Jewish martyrdom. These fresh troubles had their origin in the reaction which the Roman Catholic Church was desirous to institute with ardour against the ever-increasing growth of the Reformation. Two men strove at almost the same time, but quite independently of each other, to re-establish declining Catholicism, and thereby laid snares in the way of the progress of the human race. A Neapolitan, Pietro Caraffa, and a Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola, both men of zeal, and ready to take the initiative, began with self-castigation and ended by reducing the minds and bodies of others to bondage. The worm-eaten Papacy, which was at that time ready to crumble away beneath the laughter and derision of its opponents, and for which its own friends did little but shrug their shoulders, was raised by these two men almost to a greater height than in the time of Innocent III. and his immediate successors, because it rested not on the tottering foundations of dreamy belief, but on the firm ground of a powerful conviction and reckless determination. Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV., and Loyola, the founder of the order of the Jesuits, so powerful to this day, were very much in earnest in impressing the minds of the faithful with the belief in the supremacy of the Papacy, and the Pope's power to bind and to loose, both in heaven and on earth, of which they themselves were firmly convinced. Caraffa re-established the discipline of the Church which had grown lax, increased its severity, and placed a rod of iron in her hand. He introduced into the Catholic world the same means which Torquemada, Deza, and Ximenes de Cisneros had employed in Spain to force the Jews and Moors to become members of the Church, namely, the stake. All those who held any belief differing in so much as a hair's breadth from Papacy were either to abjure it or be burnt. The merciless

power which relentlessly destroys all independent thought was to restore her credit to the defamed Church.

In order to regain possession of the minds which had striven to emancipate themselves, and to keep them in bondage, the Inquisition thought it in the highest degree necessary to watch the press. The existence of the press had brought mischief and schism into the Church (so thought Caraffa and those who were like-minded with him), and thus, as a necessary preliminary, the press must be gagged. Only such things were allowed to be printed as were approved by the Pope and his followers. The censorship of the press had indeed been introduced by previous Popes, but as everything hitherto had been done by bribery, publishers had been able to print and disseminate seditious works against the existing Church system, either with or without the knowledge of the clergy whose office it was to control such publications. The seditious controversial pamphlets in the Reuchlin quarrel, the famous "Letters," Von Hutten's shafts at the Papacy, Luther's first pamphlets against the Romish Babylonian harlot, inflammatory materials which, appearing in rapid succession, kindled on all sides the tow of which the Church tent was woven, were the result of the negligent management of the censorship. This was now to be changed. The censorship was henceforth to be entrusted only to such priests as were faithful to the Papacy, and who were prepared to exercise their office without leniency, either from conviction or from instincts of self-preservation.

The Jews soon felt the effect of this fierce Catholic reaction, for they had no sort of protection, and only owed their miserable existence to neglect in the enforcement of the canonical laws already existing against them. But as soon as the Church began seriously to put these hostile

decrees into execution, the existence or at least the peace of the Jews, was endangered. First of all the question of the Talmud was again raised, but not with the same lukewarmness as forty years before. At that time Pfefferkorn and the Dominicans of Cologne could not hope to obtain a hearing before the Papal chair for their proposal to burn the Talmud, but were obliged to have recourse to all sorts of ruses in order to gain over the emperor to their policy. Now a totally different spirit prevailed. The universal harm caused by the Talmud needed only to be hinted at by malicious converts for a decree to be at once issued against it. The fresh outcry against it arose from such persons.

Elias Levita, the Hebrew grammarian who lived for a long time in the house of Cardinal Egidio di Viterbo, and who had instructed many Christians in the Hebrew language both orally and by his writings, and had also imparted to some a superficial knowledge of the Kabbala, had left two grandsons, the children of his daughter, who were received in Christian circles. One of them, Eliano, had learnt Hebrew thoroughly, and was a corrector and copyist in several towns of Italy; his brother, Solomon Romano, had travelled much in Germany, Turkey, Palestine and Egypt, and understood many languages: Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, Arabic and Turkish. Eliano, the elder, had become a Christian under the name of Victor Eliano, and was a priest, latterly even a canon. Solomon Romano was so indignant at this that he hastened to Venice to persuade his brother to return to the bosom of Judaism. But instead of converting, he himself became converted. A Venetian patrician, much attached to the Church, set about bringing him over to Christianity, and what he began a Jesuit finished. Solomon Romano was baptised (1551), and assumed the name of John Baptist, to the great grief of his mother, who was

still living. He became a Jesuit and afterwards an ecclesiastical writer, wrote upon the mysteries of the Christian faith, a Hebrew and Arabic catechism, and other similar subjects. This grandson of the grammarian Elias Levita, with two other converts, Joseph Moro and Ananel di Foligno, not content with having forsworn their religion, appeared, like Nicholas Donin, before the Pope to denounce the Talmud, and repeated the same slanders, namely, that the books of the Talmud contained abuse of Jesus, the Church, the whole of Christendom, and that they hindered the conversion of the Jews in a body. Julius III. was by no means bigoted, least of all was he inimical to the Jews. But it no longer lay with the Pope to decide upon the Talmud; this task devolved on the Court of the Inquisition, that is to say, on the fanatical Caraffa, and Julius III. was obliged to approve and sign the decree laid before him by the Inquisitor-General (12th August, 1553). In this treatment of the Talmud the emptiness of the boasted infallibility of the Papacy was seen. Leo X. had furthered the printing of the Talmud, and the third Pope in succession after him helped in its destruction. The officers of the Inquisition thereupon attacked the houses of the Roman Jews, confiscated the copies of the Talmud and compilations made from it, and burnt them with special malice on the Jewish New Year's Day (9th September), so that the Jews might feel the grief at the destruction of their sacred books the more keenly. But the Inquisitors did not wage war against the Talmud in Rome only. Copies were everywhere burnt by hundreds of thousands throughout the whole Romagna, in Ferrara, Mantua, Venice, Padua, and in the island of Candia, which belonged to Venice. The officers of the Inquisition in their fury no longer distinguished between the Talmud and other Hebrew writings. Everything that fell into their hands became a prey to the flames; they even

seized copies of the Holy Scriptures themselves. The Jews of all Catholic countries were in despair; they were robbed by this confiscation of all the Rabbinical books which contain the precepts of a religious life, and in which there is no word referring to Christianity. They therefore appealed to the Pope to revoke the decree, or at least to permit them the use of these harmless Rabbinical writings. Julius III. agreed to this latter request, and issued a Bull (29th May, 1554) that the Jews be compelled under pain of corporal punishment to give up all copies of the Talmud, but that the bailiffs be not allowed to seize other Hebrew works merely out of spite to the Jews. Transgressors of this decree were to be visited with severe ecclesiastical punishment. Henceforward all Hebrew books were subjected to inspection before they were published, lest they should contain a shadow of reproach against Christianity or Rome. The censors were mostly baptised Jews, who thus had the opportunity of tormenting their former companions in religion.

Matters became worse for the Jews after the death of Julius III., as the College of Cardinals insisted strongly that all henceforth elected to the Papacy should belong to the strictest Church party, and, if possible, be monks. Cultivated, humanely-disposed dignitaries, who loved the arts and sciences, if such there still were, had fallen into disfavour.

Marcellus, the first of the reactionary Popes, was succeeded in the Papal chair by the bigoted and fanatical Caraffa, under the name of Paul IV. (May, 1555—August, 1559). He retained in his old age all the violence and passion of his youth, and framed his policy accordingly. He hated not only the Protestants and Jews, but even the Spaniards, the most useful tools of ecclesiastical fanaticism; he termed them, and the bigoted King Philip II., "worthless seed of the Jews

and Moors." Soon after his accession to the Papal chair he issued a Bull by which every synagogue throughout the States of the Church was ordered to contribute ten ducats for the maintenance of the house of catechumens in which Jews were to be educated in the Christian faith. Still more severe was his second Bull against the Jews, (12th July, 1555), which set all the canonical laws in action against them with even greater harshness. They were to remain shut up in Ghettos, and were only to possess one synagogue; the rest were to be destroyed. They were not allowed to employ Christian servants, not even wet-nurses, and were forbidden to have any intercourse with Christians in general. Every Jew was commanded to wear a green cap, and every Jewess a green veil, even outside the precincts of the city. They were not to be addressed as "Sir" by the Christian population. They were also forbidden to own real estate, and those who had any were ordered to sell it within six months; thus they were compelled to part with their lands, which were worth more than 500,000 gold crowns, for a fifth of their value. But the severest blow was that the Jewish physicians were prohibited from attendance on Christians, though so many Popes owed their health to them. Heavy penalties were attached to the infringement of this edict. These cruel measures were carried out with extreme severity, and the edict was fully enforced against the Talmud. Thereupon many Jews forsook Rome, which had become so malicious towards them, and betook themselves to more tolerant States, but they were maltreated on the way by fanatical mobs. Those who remained in Rome were treated by the Pope in a most undignified manner. First, it was said that they had only made a feint of selling their lands and set up sham purchasers of them, and for this they were imprisoned; next, the Pope announced that those Jews who were not working

for the common good should leave Rome within a short space of time. When the terrified Jews asked for an explanation of what was meant by "working for the general good?" they received the Pharaoh-like reply, "You shall know at the proper time."

Paul IV. compelled them to do forced labour in repairing the walls of Rome which he desired to fortify against his sworn enemies, the Spaniards. Once he, whom the Jews not unjustly called Haman, impelled by his fierce enmity against them, commanded his nephew to set fire to all their dwellings under the veil of the darkness of night. The latter was unwillingly about to carry out this order, when he met the sensible Cardinal Alexander Farnese, who advised him to delay the execution of the inhuman deed that the Pope might have time to come to his senses. The order was revoked on the following day.

But if the fanatical Pope Paul IV. thus ill-treated the Jews, he raged with even greater fury against the Marranos in his dominions. Many of those Jews who had been forcibly compelled to become Christians in Portugal had found an asylum in Ancona, and received from Pope Clement VII. an indemnity guaranteeing that they should not be molested by the Inquisition, but might remain attached to Judaism. The next two moderate Popes, Paul III. and Julius III., had confirmed this privilege to the Marranos, convinced as they were that baptism enforced by violence could have no sacramental significance. The more that the Inquisition, now introduced into Portugal, proceeded against the Marranos, as it had done in Spain, the more fugitives took refuge in Italy. They settled, with the property they had rescued, in Ferrara and Ancona, trusting in the privileges assured to them by the head of Catholic Christendom. But what did the vindictive Pope Paul IV. care for an assurance of safety granted by his

predecessors, and for a time recognised by himself, if it were in opposition to his notion of orthodoxy? His perverse spirit could not suffer this. Paul therefore issued a secret order that all the Marranos in Ancona, who already numbered several hundreds, should be thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition, a trial of their orthodoxy instituted, and their property sequestered (Elul—August, 1555). This was a severe blow to the Marranos, some of whom had already been there for half a century, and had lulled themselves into a dream of security. Even those Marranos who were Turkish subjects, and who had only for a short time dwelt in the flourishing seaport because of their trade with the Levant, were included in the accusation of Judaizing, and were imprisoned in consequence. Their goods were also confiscated as a matter of course. The furious Pope thus cut off a considerable source of his revenue just at the moment when he was about to plunge into a costly war with Spain.

But very few Marranos succeeded in escaping from the officers of the Inquisition. These were all received by Duke Guido Ubaldo, of Urbino, and quartered in Pesaro, because he was then at enmity with the Pope, and thought to transfer the trade of the Levant from Ancona to Pesaro by means of a connection with the Marranos. Duke Hercules II., of Ferrara, also offered the Portuguese and Spanish Jews, from whatever country they might have fled, an asylum in his dominions, and finally invited them thither (Dec., 1555). Among those who escaped to Pesaro was a man then held in high repute, the celebrated physician Amatus (Chabib) Lusitanus (born 1511, died 1568), a sensible and intelligent man, a skilful physician, a noted scholar, and a man of equal conscientiousness and amiability. He had borne the name of João Rodrigo de Castel-Branco as a pretended Christian. He

also appears to have been driven from his home by the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal. He had been for longer and shorter periods in Antwerp, then the most important city of Flanders, afterwards visited both Ferrara and Rome, but had permanently established himself at Ancona (about 1549), where he had quite openly assumed his family name of Chabib, and Latinized it under the form of Amatus Lusitanus. Although he openly professed himself a Jew, he was frequently summoned to the Court of Pope Julius III. to attend him in sickness. Sufferers came to him from far and near. The art of healing was to him a sacred office, which he fulfilled with concentrated devotion, and with his whole soul, in the endeavour to prolong human life. Amatus was therefore able to take a solemn oath—by God and His holy commandments—that he had always laboured purely for the welfare of mankind, had never concerned himself as to the reward, had never accepted valuable presents, had treated the poor without fee, and had made no difference between Jews, and Christians, and Turks. Nothing had ever hindered him in his devoted calling, neither family considerations, nor long distances. Amatus had many disciples of his art who were attached to him, and whom he regarded as his children. In his young days he had already written medical works which were so highly esteemed that they were often printed during his lifetime. The greatest interest was excited by his seven “Centuries” (each dealing with a hundred cases of illness), in which he minutely described the means he had employed to effect a cure, with the result, and gave at the same time the characteristics of the diseases treated by him. These “Cures” procured for him a very extensive fame during his lifetime; they were frequently printed in Italy, France, and Germany, and even in Spain, and were used by other physicians as text-books. Amatus received

an invitation from the King of Poland to come to his Court in the capacity of his private physician, an invitation which he did not accept.

This benefactor of mankind, the ornament of his time, was obliged to flee like a criminal from Ancona to Pesaro, and afterwards to journey even further, because he refused to make a ridiculous confession of faith before the bloodthirsty Inquisition of Paul IV., and did not wish to expose himself to the risk of a death by fire. More than a hundred Portuguese Marranos, unable to flee, had to pine in the dungeons of the Inquisition until their sentence was announced to them. This was to the effect that those who penitently made confession of the Catholic faith should be set at liberty, but be carried to the island of Malta, and that they should forfeit all honours and dignities. Sixty Marranos agreed to this hypocrisy, but twenty-four of them, among whom was an aged woman, Donna Maiora, remained firm in the faith of their fathers: "The Lord our God is one God," and were burnt at the stake (May, 1556). Most of those who were to be transported to Malta escaped and took refuge in Turkey. A cry of horror was heard from all the Jews when the news of this shocking catastrophe was spread abroad. It was as illegal as it was cruel, because, as has already been said, the religious freedom of the Marranos in Ancona had been solemnly confirmed to them by three Popes in succession. The Portuguese Marranos in Turkey were completely stunned by this blow administered to their fellow-sufferers. They bethought themselves of means by which to be revenged on the insane and heartless Pope. The peculiar position of the Jews in this century made it possible for them to entertain the idea of a struggle with their malicious enemy in the chair of St. Peter. A union of all the Jews of the East might furnish the means for it.

There lived at this time a noble Jewish lady, who was an ornament to her sex and her people by her grace, intelligence, her character and greatness of mind, and who was one of those beings whom Providence seems from time to time to place in the world that the likeness of man to the Divine Image may not be quite forgotten. Donna Gracia Mendesia was a name which her Jewish contemporaries pronounced only with admiration and love. Blessed with ample means, which she expended wisely, and only for the benefit of others and for the elevation of the character, she commanded an influence equal to that of a princess—as she really was—and reigned over the willing hearts of hundreds of thousands. She was called the Esther of her time. But what anguish of mind she was obliged to endure before she dared openly to call herself Gracia (Hannah)! The waves of meanness and wickedness surged around her, but could not sully the purity of her soul. Born in Portugal (about 1510, died about 1568), of a Marrano family named Benveniste, she was married under the Christian name of Beatrice to a rich participator in the same unhappy fate, one of the house of Nassi, who had taken the baptismal name of Francisco Mendes. He had founded an extensive banking business, branches of which extended through Flanders and France. The German emperor and ruler of two quarters of the globe, Charles V., the King of France, and many princes besides, were debtors to the house of Mendes. A younger brother, Diogo Mendes, was head of the branch bank at Antwerp. When the husband of Beatrice died (before 1535), leaving her with one daughter named Reyna, and the terrible Inquisition, introduced into Portugal, threatened danger to her property, and the lives of herself and her child, she betook herself to her brother-in-law at Antwerp, accompanied by a younger sister and several young nephews. She

also furnished some poor Marranos with the means to flee from the fires of the Inquisition. Through her interposition and that of her brother, the sums which the pseudo-Christians paid to the emissaries and creatures of the Pope were employed in frustrating the designs of the Inquisition. The Mendes family acquired a high position in Antwerp, where there were also Marranos. Mendesia's young, handsome and clever nephew João Miques associated with the first people in the city, and was much beloved by Maria, ruler of the Netherlands, formerly Queen of Hungary and sister to Charles V.

Beatrice was however by no means at her ease in Antwerp. Affection for the religion in which she had been born, and which she was compelled to deny, and a horror of the Catholic faith thus forced upon her, made Flanders just as hateful to her as Portugal. She longed for a country where she could freely follow the impulses of her heart, which glowed with love to Judaism. She therefore importuned the husband of her younger sister, who was the head of the banking business, either to proceed with her to Germany or elsewhere, or to pay over her own share of the property. Diogo Mendes had already fixed a time for this removal to take place when he died (1540—1546); he also left a widow and a daughter Gracia, the younger. This was the beginning of sorrowful days for Mendesia. She had been recognised by her brother-in-law in his will as the head of the widely-extended business, but could not settle the affairs of the house quickly enough to enable her to follow the wish of her heart and betake herself to some tolerant land, where she could openly confess herself a Jewess. Besides, Charles V. in his covetousness had already cast an eye upon the large property of the house of Mendes. An accusation was made by the imperial attorney-general that the deceased Diogo

Mendes had secretly practised Judaism. It may also have become known that he had supported the antagonists of the Inquisition by word and deed. It was therefore decreed that the whole of his property, being that of a heretic, should in consequence be forfeited to the exchequer. The order was indeed issued that the goods and account books of the house of Mendesia should be seized and sealed up. In the meantime the widow Mendesia succeeded in satisfying the avarice of the officials for the moment by bribes and the advance of a large loan. But it was almost impossible for her to leave Antwerp without exciting suspicion against herself, and endangering her property still more. Thus she was obliged to remain there in great distress of mind for more than two years until the loan was repaid by the emperor.

At length the hour of her deliverance seemed to be at hand, when she could leave Antwerp and proceed to Venice. The story runs that her nephew, João Miques, had wooed her daughter Reyna, for whose hand several Christian noblemen had asked, and that he had fled with her to Venice. Perhaps this was only a story sedulously spread by the Mendes family so as to afford a pretext for their journey to Venice, and that no hindrance to their plan might be interposed. But this precaution was not successful. After her departure, Charles V. again gave orders that her property, so far as it lay within his dominions, should be seized, because the sisters were both Jewesses in secret, and Mendesia the elder (as she was called) was again compelled to pay large sums to avert this fresh calamity.

But misfortune, greater than any she had yet experienced, was in store for her at Venice from a quarter whence she least expected it, namely, from her younger sister. The latter, as reckless and dissipated as the elder was prudent and sedate, demanded of her the share of the property

which belonged to her and her daughter, in order that she might do with it as she pleased.

But Donna Mendesia neither could nor would agree to this, she having been made sole manager of the property, and also guardian of her niece, who was still under age. Chafing at this guardianship, and probably guided by evil counsellors, the younger sister took a step which turned out to her own disadvantage. She informed the Venetian government that her elder sister was about to emigrate to Turkey, taking with her all her wealth, there to resume her adherence to Judaism, while she herself and her daughter desired to remain Christians; and she asked the Venetian authorities to assist her in obtaining possession of her property, in order that she might use it as a good Christian in Venice. The rulers of Venice, who thought they saw the prospect of a rich prize, did not hesitate to take up the accusation, cited the accused to appear before the legal authorities, and arrested her to prevent her flight. Her ill-advised and worthless sister also sent an avaricious messenger, who was also an enemy of the Jews, to France, to take possession of the property there belonging to the Mendes family. This envoy thinking himself insufficiently paid for his errand denounced the younger sister also as a secret Jewess, and the French Court laid hands on the Mendes property in France. King Henry II. held himself exempt from repaying this debt to the family. The unfortunate Mendesia was meantime endeavouring to divert these blows aimed at herself and her property. Her nephew, João Miques, gave liberal assistance to prevent losses and to set his noble relative free. Either he or his aunt found a way to induce the Sultan Solyman to embrace their cause. Were such immense riches about to be brought into his dominions, and should the Venetian Republic, which existed only

by his forbearance, dare to deprive him of them? That roused his fury. His private physician, Moses Hamon, a Jew who hoped to win the hand of the rich heiress Reyna for his own son, had disposed the Sultan in favour of the Mendes family. A special messenger of state (Tshaus) was sent from the Porte to Venice, with instructions that the imprisoned Marrano was at once to be set free, and allowed to depart unhindered for Turkey with all her property. In consequence of this a difference arose between the Court of Turkey and the Republic of Venice, which afterwards led to animosities. An important part was thus thrust upon this poor lady against her will.

In the meantime she succeeded—no one knows how—in finding a place of refuge in Ferrara under the protection of the liberal-minded Duke Hercules of Este, where she resided for several years (about 1549 to 1553) under her Jewish name, a blessing and a comfort to her fellow-sufferers for their faith. Here she was able for the first time to exercise openly and freely her sublime virtue, her lively sympathies, her generosity, her genuine piety—in a word, all the nobility of her heart. Her wisdom and prudence were of great service to the Marranos in Italy. The poet Samuel Usque, who dedicated his beautiful work to her, spoke of her with enthusiasm and deep respect. He makes his Numeo, who plays the part of consoler in the dialogues, utter the following among other grounds of consolation for the sufferings of the Israelites, viz., that they had met with unexpected help from this good woman :

“Who has not seen the Divine Mercy revealing itself in human form as it has shown and still shows itself to thee a shield and defence against thy wretchedness? Who has not seen the heartfelt compassion of Miriam over again in the sacrifice of her own life to save that of her brethren? Or the great wisdom of Deborah in ruling her fellow-men? Or the infinite virtue and holiness of Esther in protecting the defenceless? Or the memorable exertions of the chaste widow

Judith in order to deliver the besieged from terror? The Lord hath sent her down in our days from the midst of His holy angels and united every virtue in one person, and for thy happiness it is that He hath placed this soul in the lovely form of the blessed Jewess Nassi. She it was who, at the beginning of the dispersion (of the Marranos), gave strength and hope to thy perishing sons, made hopeless by their want of means to escape the fire, and encouraged them to go forth on their pilgrimage. With bountiful hand did she succour those who had already set out on their wanderings in Flanders and other parts, and who, weakened by poverty and overcome by the perils of the sea passage, were in danger of getting no further, and strengthened them in their need. She did not withhold her favour even from her enemies. With her pure hand and her heavenly will has she freed most of this nation (of Marranos) from the depths of endless misery, poverty and sin, led them into safe places, and gathered them together into obedience to the precepts of the true God. Thus did she become thy strength in thy weakness."

The two editors of the Ferrara-Spanish Bible, Abraham Usque and Athias, who dedicated it to "Her Highness the Señora Donna Gracia," described her invaluable services in a few words:

"We desire to dedicate the translation to your Grace, as the person whose deserts among our people will always occupy the foremost place. May you be pleased to accept it, to favour and protect it with the spirit which has always favoured those who have asked help of you."

She did in fact protect all three of the Usques. This eulogy might sound partial from their lips; but all, even the most conscientious Rabbis of the time, were full of her praise, and wrote with equal enthusiasm, if not equal elegance, of her virtues:

"The noble princess, the glory of Israel, the wise woman who builds her house in holiness and purity, with her hand sustains the poor and needy, in order to make them happy in this world, and blessed in the world to come. Many are they whom she has rescued from death, and lifted them up from the abasement of a worthless life, when they were languishing in a dungeon and were given over to death. She hath founded houses wherein all may learn the law of God. She has given to many the means whereby they may not only live, but live in plenty."

After Donna Gracia Nassi had become reconciled to her sister, who may perhaps have perceived that she only endangered herself by assuming an antagonistic attitude towards Gracia, after she had seen her sister's child, the beautiful young Gracia

betrothed to her nephew Samuel Nassi in Ferrara, and after she had provided like a mother for all the members of her family, she carried out her long-cherished intention, and betook herself to the Turkish capital in order to escape the many annoyances to which she was subject in Christian territory. Her gifted nephew, João Miques, who was betrothed to her daughter Reyna, and who had undertaken a long journey to Lyons, Marseilles, Rome and Sicily on business affairs, had by his adroitness prepared a good reception for her in Constantinople. With skilful diplomacy, which he had acquired by intercourse with Christian statesmen, he obtained a hearty recommendation to Constantinople from M. de Lansac, the Ambassador of the French Court, with whom the Mendes-Nassi family had been at enmity, and so met with a favourable reception there. Not till he was in Constantinople did João Miques make an open avowal of Judaism, when he assumed the name of Joseph Nassi, and married his wealthy cousin Reyna. He did not go thither alone, but took with him a great following of 500 persons, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian Jews. He made his appearance there as a prince; his tact, his knowledge of European affairs, and his wealth, procured him an entrance into the Court circle, and secured the favour of Solyman. But his noble mother-in-law remained as before the principal manager of the large property of the family.

The Jewish inhabitants of Constantinople soon felt the beneficent hand of Donna Gracia and her son-in-law. They assisted the poor, established houses of prayer and schools, and made endowments for teachers of the Talmud. But their benevolence was not limited to Spaniards and Portuguese, it was extended also to Germans and to the city of Constantinople.

When therefore the news came that Pope Paul IV. had imprisoned the Marranos of Ancona with the in-

tention of burning them sooner or later, the heart of Donna Gracia felt a terrible pang, such as a mother feels when her children are in misfortune, for she had taken them all into her heart as her own sons and brothers. She did not however give herself up to useless lamentation, but at once joined with her son-in-law in taking active steps for their relief. She first addressed herself to the Sultan Solymán entreating him at least to demand that those Marrano Jews from Turkey, then in Ancona on business, should be surrendered to him, and had the happiness of seeing this request fulfilled. Sultan Solymán addressed a letter to the Pope (March 9th, 1556), expressed in the haughty tone which the Turkish rulers assumed in the consciousness of their power against the Christian princes, who were weakened by their disunion. He complained that his Jewish subjects had been unjustly imprisoned, whereby his treasury had suffered the loss of fully 4,000 ducats, besides a still greater diminution of his revenues on account of injuries done to the Turkish Jews. The Sultan insisted that the Pope should at once set at liberty all the Marranos in Ancona who belonged to Turkey, and hinted that in case his representation should meet with an unfavourable reception, reprisals would be made upon the Christians dwelling in his dominions. Paul IV. was most unwillingly compelled to submit, set free the Turkish Jews, and allowed them to depart uninjured. The remainder, who had no powerful partizan, were, as has been said, burnt. The Jews resolved to be revenged on the Pope, and hoped for the active aid of Donna Gracia and her son-in-law for accomplishing this purpose.

Duke Guido Ubaldo of Urbino had received the Marranos who fled from Ancona into Pesaro only because he thought by this means to bring the Levantine trade of the Jews to his own port. The community of Pesaro therefore sent a dis-

patch to all the Turkish communities which had commercial relations with Italy, counselling that they should no longer send their goods to Ancona, but to Pesaro. The commerce of the Turkish Jews was very considerable, everything passed through their hands, they competed with the Venetians, and sent out their own ships and galleys. The Jewish-Levantine merchants had hitherto made Ancona the staple port for the wares which they shipped from Turkey to Europe, in order to lessen the pre-eminence of Venice. In the first ebullition of indignation at the shameful deed of Pope Paul IV. many of the Levantine Jews agreed to the proposal of the Jews of Pesaro (Elul—August, 1556), and resolved to punish him severely by entirely cutting off the important source of revenue arising from the commerce of the Levant. But as this measure was only practicable if all the Jews who traded with Italy were privy to it, the participators in the arrangement at first only agreed that they would not carry on trade with Ancona for eight months (till March, 1557).

The Jews of Pesaro and the Marranos formerly in the Turkish dominions of course made every effort to effect a general movement to place the Pope and his seaport under ban. The former therefore sent a special agent to Turkey, and he took advantage of several circumstances. But the resident Jews of Ancona, who did not belong to the Marranos, were afraid that their own interests would suffer injury by the removal of the trade of the Levant to Pesaro, and lost no time in sending letters to the Jewish communities in Turkey, entreating them not to make any binding agreement, because they would themselves incur great danger owing to the passionate disposition of the Pope, who would certainly drive them into misery if he learnt that the Jews intended to be revenged on him.

All eyes were therefore directed towards Con-

Constantinople, for thither all the representatives of the commercial towns of Salonica, Adrianople, Broussa, Ancona and the Morea had sent letters requesting that the matter might be well weighed and their interests regarded. Donna Gracia and Joseph Nassi had of course the principal voice, and were resolved from the beginning to punish the inhuman Pope severely. They at the same time instructed their agents to send the goods belonging to their house to Pesaro. The Portuguese and some of the Spanish communities in Turkey also agreed to make a decided stand and prohibit trade with Ancona under threat of exclusion from Jewish commercial circles. But some opposition was made in Constantinople itself, many of the merchants fearing that their interests would be endangered by the preference given to Pesaro. The matter was therefore in the hands of the Rabbis of Constantinople. If they unanimously considered that the Port of Ancona was to be avoided out of regard to the danger which threatened the Marranos of Pesaro, their authority would fall into the balance and settle the question. Gracia and Joseph therefore influenced the Rabbis, so that they decided to pronounce against the Pope.

Two Rabbis, however, were opposed to this decision. As no unanimous decision was made in the chief community of Constantinople, the Jewish merchants of the other Turkish communities were spared the imposition of restrictions upon their trade with Ancona. It was in vain that Donna Gracia, who regarded the question as of the deepest interest, demanded an opinion from the Rabbis of the community of Safet, which enjoyed the highest authority among the Jews of the East, in the persons of its two representatives, Joseph Karo and Moses di Trani, in order to aid the Marranos of Pesaro. The ban of the Rabbis against Pope Paul IV. was not put in action. Whilst the Rabbis were still

consulting, that which Donna Gracia and her adherents had been fearing, to their great grief came to pass. Duke Guido Ubaldo, who was disappointed in his expectation of seeing his port of Pesaro become the centre of commerce with the Jews of the Levant, and who was attacked by the Pope for his favour towards the Jews, ordered the Marranos to depart from Pesaro (March, 1558). It must be accounted as a great merit in him that he did not surrender them to the officers of the Inquisition. Most of the exiles sailed eastwards in hired ships; but the Pope's naval police lay in wait for them, and they escaped with difficulty. Some were taken prisoners and treated as slaves. The skilful and humane physician, Amatus Lusitanus, himself a Marrano, who had resided for a short time in Pesaro, and then in Ragusa, restoring many Christians to life and health, was also obliged to quit Christian territory and take refuge in the town of Salonica, which was almost entirely peopled by Jews (1558-59). This same year seems also to have brought misfortune to the Marranos of Ferrara, and the duke withdrew his protection from them, for the printing press of Abraham Usque was closed, and Joseph Nassi's brother, Don Samuel Nassi, was so badly treated by the duke, that he was obliged to call in the intercession of the Turkish Court to enable him to remove to Constantinople in peace. One threatening glance from the infidel Sultan had more effect upon the Christian princes than the voice of justice and humanity.

The nearer Paul IV. approached to the grave the more did he become incensed against the Jews. Two baptised Jews, named Sextus Senensis and Philip or Joseph Moro, travelled through the Jewish communities situated in the States of the Church at his command, and annoyed the Jews with their irritating sermons. The latter of the two once

forced his way into the Synagogue of Recanate on the Day of Atonement (1558) with a crucifix which the Jews regarded as an idolatrous image, and ostentatiously placed it in the box where the "Sacred Torah" was kept. When the Jews turned him out for this insult to their sanctuary he collected the furious mob round the house of God, and two Jews who had laid hands on him were seized and scourged by order of the chief magistrate of the place. Pope Paul IV. was most enraged against the Marranos and the Talmud. He tried to drive the former out of their most secret hiding-places. Many pseudo-Christians of Spain and Portugal, unable to save themselves by flight, entered some monkish order, and, so to speak, howled with the wolves to escape being attacked by them. Paul IV., to whom complaints were made that Jewish Christians had joined different monkish orders, forbade the members of the same to receive Jews among them.

He went yet more thoroughly to work with the Talmud, of which there was not a copy left in the States of the Church, nor throughout the greater part of Italy, for the owners of one were exposed to the heaviest penalty. The schools were for the most part abolished. Had this condition of things become universal, great ignorance and stagnation would have been spread among the Italian Jews, and this would have assisted in the great object of the Pope, namely, their conversion. But about this time there arose a large school and an asylum for the persecuted Talmud in Cremona, a town of Northern Italy, which belonged to Milan. A teacher of the Talmud, Joseph Ottolenghi, who had come from Germany, there opened a school under the protection of the Governor of Milan, where he taught the Talmud, and caused Rabbinical works to be printed. Every owner of a copy of the Talmud therefore sent it secretly to Cremona, and thus

very many were collected there, and thence exported to Germany, Poland, and the East. This scanty religious freedom the Jews also retained among the Spaniards who were compelled to oppose Paul IV. After the Pope had been obliged to submit to a disgraceful peace he bethought himself that he would have the Jewish writings in Cremona burnt. The Dominicans who acted as the Papal police worked with this view among the people, and put pressure upon the governor. Inflammatory papers were distributed in Cremona calling upon the people to kill the Jews (8th April, 1559). A few days afterwards the governor was urged by two Dominicans, one of whom was Sextus Senensis, a baptised Jew, to erect a stake at which to burn copies of the Talmud, because it was said to contain nothing but blasphemies of Jesus. The governor, however, did not choose to give credence to the accusations against the Jews without further confirmation, and so two witnesses against the Talmud (17th April,) offered themselves, a baptised Jew, Vittorio Eliano, grandson by a daughter of the Jewish grammarian Elias Levita, and a worthless German Jew, Joshua dei Cantori. The Spanish Governor of Milan was by them convinced of the injuriousness of the Talmud, and gave orders to his soldiery to make a house-to-house search among the Jews of Cremona, and in the printing offices, to collect all they could find and make a great fire of them. Ten or twelve thousand books were burnt on this occasion.

Vittorio Eliano, the wicked proselyte, very nearly came to grief at this burning of the Talmud, for the Spanish soldiery who had received orders to wage war upon the writings of the Jews troubled themselves but little whether the contents were Talmudical or otherwise, and they had very nearly burnt the Zohar, the most important Kabbalistic work, and the Pope's especial favourite. Since the enthusiasm of Pico de Mirandola, and especially of

Reuchlin, of Cardinal Egidio di Viterbo and of the Franciscan Galatino for mysticism, the most orthodox of the fathers and princes of the Church believed firmly that the Kabbala contained the mysteries of Christianity. The order of extinction which had been issued against the Talmud did not therefore touch the Zohar. Further, it was even first printed in Mantua, under Pope Paul IV., with the consent of the Inquisition. The Kabbala was to rise out of the ruins of the Talmud. Thus the printing of the book, which caused more permanent injury to Judaism than any other blow that had hitherto been aimed at it, was aided. A Christian publisher, named Vincent Conti, of Cremona, printed the Zohar at the same time, both from envy of the Mantuan publishers, and because the sale promised very large profits in Italy and the East, and he even promised to supply more copies in order to injure the Mantuan edition. The baptised grandson of Elias Levita, the venomous canon Vittorio Eliano, had charge of this Cremona Zohar, and he did not hesitate to write a boastful Hebrew preface to it in order to attract buyers, and to have his own name mentioned in connection with it. Whilst it was being printed the Spanish soldiers were searching for Jewish writings in Cremona, and found two thousand copies of the Zohar, which they were about to cast into the burning pile. Vittorio Eliano and his partners thereby very nearly lost both their outlay and their profits, but another convert, the above-named Sextus of Siena, who was commissioned by the Papal Inquisition to help in destroying the Talmud in Cremona, restrained the fury of the Spanish soldiery and rescued the Zohar. Thus the Talmud was burnt, and the Zohar spared for the time being. It was a wise instinct of the enemies of the Jews which led them to spare this poisonous spring in the hope that adherents of the Zohar would the sooner renounce Judaism.

The Zohar came to be considered as a canonical book from the fact of its being thus printed, and for some length of time was often as much quoted as verses from the Bible, and was treated on an equality with the Holy Scriptures in all Hebrew works not strictly Talmudical. But the love of the Papacy for the Kabbala did not last long. A few years later the Kabbalistic writings were included in the catalogue of books to be burnt (*Index expurgatorius*).

The hatred of Paul IV. to the Jews and their writings was not confined to Italy alone, but nourished by the fanatical spirit which was aroused in him, extended far and wide. Baptised Jews were always the tools employed in these persecutions. One of these, named Asher, from Udine, brought accusations against Jewish works in Prague, and the authorities confiscated them one and all, even prayer-books, and sent them to Vienna (1559.) The Jewish ministers were consequently obliged to repeat the prayers in the synagogue by heart. A fire which broke out about this time in the Jews' quarter of Prague, and by which the greater number of their houses were reduced to ashes, displayed the fanatical hatred of the Christians towards them still more clearly. Instead of hastening to the assistance of the unfortunate people, and joining in their rescue, they even threw helpless women and children into the flames and plundered the goods of the Jews. And as if the measure of misfortune were not full enough, Ferdinand I., who had been chosen emperor about a year before, commenced the expulsion of the Jews from Bohemia and Prague in real earnest.

The Emperor Ferdinand was in reality a mild prince, who sincerely desired to maintain peace between the Catholics and the Protestants, but he had an invincible dislike to the Jews. It was he who first introduced the tickets of notification,

or permits for the Jews of Austria. He made a regulation by which every Jew, resident in Austria who went on business to Vienna should at once announce himself on his arrival to the land-marshal, and state what was his business, and how long he intended to remain in the place. To this restriction thus imposed on the Jews, Ferdinand added others, and at length commanded their expulsion, together with their wives and children, their servants and all their goods and chattels, from Lower Austria. This decree of banishment was delayed for two years, but they were finally compelled to withdraw from the country.

The Emperor Ferdinand destined the ancient community of Prague to the same fate. What may have been the reason for this is either easy or difficult for us to conceive, according to our way of thinking. The congregation of Prague were then in very evil repute among other Jewish communities, being considered low, unprincipled, violent and quarrelsome. Such fierce disputes arose regularly about the appointment of Rabbis and the choice of the president, that the Chief Rabbis of Germany and Italy, were obliged at the instigation of the emperor to arrange a system of election for the community of Prague. The reason of this sad state of things was no doubt that on the recall of the Jews after the expulsion which had taken place twenty years previously, only the worst, and none of the well-disposed members, had returned. The Christians were no doubt very much overreached by this rabble, but the Christians of the lower class were probably not better nor more conscientious. The Christians treated their own people with the greatest leniency, but required the practice of the strictest virtue and uprightness from the Jews. Discussions were for a long time carried on as to a second expulsion of the Jews from Prague, and though the archdukes, who were then in the land, were opposed

to it, the banishment took place (1561.) The exiles were attacked and plundered by highwaymen. But it was clear then, as had appeared after the first expulsion, that the Christians of Prague, or at all events the nobility, felt a yearning towards the Jews. Scarcely were they driven out when steps were taken to recall them, and this policy was favoured by the archdukes.

But the Emperor Ferdinand refused the request to allow the Jews to return once more, on the ground, genuine or assumed, that he had sworn to expel the Jews from Prague and could not break his oath. Thereupon a noble Jew of Prague undertook a journey to Rome to procure from the new Pope Pius IV. (the Jew-hating Paul IV. was dead) the absolution of the emperor from his oath.

This noble man was Mordecai Zemach ben Gershon, one of the noted family of printers named Soncin, whose ancestor, Gershon or Girolamo Soncino, founded not only beautiful Hebrew type, but also Latin, and published both Rabbinical works and Petrarch's poems. Members of this family carried on Jewish printing establishments with great success in several towns of Lombardy, Constantinople and Prague. Although Mordecai Zemach had borne gross insults to his honour from the people of Prague, and his married daughter (though innocent) had, like a second Susannah, been accused of adultery by false witnesses, and sentenced by cowardly Rabbis, he yet showed himself ready to make the greatest sacrifices for the good of the people of Prague. He undertook the journey to Rome amidst many dangers and difficulties for the purpose above stated, and his exertions were crowned with success. The Pope, who at that time had the power to bind and to loose, relieved the emperor of his oath, and the latter felt his conscience lightened in consequence. His son Maximilian (afterwards emperor) took the Jews of Prague

under his special protection, and thus the decree of banishment was recalled. The Jews were again allowed to reside in Prague and a few other Bohemian towns, and were also re-admitted to Austria. But they had a troubled existence even under the best of the emperors such as Maximilian II. and Rudolph, for the official hand of the Catholic Church was heavy upon them.

The first consistent representative of the fanatical and persecuting Catholic Church, Pope Paul IV., was dead (1559), and the people of Rome cursed his memory and his system. The people flocked together in the Capitol as in the old times of the Roman Republic, traversed the eternal city, set fire to the buildings of the Inquisition, maltreated the Dominicans and the servants of that tribunal, tore down the arms of the Pope, destroyed his statue, and rolled the head of it through the streets. With derisive laughter the Romans had looked on, while a Jew placed the cap that he and those of his religion had been compelled to wear, on the image of the very Pope who had issued the order. But of what avail was this childish rage against the dead? The system survived its founder for centuries. The Jesuits and the strict Church party had already got the upper hand in the Catholic Church, and each successive Pope, willingly or unwillingly, was obliged to submit to them. It was under Pope Pius IV., one of the best high priests of Rome, that the institutions of the Council of Trent were turned into decrees to which Catholics are subject to this very day.

A deputation of the Jews of Rome waited upon the newly-chosen Pope to do homage to him, and described to him in touching words the sorrows which his predecessors had brought upon them. Pius IV. promised them relief, and issued a Bull in favour of the Jews of the States of the Church (February 27th, 1562) which was certainly to their

advantage, but the milder regulations only made the restrictions which still remained appear the harsher. The introduction to the Bull is interesting, because it brings the hypocrisy of the Papal curia to light.

"The precepts for your conduct left by my highly venerated predecessor, out of his zeal for the religion, have (as we are told) served some who coveted your goods, as a pretext for false accusations against you, and they have been interpreted contrary to the intention of my predecessor, thus causing you to be vexed and disquieted. Therefore we decree upon consideration that Holy Mother Church grants and concedes much to the Jews in order that the remnant of them may be saved, in accordance with the example of our predecessors."

All that the new Pope conceded, however, was that Jews of the Roman dominions beyond the city should be allowed to doff their distinguishing mark, the yellow cap, that they be permitted to acquire land to the value of 1,500 ducats, that they be allowed to trade in other things besides old clothes, and to hold intercourse with Christians, but not to keep Christian servants. This was about all that one of the best Popes granted or dared grant to them. More important to the Jews of Rome was the point that the accusations of transgressing the harsh laws of Paul IV. were withdrawn, as well as the charge of misdemeanour against those who had not given up their copies of the Talmud. The Italian Jews also made an effort to obtain from the Pope the remission of the interdict against the Talmud. But this question was then in the hands of the cardinals and bishops sitting in the Council of Trent, and in order to carry out their object the Italian communities chose two deputies (Oct., 1563). As the Council only approved the list of forbidden books previously made out in the Papal Chancery, the opinion of the Pope and those who surrounded him served as a rule in the treatment of Jewish writings. The decision of this point was left to the Pope, who afterwards issued a Bull to the following effect:—That the Talmud

was indeed accursed—like all humanistic literature, including Reuchlin's "Augenspiegel and Kabbalistic writings"—but that it would be allowed to appear if the name Talmud were omitted, and if before its publication those passages were excised which were inimical to Christianity; that is to say, if it were submitted to censorship (24th March, 1564). Strange indeed that the Pope should have allowed the thing to exist, and to have forbidden its name! But he was afraid of public opinion, which would have considered the contradiction too great that one Pope should seek out and burn the Talmud, and the next, allow it to go untouched. At all events, there was now a prospect that this written memorial, so indispensable to all the Jews, would be permitted to see the light, although in a maimed condition. The printing of the Talmud was in fact accomplished a few years later at Basle.

But even this slight concession was withdrawn from the Jews of the Church States when Pius IV. was succeeded by another Pope who held gloomy, monkish, intolerant institutions in higher esteem than human happiness and human life, and who carried the ecclesiastical aims of Caraffa and his colleagues to the highest pitch. Pius V. (1566-1572) outdid his pattern Paul IV. in his love of persecution and cruelty. The Jews did not hate this Pope any less than did the Swiss Calvinists and the French Huguenots. They soon felt the severity of the Church rule. Three months after his enthronement (April 19th, 1566), Pius V. confirmed in every respect the restrictions which Paul IV. had imposed on the Jews; he even increased their severity, and treated the ameliorations of his predecessor as if they had never been granted. The former regulations were again enforced; exclusion from intercourse with Christians, prohibition to own lands, or to carry on any business except the trade

in old clothes, compulsion to wear the distinctive badge of a Jew, and the refusal of permission to possess synagogues. But these edicts were not alone issued against the Jews in the Church States, but they extended throughout the whole Catholic world. For at that day, in a period of spiteful re-action against Protestantism, the decrees of the Pope made a far different impression to what they had produced previously, and found willing executors. Thus days of sorrow were again beginning for the Jews of Catholic countries.

Once more Joseph Cohen had to enter new trials in his "Annals of Persecution," once more to collect the tears of his people in his "Vale of sorrows" (Emek ha-Bacha); to this the ecclesiastical tyrant, Pius V., often gave opportunity. Under the pretext that the Jews of the Church States had infringed his canonical laws, he caused a number of them to be thrown into prison, and their books to be collected and burnt. The prosperous community of Bologna was visited with especial severity, the blow being aimed at their property. In order to have a legal reason for this robbery, confusing questions upon Christianity were put at a formal hearing before the tribunal of the Inquisition; for example:—whether the Jews regarded the Catholics as idolators; whether the forms of imprecation against the Minæans, and the "Kingdom of Sin" in prayer referred to the Christians and the Papacy, and especially whether the story in a work but little read about a "Bastard, the Son of an Outcast," was intended to refer to Jesus.

A baptised Jew named Alexander had drawn up the points of accusation, and the prisoners were questioned upon them, under application of torture. Some of them succumbed to the pain and confessed everything that the bloody tribunal asked them. Only the Rabbi of Bologna, named Ishmael Chanina, had the courage to declare even

under torture that if he should confess anything during the unconsciousness which might ensue from his sufferings, such confession would be null and void. As, however, others had confessed to slanders uttered by the Jews against the Christians, the Papal curia had an excuse for its robberies. The rich and those of the upper classes were forbidden under the severest penalties to leave the town. But this foolish prohibition awakened in the minds of the Jews of Bologna the idea of leaving the place entirely and for ever. They succeeded by bribing the keeper of the gate to allow them to escape with their wives and children from the net spread for them, and they fled to Ferrara. Pope Pius V. was so incensed against the Jews for this act, that he announced his decision to the College of Cardinals that all Jews should be expelled from the Church States. In vain did some of the Church dignitaries protest, showing how the Jews had been protected by the chair of St. Peter from time immemorial, and that the latter had also pledged itself to shield the remainder of the Jews in the hope that they might be saved. In vain did the commercial world of Ancona entreat the Pope not to ruin by his own deed the commercial prosperity of the States; his hatred of the Jews stifled the voice of common sense, of justice, and of interest. The Bull was issued (Feb. 26th, 1569), that all the Jews in the Church States, except those of Rome and Ancona, should depart within three months; those who remained were to be reduced to slavery and to undergo even severer punishment.

There were at that time about 1,000 Jewish families and 72 synagogues in the Church States, excluding Rome, Ancona and Bologna. In spite of the poverty which threatened them, almost all included in this decree decided upon emigration, and only very few became Christians. The exiles

also suffered the loss of their property because they had not time to realise their estates and collect the debts which were owing to them. The historian Gedalya Ibn Yachya alone lost over 10,000 ducats by his debtors in Ravenna. The exiles dispersed and sought protection in the neighbouring little States of Pesaro, Urbino, Ferrara, Mantua and Milan. The Jews of Avignon and Venaissin, the only communities remaining on French territory since the expulsion of the Jews from France 200 years previously, were also ordered to leave. The reactionary Princes of the Church had long cast malicious glances upon them, for they had been particularly favoured by the officials of the Church States under the humanistic Popes Leo X., Clement VII., and especially Paul III. The curia received its only income from this district through their commerce. The Jews of Avignon, Carpentras and other towns owned great wealth and property of all kinds, and held lands there.

Most of the Jews of the Italian and French ecclesiastical territories, like all those who were expelled from Christian countries, went to Turkey, and there met with the kindest reception and were able to get so far without being attacked and maltreated on their way by the robber-knights of the Order of Malta. It seemed almost as if there were to be an end of the Jews in Christian Europe. Hatred, persecution, and banishment reigned everywhere. In the Catholic dominions the fanaticism of the Papacy prevailed, and in Protestant countries the narrowness of Lutheranism, which had sunk from its former height to the level of a child's quarrel.

Both seemed to desire the fulfilment of the often-spoken thought of the arch-enemy of the Jews, that the Jews had nothing to hope for in the West.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE JEWS IN TURKEY.—DON JOSEPH NASSI.

Joseph Nassi's favour with Sultan Solyman—His friendship for Prince Selim—Hostility of Venice and France to Nassi—Joseph Nassi restores Tiberias, and is created Duke of Naxos—The Vizir Mahomet Sokolli—The Turks, at the instigation of Nassi, conquer Cyprus—Rebellion against Philip II. in the Netherlands—Solomon Ashkenazi—Election of Henry of Anjou as the King of Poland—Ashkenazi negotiates a peace between Venice and Turkey—Gedalya Ibn Yachya and Jewish Literature in Turkey—Joseph Karo compiles the "Shulchan Aruch"—Azarya dei Rossi—Isaac Lurya—The Jewish "dark age"—Spread of the Kabbala—Lurya's Disciple, Chayim Vital Calabrese—Death of Joseph Nassi—Esther Kiera and the influence of Jewish women in Turkey.

1566—1600 C.E.

AGAIN, as often before, were the threads in the web of universal history so involved that it was impossible to annihilate the Jews of Christendom, even by systematic persecution. The sun, which was obscured on the Jewish horizon by gloomy clouds in the West, again rose brightly in the East. Through the favourable turn which things were taking in Turkey, a time was beginning which might seem to the superficial observer a brilliant epoch. A Jew, who would have been burnt at the stake without any ceremony in the countries of the Cross, took up a very influential position in the land of the Crescent, rose to the rank of duke, and ruled over many Christians. All the Jews in Turkey, amounting to millions in number, rose with him and by him to a free and honourable station in which they were the envy of their despised and less numerous brethren in Christian Europe. With rage the Jew-hating

Christian potentates saw their plans here and there frustrated by Jewish hands, and their internal complications rendered more and more involved and entangled. The down-trodden worm might yet become an annoyance to its tormentors. Joseph Nassi or Juan Miqués, the outlawed Marrano of Portugal, caused anxious hours to many a Christian ruler and diplomatist, who were obliged to flatter him in an abject manner, though they would have struck him dead like a dog if he had been in their power. The illustrious Republic of Venice, the mighty kingdom of Spain, the conceited government of France, and even the haughty Papacy, all saw themselves endangered by him.

Juan Miqués or Don Joseph Nassi, who was well recommended to the Turkish Court by French statesmen when first he entered that country, had become yet more popular by his agreeable presence, his inventive genius, his experience and knowledge of the Christian countries of Europe and their political situation. Sultan Solyman, who understood men well, soon took him into favour. He formed extensive plans, both for beginning a war with Spain, and for defending the Mahometans on the coast of Africa against those who fed the stake. Joseph Nassi, through his riches, and through the attachment of his fellow-believers in Christian countries, was kept well informed as to what was going on in Christian Courts, and could tell the Sultan the truth as to political and military affairs, without its being necessary for the latter to employ spies, or to be deceived by the Christian ambassadors at his Court. Don Joseph could assist him with wise counsel, and thus soon became a very important person in Constantinople as a Frankish Bey, and was able to render material service to those of his own religion. His importance increased still more by one of those favourable chances which frequently result in the elevation or

degradation of men. Hatred and jealousy prevailed among the sons of Solyman, and the father preferred the younger on account of his military inclinations. The courtiers therefore kept themselves aloof from the disregarded Prince Selim, and did not intercede with his father on his behalf. Only Joseph Nassi pressed Selim's claims warmly on his father, and when the latter wished to show his favour to his son by making him a handsome present of 50,000 ducats in cash, and 30,000 in valuables, he chose his Jewish favourite as the bearer of the gift to Selim's residence in Asia Minor. The prince, overjoyed both at the receipt of the gift and at this proof of favour, from that moment became very friendly towards the messenger, and assured him of his life-long gratitude. He made a favourite and confidant of the Jewish Bey, and created him captain of the life-guard (*Mutafarrica*), an honour to which even the sons of Christian princes eagerly aspired, and to which a large salary was attached.

The ambassadors from Christian Courts saw with vexation the growing influence of a Jewish favourite, who was acquainted with all their plots against the future Sultan, and therefore promulgated the falsest rumours about him. They reported at their Courts that Joseph Nassi was leading the Prince into all kinds of orgies and excesses, and was ruining him. The ambassadors of Venice and of France were the most hostile to him because he saw through their artful designs upon the Turkish Court, and tried to frustrate them, and especially because he had private dealings with them. The Government of Venice had imprisoned his mother-in-law, deprived her of her property and had also treated him scornfully; the French Court owed an immense sum (150,000 ducats) to the house of Mendes-Nassi, and did not think of repaying it. The French ambassador was therefore very eager for Joseph's ruin; he wrote to Henry

II. that he ought to inform the Sultan Solyman that Joseph Nassi was making a large sum by acquainting the enemies of France with all the negotiations carried on at the Turkish Court, and that being a Spaniard he did this in the Spanish interest. But so far from punishing him Prince Selim and the reigning Sultan took Joseph's part, and urgently insisted that the Court of France should pay the debt owing to their Jewish favourite. Henry II. and his successor raised an objection to Joseph's well-founded demand, characteristic of the—shall we say Christian?—morality of the time. They averred that both law and religion forbade the king to repay the debt to his Jewish creditor, because it was altogether forbidden for the Jews to have any business dealings in France, but all their goods ought rather to be confiscated by the king. The Sultan and his son did not of course recognise this code of morals, and insisted with a half-threat that Joseph Nassi should be satisfied. Joseph Nassi rose so high in favour with Sultan Solyman that the latter gave him a tract of land in Palestine on the Sea of Tiberias, where he was allowed to restore the city of Tiberias under his own rule, with the express privilege that only Jews should dwell therein. The deed of gift was signed by the reigning Sultan, by Selim the heir to the throne, and by his son Murad, so as to render it valid in the future, and not liable to dispute. Selim proposed to his father to reward Joseph's services still further, and to make him sovereign lord over Naxos and some other islands. But the Vizir Mahomet Sokolli, a Christian renegade, who appears to have watched the growing power of the Jewish favourite with jealous eyes, seems to have worked against this and to have upset the plan.

After Solyman's death, when Selim II. entered his capital to receive the homage of his subjects (1566), and when Joseph also presented himself to

kiss hands, he created him on the spot Duke of Naxos, and of the Cyclades Islands, Andros, Paros, Antiparos, Melo, twelve in all, which he gave him one after the other, and for which he was to pay but a small tribute. He also granted him the lease of the wine dues which were paid on the imports of wine in the Black Sea.

Thus a Jew was able to issue his commands in the following grandiose style:—"We, Duke of the *Ægean* Sea, Lord of Andros." Joseph did not, however, reside in the capital of his Duchy, where he would have been too far away from the centre of affairs, but remained in his handsome palace at Belvedere near Constantinople, and deputed the government of these islands to a Spanish nobleman, a Christian named Coronello, whose father had been Governor of Segovia. Jealously as the Christian princes regarded this Jewish duke, thus placed upon an equality with them, European affairs were in such a condition that they were glad not only to recognise but even to flatter him. If they wished to gain anything at the Turkish Court, they dared not ignore him, knowing how high he stood in Selim's favour, and of how much weight his opinion was in the Divan. When an Austrian Embassy from the Emperor Ferdinand I. arrived in Constantinople (after fresh victories had been gained by the Turks in Hungary), to sue for peace, and to win the great dignitaries by gifts and annual subsidies, it was charged to make terms also with Joseph of Naxos. His bitterest enemies were obliged to dissemble their hatred against him. The two States which set themselves most to oppose him, namely, France and Venice, felt the power of the Jewish duke severely.

The King of France declined to pay the debt which had been contracted with the Marrano house of Mendes, and which had been transferred to Joseph. The latter easily procured a firman from the Sultan,

by virtue of which he was allowed to seize all the ships which entered any Turkish harbour carrying the French flag. Joseph of Naxos sent privateers as far as Algiers to make a raid upon the French merchant vessels. At last he succeeded in getting possession of several vessels in the port of Alexandria, captured all the merchandise on board, and sold it to pay the debt owing to him (1569). The Court of France raised a clamour, protested, stormed, but all in vain; Selim protected his favourite. A coolness arose in consequence in the diplomatic relations of the two countries which was more injurious to France than to Turkey.

The French ambassador at the Porte was therefore very desirous to bring about the overthrow of Joseph of Naxos. Not only was his own honour concerned in it, but that of the French crown also. The French had often boasted in the European Cabinets that their word had the greatest weight and influence at the Turkish Court, and that they were in a position to lead the Divan to determine upon war or peace at will. And now it was proved that a gross insult had been shown to the French flag by this very Court, and that France was not even in a position to demand satisfaction from a Jew, the originator of the insult. The French Ambassador, therefore, directed his efforts to turning this overthrow into a triumph by compassing the fall of the influential Jew. An opportunity soon presented itself in the discontent of one of Joseph's agents. A Jewish physician, named David or Daud, one of the private physicians at the Turkish Court, and also in the service of the duke, considered himself slighted and wronged by his superior, and a quarrel arose between them. As soon as the French ambassador got wind of this he tried to fan the flame of dissension, promised Daud a sum of money and a place as interpreter at the French Embassy with a yearly salary, and then entered into relations

with him in order to obtain secret information about Joseph of Naxos. In his irritation Daud allowed himself to be led into hasty expressions. He promised to furnish the French ambassador with full proofs that Joseph of Naxos had carried on a traitorous correspondence against the Porte. He also undertook to produce documents to prove that Joseph sent daily information to the Pope, the King of Spain, the Duke of Florence, the Genoese Republic, in short, to all the enemies of the Sultan, and kept them acquainted with everything that went on at the Porte. Delighted at the opportunity of overthrowing the Jewish duke he informed the King of France and the crafty queen-mother, Catherine de Medici, in cypher, that he would soon be in a position to bring the powerful enemy of French influence at the Turkish Court to the scaffold (Oct., 1569).

The Jewish duke was placed in a position of the greatest danger, and with him probably all the Jews in the Turkish empire. If Daud had been able to push his hatred so far as to come to an open accusation, full emphasis would have been given to the intrigue by means of French money, and if the Grand Vizir, Mahomet Sokolli, the deadly enemy of Joseph, could have taken the matter in hand, the latter would have been lost. But the French ambassador thought it wise to treat the matter for a time as a secret.

In spite of this secrecy the intrigues of Daud and the French ambassador were betrayed to Joseph of Naxos, and he was able to be beforehand with them. It was not difficult for him to convince Sultan Selim that he had always served him faithfully, and that he had been the most attached of all his courtiers. He obtained from the Sultan a decree by which the traitor Daud was banished for life to Rhodes, the criminal colony of the Turkish empire. Either at the instigation of Don Joseph, or

by their own impulse, all the Rabbis and communities of Constantinople pronounced the severest form of excommunication upon Daud and two of his accomplices. All the Rabbis of the largest Turkish communities, with Joseph Karo at their head, united as in a service of love, and it is true, without first having convinced themselves of Daud's innocence or guilt. The extraordinary efforts of the French ambassador and Court to procure the overthrow of Joseph was thus a complete failure, and left behind in the mind of the latter a feeling of bitterness only too justifiable, which induced him to strive the more to hinder and frustrate the diplomatic schemes of France.

Joseph of Naxos was even more successful in his relations with the State of Venice. A secret enmity prevailed between the Jewish duke and the Republic, which both tried in vain to conceal by compliments. Independently of the ill-treatment which his mother-in-law had undergone at the hands of the Venetian Government, it had refused Joseph the safe conduct through its dominions which he had requested for himself and his brother. Selim, who was not very well disposed towards the Venetians, was often urged by his Jewish favourite to put an end to the long-existing peace between them, and to set about the conquest of the Venetian island of Cyprus. In spite of the disinclination which Mahomet Sokolli, the first Vizir, had for the war, for he had a liking to the Venetians, it was nevertheless undertaken.

The Sultan is said to have promised Joseph that he should become King of Cyprus if the enterprise proved successful, and the Duke of Naxos is said to have kept a banner ready in his house with the inscription, "Joseph, King of Cyprus." His European alliances made this undertaking all the more easy. Whilst Mahomet Sokolli was still raising difficulties about consenting to a naval war

of this character, Joseph received the news that the Arsenal of Venice had been destroyed by an explosion. Joseph, and that party in the Divan which he had gained over to favour the war, took advantage of the embarrassment thus caused to the Republic of Venice, and persuaded the Sultan to allow the attacking fleet to sail at once. Nicosia, one of the chief towns of Cyprus, fell at the first assault, and the other, Famagusta, was closely besieged.

In this instance, as had often been the case before, all the Jews were made answerable for the action of one. That the Venetian Government should have imprisoned all the Levantine merchants in Venice, who were for the most part Jews, and have seized their goods at the outbreak of war, was only usual, in the barbarous state of intercourse then prevailing between one State and another. But that the Senate should have come to the resolve (December, 1571) to expel all the Jews from Venice, partly as fellow-conspirators of Joseph Nassi and of the Turkish empire at the instigation of the hostile Doge Luis Mocenigo, was a result of the race-hatred encouraged by Christianity. Happily, things did not go so far. Notwithstanding the endeavours of the fanatical Pope Pius V. to bring about a league between the Christian States against Turkey, to start a crusade against the so-called unbelievers, and to drive the Turkish fleet from the waters of Cyprus, the town of Famagusta was obliged to yield to the Turkish commander, and therefore the whole island fell into the hands of Turkey. The Venetians were compelled to sue for peace, and placed their whole hope of obtaining it upon an influential Jew, who was to negotiate it. In spite of the solemn determination of the Venetian Senate that no one should venture to say a word in favour of the Jews, they were obliged to tolerate them because

they dared not quite break with the Jews in Turkey.

The power of the latter was indeed so great that they, generally the suppliants for help, were entreated for aid by the Christians. A serious rebellion had arisen in the Netherlands against Spain and the morose King Philip II., who wished to introduce the bloody tribunal of the Inquisition into their midst. The barbarous Alva was trying to prevent apostasy, and to lead back those who had erred into the bosom of the Catholic Church, by whole hecatombs of human beings. The block was to be made the supporter of the Cross. In this extremity the rebels turned to Joseph of Naxos, who had had dealings with some of the nobility of Flanders from the time of his former residence there. Prince William of Orange, the moving spirit of the rebellion, sent a private messenger to Joseph of Naxos entreating him to persuade the Sultan to declare war against Spain, which would necessitate the withdrawal of the Spanish troops from the Netherlands. The Austrian Emperor, Ferdinand, also condescended to address an autograph letter to the Jewish duke in order to obtain the favour of the Porte, an act which still more increased the Grand Vizir's envy. Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, who was hoping for an important service from the Porte, also addressed him, gave him the title of "Serene Highness," and, what was of greater importance, promised favourable conditions to the Jews in his country in order to ensure Joseph's approval of his plans.

We may almost say that the Divan, or Turkish Council of State under Sultan Selim, consisted of two parties who were trying to checkmate each other; one composed of secret Christians, represented by the First Vizir, and one of Jews, headed by Joseph of Naxos. With and in addition to him,

there were other Jews who, in a subordinate position it is true, exercised influence, the men on the holders of office, the women on the ladies of the harem. Sultan Selim's goodwill towards the Jews was so evident that a story became current that he was by birth a Jew, who had been introduced into the harem instead of a prince. Even the Grand Vizir, Mahomet Sokolli, although an enemy of Joseph of Naxos and of Jewish influence, was instructed to employ a Jewish negotiator and to entrust him with important commissions. The Venetian envoy, who was ordered to work secretly against the Jews at the Turkish Court, himself assisted in procuring the influence of such a man.

Solomon ben Nathan Ashkenazi, who conducted the diplomatic affairs of Turkey with the Christian Courts for nearly thirty years, and who afterwards succeeded Joseph of Naxos, was, at the period when the latter had a powerful voice in the Divan, an unknown personage in Constantinople. Descended from a German family of Udine, he began to travel early in life, and went to Poland, where he rose to be first physician to the king. On his removal to the Turkish capital, he placed himself as a subject of the Venetian Republic under the protection of the diplomatic agent for Venice. Solomon Ashkenazi understood the Talmud, and became a Rabbi, but displayed great intelligence and skill in the niceties of diplomatic technicalities, the disentanglement of knotty questions, negotiations, settlements and flatteries. As such he had been esteemed by successive Venetian agents in Constantinople. The First Minister of the Turkish Court recognized his diplomatic skill, attached him to his service, and trusted him to the end of his life with such commissions as required tact, wisdom and discernment in their fulfilment. Whilst the Turkish arms were being led against the Venetians, Solomon

Ashkenazi was already beginning to weave the web for the future treaty of peace.

The Christian Cabinets did not suspect that the course of events which compelled them to side with one party or the other was set in motion by a Jewish hand. This was especially the case at the election of the Polish king. The death (July, 1572) of the last Polish king of the Jagellone family, Sigismund Augustus, who left no heir, necessitated a formal election, and this put the whole of Europe, or at all events the Cabinets and diplomatic circles, into the utmost excitement. The German Emperor, Maximilian II., and the Russian ruler, Ivan the Cruel, were most intimately concerned in the election as neighbours of Poland. The former did everything he could to ensure the choice of his own son, and the latter would have been proud that he or his son should be chosen king. The Pope desired that a Catholic prince should be placed on the throne of Poland; otherwise it was to be feared that the choice of a king in favour of the Reformation, which was already on the increase among the nobles and townspeople of Poland, would strengthen the movement, and that the country would free itself from the Papacy. On the other hand the Protestant countries of Germany and England, and, above all, the adherents of the new Church, composed of various sects in Poland itself, felt the greatest interest in securing the election of a sovereign of their own faith, or at least of one not a Catholic. To this was added the personal ambition of a powerful French queen, who interfered boldly in the confusion. The widowed Queen Catherine de' Medici, who was as clever as she was false, who believed in astrology, and to whom it had been announced that each of her sons should wear a crown, wished to procure a foreign throne for her son, Henry of Anjou, so that

the astrological prophecy should not fall through at the death of her reigning son, Charles IX. She and her son, the King of France, therefore set every lever in motion to place Anjou on the throne of Poland. But Turkey also had important interests and a powerful voice in the election of the King of Poland. A tangle of cabals and intrigues was developed by the election. Each candidate sought to gain a strong party among the higher and lesser nobility, and also to retain the favour of the Porte. Henry of Anjou seemed at first to have some prospect of success, but this was imperilled by the bloody massacre of St. Bartholomew, in France, in which hundreds of thousands of Huguenots, great and small—men, women, and children—had been attacked and murdered (26th August, 1572), at a hint from the king and the queen-mother. Such barbarity, planned and carried out in cold blood, had been unheard of in European history since the murderous attack made on the Albigenses in the thirteenth century by the Papal command. The Lutherans and other adherents of the Reformation in every country were completely stunned by this blow. The candidates for the throne of Poland sought to make capital out of it against Anjou. So much the more were the French candidate, his mother and brother compelled to endeavour to gain over the Porte to their side. An ambassador-extraordinary was despatched to Constantinople with this object. But the choice of a king of Poland rested with a Jew who was in the background, for Solomon Ashkenazi governed the Grand Vizir completely and ruled his will, and he it was who managed foreign affairs in the Sultan's name. Solomon decided in favour of Henry of Anjou, and won over the Grand Vizir to his side. When Henry of Anjou by a combination of favourable circumstances was at last chosen almost unau-

mously (May, 1573), the French ambassador boasted that he had not been one of the last in bringing about this election. But Solomon Ashkenazi ventured to write about it to the King of Poland, afterwards King of France under the name of Henry III., as follows:—"I have rendered to your majesty most important service in securing your election; I have effected all that was done here" (at the Porte).

Great excitement, however, prevailed throughout Christian Europe when this Jewish physician and diplomatist was appointed by the Porte to conclude the peace which he had for several years been trying to bring about with Venice, and thus to stand forth as a person of the highest official importance. The Jewish ambassador was not, however, received quite readily by the illustrious Republic. On the contrary, the subject was eagerly discussed in the Senate, and the members of the Government were against it. But, on the one hand, the Grand Vizir, Mahomet Sokolli, was resolved upon it, because Solomon enjoyed his unreserved confidence, and he wished through him to establish diplomatic relations for other purposes. On the other hand, the words of the Venetian Consul, Mark Antonio Barbaro, who repeatedly assured his state that the Jewish diplomatist cherished the warmest sympathy with Venice, made a great impression. It was under these conditions that the "Rabbi Solomon Ashkenazi," as he was termed, went to Venice in the capacity of envoy extraordinary from Turkey. Once acknowledged, the dignitaries of the Republic, the Doge and the Senators paid him the greatest honour and attention, because the Turkish Court was very sensitive on this point, and would have regarded any want of due respect to its representative as an insult. Solomon was therefore received in State audience at the Doge's palace, and there the act of peace between Turkey and

Venice was signed by him on behalf of the former. The Signoria also showed him the most polite attentions during his stay in Venice (May to July, 1574), and all the European ambassadors in Venice thronged around him.

Solomon was like an angel of deliverance to his fellow-believers in Venice. Their joy at the honour shown to one of the race by the authorities was, however, mingled with anxiety and sorrow on account of the threatened expulsion. The Doge Mocenigo had insisted upon the fulfilment of the decree of banishment previously issued against the Jews. Many Jewish families had already departed without waiting for the term to expire. Solomon had, however, arranged with Jacopo Soranzo, the Venetian agent in Constantinople, to receive these unfortunates. On his return to Venice, Soranzo at once brought the question of the Jews before the consideration of the Council of the Doge and the Ten. He made them understand the injury which had arisen to the Republic by the expulsion of the Jews. The Jews driven out of Spain and Portugal had manufactured guns and other arms for the Turks, and it would be a serious matter to make enemies of a people who constituted a power in Turkey; and to maintain friendship with this country would be the surest guarantee of peace, as neither the Pope nor Spain could be trusted. This earnest appeal of Soranzo in favour of the Jews effected a change in the disposition of the Doge and the Dieci (ten) towards them; the decree of banishment was revoked (19th July, 1573), and Solomon's presence in Venice served to increase the joy of his fellow-believers, as he had obtained for them the promise that they should never again be threatened with expulsion. Loaded with honours and enriched by a gift of ten pounds (weight) of gold, Solomon returned to Constantinople, where his position became more assured and

his importance greater than ever. His son, who was residing in Venice for his education, was treated by the Doge with the greatest consideration.

In consequence of the influence of Joseph of Naxos over the Sultan Selim and of that of Solomon Ashkenazi over the Prime Minister Mahomet Sokolli, the foreign Christian Courts strove yet more earnestly to obtain the favour of the Turkish Jews in Stamboul. If one of them wished to effect any object with the Porte, he first of all sought a Jewish negotiator, because without this aid there was no prospect of success in the matter. Even the morose Philip II. of Spain, that incarnate hater of Jews and heretics, was obliged to turn to Jewish mediators, in order to obtain peace with the Turks. The position of the Jews in Turkey, and above all in the capital, under the very eyes of their powerful protector, was therefore extraordinarily favourable. They were able to put forth all their powers freely, and thus earned the wealth which at that time meant power. The wholesale trade and custom dues were mostly in their hands, they also carried on a wholesale shipping trade, and emulated the Venetians. They owned the largest and best houses, with gardens and kiosks in Constantinople, equal to those of the Grand Vizir.

This prosperity, freedom and security of the Turkish Jews, could not fail to produce a more cheerful frame of mind, to open a prospect beyond the actual present, and to stir up their minds to activity. The mental fertility of the Spanish Jews, which brought to the light of day so much that is beautiful and learned, was not exhausted or extinct in Turkey. The taste for history and incidents outside the Jewish world was not yet lost to them. Moses Almosnino, a favourite preacher at Salonica, while on a visit to Constantinople in order to procure privileges for the community of Salonica, described the life in

the Turkish capital, with its contrasts of glowing heat and benumbing colds, its astonishing wealth and terrible poverty, its enervating luxury and severe privations, its extravagant generosity and heartless greed, exaggerated piety and callous indifference, which followed one another abruptly, without any gradual transition. In his Spanish work on the "Contrasts and Greatness of Constantinople," Almosnino described the power and development of the Turkish empire with the pen of a master. He had a taste for the sciences and philosophy, and gave a scientific turn to his sermons as well as to his written dissertations.

The physician, Samuel Shulam, likewise a Spaniard by birth, also had a great taste for history; he led a life of adventure until he was taken up by a Jewish lady in Constantinople, named Esther Kiera, who was in high favour with the Sultana. He published Zacuto's bad but useful chronicle at her expense (1566-67). This favourite of the Jewish Court agent, also translated from the Latin, the interesting work of the old Jewish historian Josephus against the attacks of Apion, the Alexandrine enemy of the Jews, and was the first Jewish writer who made use of it. The dark side of Jewish history, the thousand years' martyrdom of the Jewish race, was at the same time described by a more competent historian, the now venerable Joseph Cohen, of Spanish descent. His "Vale of Tears" presents a long series of mournful scenes, tortures, death and distress in every form, but he was enabled to conclude his history with the joyful tidings that the Venetians were eager to distinguish and pay honour to the Turkish Ambassador Solomon Ashkenazi, a Jew, if only from motives of policy.

Hebrew poetry even bore some fruit at this period in Turkey, and although they were, so to speak, but autumn flowers which showed traces of damp mists and a pale sun, they form an

agreeable contrast to the joyless wintry waste of other regions and later times. But we are more interested in the originator of these efforts than in the productions themselves. This was a certain Ibn Yachya of the Turkish branch of this wide-spread family. The family preserved its nobility of heart and mind throughout a long line of generations. The great grandfather Jacob Tam, the grandfather Gedalya Ibn Yachya, the grandson Moses and the great-grandson Gedalya Ibn Yachya II., with all collateral branches, were without exception friends of learning, and shared their property with the poor. Moses Ibn Yachya not only spent thousands of ducats for the sufferers at the time of the plague, but even exposed himself to the risk of death in his attendance upon the sick. His son Gedalya, a wise man and an agreeable orator, imitated his father in all his virtues, and had even a greater love for poetry than he. He formed a sort of school or circle of poetry, that is to say, he assembled from time to time and at his own expense, all those who could accomplish anything in modern Hebrew poetry, to recite their poems, and he urged those at a distance to send him the fruit of their muse in order to encourage them in their beautiful but neglected art. Two poets distinguished themselves amidst this numerous circle, Jehuda Zarko and Saadio Longo. To them we may add Israel Najara, the prolific versifier, living in Damascus. It is true that the verses of these writers do not contain much real poetry, and that the authors only deserve the name of poet on account of the smoothness and formal excellence of their style. As a matter of course this group of poets extolled Gedalya Ibn Yachya, their patron and protector, in their verses.

The Jews of Turkey also wrote Latin verses in the security and comfort of their present life. These writers were immigrant Marranos, who had

learnt the language of their oppressors in the dungeons of Spain and Portugal. Amongst them was the upright physician Amatus Lusitanus, whose aid had been sought alike by kings and beggars, who emigrated from Italy to Salonica on account of the intolerance of the reactionary policy, and there acquired new friends and admirers. When he fell a sacrifice to his devoted energy and died of the plague, one of his friends, the Marrano Flavio Jacopo de Evora, composed a memorial to him in beautiful Latin verses to the following effect:—

He who so often re-called the breath that was well-nigh gone from the dying, and who was therefore beloved by kings and peoples, lies far from the land of his birth beneath the dust of Macedonia.

The self-reliance of the Turkish Jews and their contentment with their present condition imbued them with thoughts of independence. Whilst the Jews of Christendom had no such thought, and from time immemorial only considered themselves as in a condition of subjugation to their masters, the Turkish Jews became familiar with the idea of regarding themselves as independent men.

• Joseph of Naxos had long cherished the thought of founding a Jewish State. The Jew and the statesman in him yearned for this, and the enormous wealth of his mother-in-law, over which he had control, could serve him as the means for its execution. Even when a fugitive Marrano, he had seriously put before the Republic of Venice the request that it should hand over one of its numerous islands so that he might people it with Jewish inhabitants. But this was refused either from the narrow-mindedness of its Christians or from fear of mercantile competition. When later on Joseph stood high in favour with Prince Selim, and also with the Sultan Solymán, he obtained from them the ruins of the city of Tiberias, besides seven villages, the whole of which were to

be transformed into a small Jewish State where only Jews should dwell. Joseph of Naxos sent one of his agents to superintend the re-building of Tiberias. The Turkish prince gave the Pasha of Egypt strict orders to assist the building in every way. The Arab occupants of the neighbouring villages were compelled to render forced labour, and the new and beautiful houses and streets of the city of Tiberias were completed within a year. Joseph of Naxos wished to make it a manufacturing town which should compete with Venice. He planted mulberry-trees for the cultivation of silk-worms, and introduced looms for the manufacture of silks; he also imported wool from Spain for the making of fine cloth.

Joseph does not seem, however, to have directed his full energy to the little Jewish State; his plans were far more extensive, and thus New Tiberias never became an important place. He next endeavoured to obtain the island of Naxos as a Dukedom, together with the adjacent islands of the *Ægean* Sea, and when he was fortunate enough to be nominated Duke by Sultan Selim, he thought no more about peopling his little island state with Jews; perhaps it may not have been practicable. His mind was next set on becoming King of Cyprus. It is possible that he might have transformed this island of the goddess of beauty into a Jewish State had he obtained possession of it, but his enemy the Grand Vizir, Mahomet Sokolli, prevented this. Thus his dreams of founding an independent Jewish State were dispelled. In reality Joseph of Naxos did nothing of lasting importance for Judaism. He made various attempts, and then relaxed in his endeavours, or exhausted himself in preliminary work.

Thus the fact that Jews occupied for so long a period an exceedingly favoured position in Turkey did not result in any correspondingly propitious

or enduring progress. They did not produce a single great genius who could have originated ideas to stimulate future ages, or mark out a new line of thought for men of average intelligence. Not one of the leaders of the different sects at that time was above the ordinary commonplace level. The Rabbis and preachers were deeply learned in their particular subjects, but carefully kept to the beaten track, without making any new discovery, or bequeathing any original contribution, even in their own department. Only one Rabbi has left to posterity a work that marks an epoch and which even yet possesses some significance, disputed though it may be; but even this work contained nothing new or original. Joseph Karo, first Rabbi of the city of Safet, in Palestine, completed after many years of toil a new book of religious ordinances, "The Shulchan Aruch." Religious impulses, mystical fanaticism and ambition, had equal shares in the making of this book. For Joseph Karo was the subject of strange visions: he wished to be recognised everywhere, by the compilation of his religious Code, as the highest authority, as the standard for the whole of Judaism; and he hoped by this means to accomplish the revival of Rabbinical Ordination, an effort in which Jacob Berab had failed; to restore in fact the unity of Judaism, and thereby hasten the coming of the Messiah. He spent the whole of his life in collecting vast materials for this purpose, in weighing the pros and cons of arguments, drawing conclusions and arranging them in their proper places. By doing this he supplied a serious want. There was no single set of rules that embraced the whole field of religious observance. Since the Talmud, and the later religious codes to an even greater extent, favoured differences of opinion upon nearly every single point in matters of religion, ritual, law and the marriage state, disputes constantly occurred which led to altercation and

divisions among the communities, for it rarely happened that two Rabbis agreed upon any question that came up for discussion. Each was able to adduce reasons for or against any argument, from the vast mass of Rabbinical literature.

It was this confusion and divergence of opinion that Joseph Karo wished to check by means of his new religious Code. He surveyed the whole of the vast field of Talmudic and Rabbinical literature, although his intellect could not master it. By birth a Spaniard, he involuntarily preferred the views of Spanish authorities to those of French and German writers. Hence he allowed partiality to creep into his compilation. As a matter of course, too, Karo admitted various elements of mysticism, though only sparingly, as though unwilling to place the Zohar upon a level with the Talmud in matters of practical religious observance. There are, indeed, in his Code some excellent precepts in regard to sanctity, chastity, brotherly love, morality and honesty in business, drawn from the Talmud and Rabbinical writings; but they disappear in a sea of casuistical details and mere externals, in a patchwork of divisions and subdivisions, of "ifs" and "buts." In this work there appears an altogether different kind of Judaism from that which was revealed on Sinai, announced by the prophets, or even taught by Maimuni. But this Judaism thoroughly suited the ideas of the Jews of that period, and therefore Karo's Code was immediately hailed with delight, being disseminated and received as the infallible standard authority in Turkey, throughout the East, in Italy, and even in Poland.

Thus religious life received indeed a certain finality and unity, but it was at the expense of spirituality and freedom of thought. From Karo, Judaism received that settled form which it has maintained up to the present time. His dream

was partially fulfilled. His Rabbinical writings became the common property of Judaism, and gave it religious unity. But he himself did not become the leader and head, as the "Spirit of the Mishna" repeatedly promised him: he was only honoured as one authority among many others. Still less did he restore by his work the Ordination of Rabbi-judges as members of a Synhedrion, or hasten in any way the coming of the Messiah.

There was at that time a man in Italy, who not only surpassed all his Jewish contemporaries in his spirit of enquiry and desire for truth, but who would also have been able to purify Judaism from the dross of centuries of hardship, if the tendency of the age had not been opposed to this endeavour, or if he had had greater courage in opposing it himself. Azarya ben Moses deï Rossi (born at Mantua about 1514, died in 1578), descended from an Italian family, had buried himself so deeply in books, that his body bore the traces of severe suffering from over study. Feeble, yellow, withered and afflicted with fever, he crept about like a dying man. And yet in this living corpse a powerful and healthy mind worked with great activity. He had thoroughly mastered the whole of Jewish literature, besides being well read in Latin historical works, and he had also practised medicine. At the same time he led a wandering life. He dwelt for some time at Ferrara, then in Bologna, but had to leave that city in consequence of the persecution and expulsion of the Jews under Pius V., and he finally settled permanently in Ferrara for the second time. He held intercourse with the greatest Jews, Christians and Marranos of his age, and was regarded by all with astonishment as a marvel of learning. He did not allow the treasures of his knowledge to lie dead within him, but let them grow and spread luxuriantly. Ancient history possessed a special attraction for him. But even

more admirable than his vast reading was the use he made of it. He was the first to bring into contact and connection with one another those two provinces of literature which were so far apart—the Talmud with its offshoots, and the principles of Philo and Josephus; with the works of the Church fathers—in order to prove the truth of the historical narratives from the mouths of many witnesses. Deï Rossi, too, was the only person not satisfied with the data of tradition, but who accepted nothing as truth till he had subjected it to a searching examination.

A fortuitous occurrence brought to light the mental treasures that Deï Rossi possessed. Ferrara, where he had settled shortly after leaving Bologna, had been visited by a terrible earthquake (November 18th, 1570), and the inhabitants were compelled to leave their ruined and crumbling houses and to seek places of refuge outside the city. Deï Rossi happened to meet in one of the villages a learned Christian, who was trying to overcome the gloomy thoughts caused by the earthquake by reading a Greek book of Jewish antiquity. In conversation Deï Rossi became aware that his co-religionists, even those who possessed some culture, owing to their onesided absorption in the Talmud or obsolete philosophical writings, knew nothing of their own brilliant literature of the period of the Second Temple, whilst Christians endeavoured to direct their attention to it. He therefore, encouraged by his Christian friend, determined to translate into Hebrew the "Letter of Aristas," supposed to be the discourse of a Greek king about the wisdom of the Jews, in order to make it accessible to his fellow-believers. He completed this task in twenty days. This was the first-fruit of his learning, and it led him on to further undertakings. His principal work, "Light of the Eyes," consists chiefly of parallel passages from

Talmudic and profane sources upon the same subjects. But the special and, indeed, only importance of Deï Rossi's works rests upon the fact that he not merely adhered to tradition, but applied the methods of scientific enquiry to what the multitude regarded as unassailable truths, and that he used profane sources in elucidating them. The actual results of this historical investigation have for the most part proved unsound. Strong as Deï Rossi was in removing obstructive rubbish, his power of reconstruction was small.

The importance of his efforts only appears in its proper light if we compare them with the circumstances and surroundings of his time, or with the works of contemporary writers on the same subject, as, for example, those of Gedalya Ibn Yachya; to these they form a complete contrast.

Gedalya was a descendant of the Italian branch of a noble family, and inherited their taste for knowledge. He was born in 1515, and died in 1587. His wealth enabled him to satisfy his taste by collecting a magnificent library. In his voluntary and compulsory journeys in Northern Italy—for he was a preacher, and owing to the intolerance of the Popes had to lead an unsettled life—he had seen and read much, both in sacred and profane literature, but he read or observed without independent judgment, without discrimination, and without insight into the essence of truth. Ibn Yachya's abbreviated "History of the Jews" combined with a chronicle of the history of the world, and called, "The Chain of Tradition," at which he worked for nearly forty years, affords a confused medley of authentic historical narratives and mere fables. But in spite of, or perhaps just because of, its fabulous interpretations, his book has found more acceptance among the Jews than the researches of Deï Rossi. When the first edition of the latter's "Light of the Eyes" found its way to Safet, the

orthodox people of that town declared its contents to be heretical. Joseph Karo commissioned Elisha Galaico, one of the members of his Rabbinical college, to draw up an indictment against it, to be distributed amongst all Jews, ordering Dei Rossi's work to be burned. The people of Safet likewise held an inquisition. But Joseph Karo died (in Nisan, *i.e.*, April, 1575) before he had signed this indictment. However, the Italian Jews were not so fanatical as to condemn Dei Rossi, for they knew him to be a pious and pure Jew. The Rabbis of Mantua only went so far as to employ the procedure of Ben Adret concerning the study of profane literature, that is, they forbade the reading of Dei Rossi's works by young people under twenty-five years of age. In consequence of this sentence of heresy, although it was not quite official, the book exercised but little influence upon the Jewish world of that day or the generation immediately succeeding it, and has therefore only been appreciated in quite recent times, when it created a new and enlightened view of history in Jewish circles. But in the Christian world Dei Rossi's work was noticed much sooner, and was annotated and translated into Latin.

Indeed how could a sober, critical method of inquiry find favour in an age when the mystic Kabbala, with its creations of wild fancy, was the first authority, bidding men esteem blind credulity as the highest virtue and exciting visionary enthusiasm to the highest pitch of fanatical intoxication? The visions of Solomon Molcho and Joseph Karo and their fond enthusiasm about the Messiah were sober compared to the excitement which reigned after their death, and caused a veritable witches' Sabbath. During the last three decades of the sixteenth century the Kabbala gained the sole mastery in Palestine, brought about apparitions of spirits and witchcraft, and produced orgies

of mysticism. It spread from thence over the whole of Turkey, Poland, Germany and Italy; it darkened and confused men's minds, it even had an evil influence upon their hearts, allowing no healthy thought to appear, or branding such thought as heretical and sinful. Once again as in the early days of Christianity, Galilee, and especially the district of Safet, became the scene for the appearance of a host of evil spirits, and of people possessed of devils, which challenged mystic exorcism and revealed profound mysteries; and it is impossible to say whether the persons possessed were deceived by the exorcisers, or whether the latter were not deceived by the former. A period of actual Kabbalistic mania arose, coincident with profligacy and moral degradation, and its victims despised not only the sciences, but even the Talmud with its exhortations to sobriety. Then for the first time the Jewish world entered on a "dark age" of its own, with all the appropriate credulity, while only the last traces of such darkness were visible in Europe generally. This tendency was exaggerated by two men who by their fanaticism and visionary extravagance infected a circle which continually widened. These were Isaac Lurya and his disciple Chayim Vital Calabrese.

Isaac Lurya Levi (born in Jerusalem in 1534, and died 1572) was descended from a German family. Left an orphan at an early age by the death of his father, young Isaac came to Egypt, to the house of a rich uncle, Mardochai Francis, a tax-farmer, and began to study the Talmud. But this dry study of the Talmud, which filled the mind with voluminous learning, unfruitful hairsplitting and mere formulas, while failing to satisfy the wants of the heart, seems to have become repugnant to Lurya, and to have driven him to phantasy and mysticism. He preferred the awful loneliness of the Nile country to the noise of the school; abstraction in worlds of mysti-

cism and visionary prayers to working out intellectual problems. He was greatly attracted by the Zohar, which had then been printed for the first time, and which being thus widely spread abroad, had become accessible to everybody. The more familiar he became with the Kabbala through his absorption in the sounding emptiness of the Zohar, the more did he seek solitude, and cease to have intercourse with men. He even neglected his young wife, only visited his house from Sabbath to Sabbath, and spoke little, that little being only in Hebrew. Lurya is said to have spent several years in solitude in this manner, and the result was that like all those whose reason is weaker than their imagination, he became a confirmed visionary. The mystic book, the Zohar, his constant companion in this seclusion, aided in exciting his imagination. Firmly convinced of its authenticity as being the work of Simon bar Yochai, and also of the divine character of all the phantasies and follies therein revealed, Lurya sought in it even higher allusions and still deeper wisdom. In his heated imagination he even saw Elijah, the Teacher of Mysteries, face to face.

But what did the prophet Elijah, or the Zohar, or rather his own heated imagination, reveal to him? First he took the trouble to give a certain amount of system, unity and logical order to the confusion and intricacies of the Zohar, as if connected thought could be expected, in the idle chatter of one who was half imbecile. The hermit of Cairo sought to deduce from it how God had created and ordered the world by means of the mystic numbers (Sefirot), or how the Godhead revealed itself in the form of substances, or how it had concentrated itself within itself, in order to unfold the finite nature of created things from its own infinitude. Thus he evolved an extraordinarily complicated system of powers and opposing powers, forces and counter-forces, forms and degrees (Parsophin), in the four spheres of

Separation, Creation, Formation and Transformation; and he clothed these empty abstractions with such wondrous names, that he afterwards complained, with reason, no one could understand his mystic system. Yet Lurya looked upon this intricate and complex theory of the creation as only a kind of introduction to what seemed to him a much more important and practical part of the Kabbala, whereby the divine order of the world (Olam ha-Tikkun) could be restored. This practical Kabbala of Lurya rests upon a not less marvellous doctrine of souls, also based upon the visions of the Zohar.

Our souls, he says, reflect the close connection between the finite and the infinite, and therefore have a manifold character. The whole series of souls to appear in temporal life was created at the same time as Adam, but each soul, according to its higher or lower degree, was fashioned in; from, or with the first man from higher or lower organs and forms. Accordingly there are souls of the brain, the eyes, the hands and the feet. Each of these must be regarded as an effluence or spark (Nizuz) from Adam. By the first sin of the first man—for even the Kabbala finds this original sin necessary for its fanciful creations—the higher and the lower, the superior and inferior souls, good and evil, have become confused and mingled together. Even the purest beings thereby received an admixture of the evil and the devilish element of the “husk” (Kelipha). But the moral order of the world, or the purification of the first man, cannot be brought about till the consequences of original sin, the confusion of good and evil, are obliterated and removed. From the most evil part of the soul-creation emanates the heathen world; the people of Israel on the other hand come from the good part. But the former are not quite without an admixture of the original good, while the latter are not free from an admixture of the corrupt and

demoniac. This imperfection gives the continual impulse towards sin and hinders the chosen fragment of the human race from following the law of God, the Torah. The Messianic period will put an end to this disturbance of divine order arising from the first sin, or abolish the disorder which has since crept in, and will introduce, or see introduced, the divine restoration of the world. Previously, therefore, a complete separation of good from evil must take place, and this can only happen by the agency of Israel, provided that part, or the whole community of its members, lose or cast away the admixture of evil. For this purpose men's souls (especially those of the Israelites) have to go through various wanderings or transmigrations through the bodies of men and animals, even through rivers, wood and stones. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls forms the centre and basis of Lurya's Kabbala, but the development of the idea is Lurya's own. According to this theory even the souls of the pious must suffer transmigration, since even they are not free from the taint of evil; there is none righteous upon earth who does only good and sins not. In this way Lurya solved the difficulty, which former Kabbalist writers could not overcome.

But this separation of the good and evil elements in mortal souls, the obliteration and expiation of original sin, or the restoration of the divine order in Adam, would require a long series of ages owing to the impulse towards sin which is continually present. There are, however, means of hastening this process, and this was the really original doctrine that Lurya enunciated. Together with the transmigration of our souls, sinful and subject to demoniac forces as they are, there may be included also another mode, the elevation or impregnation of the soul (*Ibbur*, *superfœtatio*). If a purified soul here on earth has neglected various

religious duties, or has had no opportunity of fulfilling them, it must return to the earthly life, attach itself to the soul of a living human being, and unite and coalesce with it, in order to retrieve this neglect. Or again, the departed spirits of men who have become free from sin appear again on earth in order to support those weak and wavering souls who cannot attain to good by their own efforts, in order to strengthen them and lead them to the final goal. These pure spirits combine with weaker souls still struggling, and form a union with them, supposing, that is, that they have some affinity with one another; *i.e.*, if they originate from the same sparks or organs of Adam, since as a rule only similar (homogeneous) souls attract one another, while on the other hand dissimilar (heterogeneous) souls repel one another. According to this theory the banishment and dispersion of Israel has for its purpose the salvation of the world or of men's souls. The purified spirits of pious Israelites unite with the souls of men of other nationalities in order to free them from the demoniacal impurities that possess them.

Isaac Lurya imagined a complete system of the transmigration and combination of souls. It also seemed to him important to know the sex of a soul, for feminine souls are also found in masculine bodies, and *vice versa*, according to the transmigration and attraction in each case. It is especially important in contracting a marriage to know whether the souls of the man and wife harmonise with each other in respect of origin and degree. By means of this secret the visionary of Cairo expected to solve the other mystery, namely, how good spirits may be conjured down from heaven, and be in a measure compelled to enter the bodies of living men, and thus made to divulge revelations of the world beyond. Hereby he believed that he held the key to the kingdom of the Messiah.

and the restoration of the world. Lurya also believed he possessed the soul of the Messiah of the branch of Joseph, and that he had a Messianic mission. He saw spirits everywhere, and heard their whispers in the rushing of the waters, the movements of the trees and grass, in the song or twittering of birds, even in the flickering of flames. He saw how souls were set free on leaving the body, how they hovered in the air above, or rose up out of their graves. More especially he held intercourse with the saints of the Bible, the Talmud, and the Rabbis, and in particular with Simon bar Yochaï. In short, Lurya was an avowed ghost-seer and raiser of the dead, a second Abraham Abulafia or Solomon Molcho, arousing hopes of the coming of the Messiah by Kabbalistic jugglery, but with all this fanaticism he was moderate and sophistical. He introduced the casuistry of the Talmud into the Kabbala.

In Egypt, Isaac Lurya found little or no favour with his labyrinth of higher worlds, and his theories of creation and redemption. In order to perfect his scheme of redemption he migrated with his wife and child to Safet, the Jerusalem of mysticism, where mystic doctrine flourished, and the Zohar, that spurious work of Moses de Leon, was exalted to the same level as the book of the laws of Moses ben Amram. Almost the whole body of Rabbis and all the chief leaders of Safet were Kabbalists. This place was at the time a flourishing city inhabited only by Jews. The members of the community had little experience of oppression or the cares of life, and so the Kabbalists could carry on their practices to their hearts' content. They felt as safe under the favour that the Jewish Duke of Naxos found with the Sultan, as if they were in a State of their own, and possessed of political independence. The Kabbalists had already begun to imitate the Catholics in the matters of auricular

confession and the adoration of martyrs. And thus the stage was prepared on which Lurya, the creator of the new Kabbala, was to display fresh mystifications.

On his first arrival (about 1569) he appears to have received little attention in the city of the Kabbalists. Only through his acquaintance and connection with a still greater visionary, perhaps not quite so honest as himself, did he become a person of any consequence, and infect everyone with his waking dreams. This man was the Italian Chayim Vital Calabrese (born 1543, died 1620), whose father, a transcriber of legal documents, had travelled into Palestine from Italy. Vital had learned nothing thoroughly in his younger days, but had gained a smattering of the Talmud and mystic lore. He possessed a wild and extravagant imagination, and a decided inclination for adventure and sensation. For two years and a half Vital had occupied his time with alchemy and the art of making gold. From this mystic art he turned to Lurya's Kabbala. It is not known which of these two men first sought the other, but it is certain that each, without wishing it, deceived the other. Together they visited desolate places and graves, particularly the grave of Simon bar Yochaï, the fabled author of the Zohar, in Meiron. This was Lurya's favourite spot, because there he fancied he could draw down to himself the spirit of this supposed chief of the mystics. Again and again did Lurya send forth his disciple to conjure up spirits, and for this purpose delivered to him certain formulas made up of transposed letters in the name of the Deity. Of course, evil spirits fled before Vital's gaze, whilst good spirits attached themselves to him and communicated their secrets.

It was Vital who now made a great sensation by his reports concerning the extraordinary, almost divine gifts of his master, and of his power over

departed and living souls ; and he did so, it appears, with an artful calculation for effect and publicity. Lurya, once so isolated, now found himself surrounded by crowds of visitors ; Kabbalists, both young and old, came to listen to the new revelation. Several disciples attached themselves to him, and he communicated to them his confused thoughts assigned to each the original Adamite soul that dwelt in him, the transmigrations it had undergone before its present corporeal existence, and the functions of each soul on earth. It never occurred to these people, already enchained in the Kabbalistic net, to doubt the truth of these communications. From the disciples that gathered round him Lurya formed two classes : the "initiated" and the "novices."

Mystical conversations and compilations, the interviewing and summoning of spirits, formed the occupation of Lurya and his followers. In short, Lurya was on the eve of founding a new Jewish sect. On the Sabbath he dressed in white, and wore a four-fold garment to symbolise the four letters of the name of God. The underlying fact of all his revelations and exertions was that he was the Messiah of the race of Joseph, the fore-runner of the Messiah of David's line. This, however, he only furtively hinted to his disciples. His delusion was that the Messianic period had commenced at the beginning of the second half of the second period of a thousand years since the destruction of the Temple, *i.e.*, in 1568.

The sudden death of the mystic, at the age of thirty-eight, conduced still more to his glorification. Death is wont to transfigure natures like his, and veneration for them increases largely in proportion as years roll on. With Eastern exaggeration his disciples regarded him after death with even more confidence as a worker of wonders. They called him the "Holy and Divine," and sought, for their

own glory, to win adherents for him and his visionary extravagances. They declared that if Lurya could only have lived five years longer he would have so effectually improved the world that the Messianic period would certainly have begun. Abraham Abulafia, who had evolved a Kabbalistic medley from his own consciousness, was declared a heretic, and persecuted. Isaac Lurya, who had done the same thing with the Zohar as a foundation, was almost deified.

After Lurya's death Vital Calabrese came to the fore. He immediately usurped a kind of authority over his fellow-disciples, pretended that Lurya had nominated him his successor on his deathbed, and took away from them the written compilations given them by Lurya in feigned obedience to a dying request of his master. Vital also let it be understood that he, too, was the Messiah of the race of Joseph. However, some disciples did not pay any attention to this, and forthwith taught in various countries what they had received from Lurya himself. This was especially done by Israel Saruk in Italy, whither he had travelled.

"The harm that the Kabbalistic doctrines of Lurya caused in Jewish circles is inexpressible. Judaism became surrounded with so thick a husk of mysticism, that it has not even yet succeeded in entirely freeing itself and enabling the true kernel to be seen. Through Lurya's influence there was formed side by side with the Judaism of the Talmud and the Rabbis, a Judaism of the Zohar and the Kabbala. For it was due to him that the spurious Zohar was first placed upon a level with Holy Scripture and the Talmud, and, indeed higher than they.

The mysticism of Lurya laid stress upon an idea which had been strangely neglected in Jewish circles, viz., upon devotion in prayer, but even this devotion degenerated into Kabbalistic trifling. Every word and every syllable of the ordained

prayers was to be meditated on devotionally, in order that by doing so one might reflect upon the worlds of the Sefirot, the number of the names of God hidden therein, and many other things. Lurya's Kabbala certainly inculcated the preservation of an unruffled disposition, and interdicted all dejection, or outbreaks of anger and ill-humour. But this serenity, owing to its mystical setting, received a touch of constraint and unpleasantness, and became something like the laughter of a madman. The Sabbath forms the central point of Lurya's mystic teaching, together with its special prayers and meals. He looked upon it as the visible representation of the world of the Sefirot, as the embodiment of the Divinity (Shechinah) in temporal life, and all actions done or left undone on that day had an influence upon the higher world. Lurya's followers opened the Sabbath with a hymn, called "The Mystical Bride;" and for this purpose Lurya composed Chaldean songs full of obscure and meaningless formulas. His Kabbala also introduced a second Day of Atonement. The "Day of Hosannas," the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles, was formerly observed as a day of festivity. Even Joseph Karo did not venture in his code to attribute a higher mystical religious function to this day. The tendency originated by Lurya first raised it on the authority of the Zohar to the rank of a day of expiation in miniature, introduced the practice of holding a mystic vigil the previous night, and perceived in every leaf of the willow branches, and in the seven-fold processions round the scrolls of the law, a higher and mystical meaning. In relation to morality, too, the mysticism of Lurya had a corrupting influence. It set up a kind of "harmony of souls" in the place of marriage, and therefore whenever disagreement showed itself in married life it was said that the marriage was not a union fore-ordained by the harmony of the Sefirot. The Kabbal-

ists used therefore to separate from their wives on the smallest dissension in married life in order to seek out the harmonious soul predestined for them. Thus divorce became frequent in Kabbalistic circles. Kabbalists often left their wives and children in the West, and migrated to the East, and there contracted a new marriage or several new marriages, and the children of the different marriages knew nothing of one another.

These corrupting mystic doctrines did not remain a dead letter, but were forthwith put into practice by those who adhered to them. Thus, the brilliance shed by the Jewish Duke of Naxos and other influential Jews at the Turkish Court over their fellow-believers in the East, came to resemble the light of the will-o'-the-wisps that make the waters of a stagnant marsh gleam with a flickering light. For the religious stagnation at the time was glaring indeed; there was a complete relapse into heathenism; and what was worse, there sounded no warning voice which recognised the mischief, or stigmatised, though ever so feebly, the corruption as it really was. Perhaps the feeling of complete security in which the Jews in Turkey reposed under mighty protectors of their own race had called forth this religious disorder. In any case it did not decrease as this protection gradually disappeared, when the influence of Joseph of Naxos with the Sultan Selim ceased on the death of the latter in 1574. His successor Sultan Murad III. (1574-1595), it is true, left the Jewish Duke in possession of his rank and offices according to his father's dying request. But he no longer had any direct influence over the divan; he was supplanted by his adversary the Grand Vizir, Mahomet Sokolli, and his rival Solomon Ashkenazi, and could accomplish nothing without intrigues through the agency of the harem. Joseph Nassi did not long survive his partial disgrace, but died of calculus on

August 2nd, 1579, sincerely lamented by the Jews. His accumulated treasures melted away even as did his ambitious designs. The avaricious Sultan Murad, who slept upon heaps of gold in order that they might not be stolen from him, confiscated all his property by the advice of Mahomet Sokolli, ostensibly to cover his debts. The widowed duchess, Reyna Nassi, with difficulty retained her dowry of 90,000 ducats out of her husband's estate. This noble woman, although she certainly did not possess the spirit either of her mother, Donna Gracia, or of her husband, yet determined like these to spend her wealth in the interests of Jewish knowledge. She set up a Hebrew printing press in her palace of Belvedere, and afterwards in a village called Kuru-Gismu, on the European coast near Constantinople. But she was misled by Joseph Askaloni, a business manager devoid of all taste, to whom she had entrusted the direction of her press, so that only writings of no importance, which had far better have remained in obscurity, were published in her establishment (1579-1598). And so this noble family of two men and two women, who were renowned in their own time, left behind no worthy or lasting memorial; and their deeds, prompted by the noblest intentions, have perished in the stream of the ages.

Duke Joseph having disappeared from the scene, the prestige of the Hebrew statesman, Solomon Ashkenazi, increased, chiefly from the conclusion of peace between Turkey and Venice. But, much as he was able to accomplish by means of his diplomatic arts, he did not, like Joseph of Naxos, stand in the forefront of events as a Turkish dignitary, but rather remained in the background as a wise and silent mediator. Solomon Ashkenazi had no means of approach to the Sultan himself, but only held secret intercourse with the Grand Vizirs, whose right hand man he was. The

negotiations between Turkey and Spain to procure a peace, or at least a *modus vivendi*, desired as it was by both sides, fell through continually owing to mutual pride, were broken off and again renewed. These diplomatic discussions were conducted by Solomon, who possessed greater qualifications for that purpose than anyone else, and the matters in dispute were even partially brought to a conclusion by him. He paid special attention to the securing of a good understanding between the Porte and Venice, and was on this account rewarded by the Doge, his sons being allowed to live in Venice at the expense of the State.

Jewish women, also, of wisdom and good sense, and having some small skill in medicine, gained great influence by means of the harem under the Sultans Murad III., Mohammed IV., and Achmed I. Among these women, Esther Kiera, widow of one Elias Chendali, specially distinguished herself. She was a great favourite with the Sultana Baffa, herself the favourite wife of Murad, who influenced politics under her husband and afterwards during the reign of her son. If a Christian State wished to gain any object at the Porte, it had first to win over the Jewish go-between, Kiera. The Venetians, for instance, knew how to turn this fact to account. All ambitious persons, therefore, who aimed at attaining high office paid respect to Kiera and addressed her with flattery. Naturally she enriched herself by her secret power, as did everyone in Turkey who, however strong or weak he might be, formed one of the spokes in the wheel of the State. She showed great interest in her race, supported the poor and suffering, fed the hungry, and comforted the sorrowful. The interests of knowledge among the Jews were helped by her generous hand. Zacuto's history, as mentioned before, was published at her expense. Naturally her position excited envy. Esther Kiera imprudently allowed

herself to be implicated in the nominations for cavalry officers, first promising one man a high post, and then bestowing it on another. The Turkish Spahis, the proudest class of soldiers, took this treatment very ill, plotted together, and demanded her head. The deputy Grand Vizir Chalil wished to save her and her sons, and allowed them to take refuge in his palace. But on the very steps Esther Kiera and her three sons were seized by the Spahis, torn to pieces, and their limbs hung upon the doors of the favoured magnates who had received their posts through their influence.

Under Sultan Achmed I. another Hebrew woman gained great authority—the widow of the statesman, Solomon Ashkenazi. She was so fortunate as to cure the young Sultan of the small-pox, which shortly after his accession threatened his life, and for which the Turkish physicians knew no remedy. She was richly rewarded for nursing him until his recovery. But such signs of favour towards Jews became continually rarer in Turkey, and at last ceased altogether, in proportion as the empire sank into enervation, and each Sultan became a Sardanapalus; while the harem on the one hand and the Prætorians of the Spahis and Janissaries on the other, held the reins of power. The glory of the Turkish Jews was extinguished like a meteor, and plunged into utter darkness, which from time to time was distorted and illuminated by fanciful visions. Extortion, robbery and open deeds of violence on the part of the Pashas towards the Jews began to occur daily, since they were now deprived of a powerful protector at the Sultan's side. The central point of Judaism, however, shifted to another stage.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE JEWS IN POLAND.

Condition of Poland—Favourable situation of the Jews in that Country—Anti-Jewish Party in Poland—The Jewish Communities—Judaizing Poles—Studies of the Jews—The Talmud, in Poland—Solomon Lurya—Moses Isserles—The Historian, David Gans—"Zemach David"—Supremacy of the Polish Authorities in Rabbinical matters—The Jewish Seminaries in Poland—The Disputations at the Fairs—Chiddushim and Chillukim—Stephan Bathori—His Kindness towards his Jewish Subjects—Sigismund III.—Restriction on the erection of Synagogues—Jewish Synods—Vaad Arba Arazot—Mordecai Jafa—Christian Sects in Poland—The Socinians or Unitarians—Simon Budny—The Reformers and the Jews—Isaac Troki—"The Strengthening of Faith."

1566—1600 C.E.

POLAND, which in this century had become a great power by reason of its union with Lithuania under the sons of Casimir IV., was, like Turkey, the refuge of all who were outlawed or persecuted. Canonical Christianity, with its love of persecution, had not yet struck firm roots there; and even monarchical despotism, encouraged by the priests in its obstinate determination to break through every bound regardless of consequences, could not prevail against the independent spirit of the Polish nobility. The Starosts were able to rule unchecked in their own provinces, just like the English and Scottish lords and clans, and could ward off any attempted encroachments of royalty. The reformed faith, that is to say Calvin's teaching, was readily received by the nobility and middle classes. Poland was therefore in this century a second Babylonia for the Jews, in which they were partially protected from bloody persecutions, where some of them could

attain to high positions, and where they were allowed to develop their individuality without restraint. When the Jews were expelled from Bohemia, and turned their steps to Poland, they were kindly received. Indeed so highly appreciated were they, that it was thought the people could not do without them. When many among them, attracted by the favoured position of their brethren in Turkey, prepared to migrate thither, the king made every exertion to retain them in his land, either voluntarily or under compulsion. But it mattered very little what were the king's relations to them; for whether he was kindly or evilly disposed towards them, the nobles protected those who dwelt on their estates from all attacks, in as far as their own interests were not injured thereby. However, the Jews alternately received favours and suffered restrictions according as hostile or friendly influences preponderated.

There still existed, however, a party in Poland hostile to the Jews. It regarded with dissatisfied eyes their more favoured position in that country as compared with the rest of Christendom. This was the party which endeavoured to abrogate the statute of Casimir IV., still in force, which gave protection against unduly severe persecution. On the one hand the Catholic clergy regretted the absence of canonical restrictions regarding the Jews in the Polish legislation; on the other the German merchant and artizan class feared Jewish competition.

There exists no estimate of the number of Jews in Poland, though the Jewish population is said to have reached the total of 200,000. The community at Posen then numbered 3,000 members, and there were about as many in Cracow, or rather in the suburb of Kazimierz, to which they had on a former occasion been banished. The third community in point of size was at Lublin. The Jews

had many taxes to pay under different heads. On this account indeed they were received and tolerated in the country, and protected by the kings and the nobility, being almost the only people who possessed money in that impecunious land. For this reason also the kings encouraged their commercial enterprises. When Sigismund Augustus, soon after his accession, carried on negotiations for a prolongation of the peace with the Russian Czar Ivan IV., called "The Terrible," he inserted the condition that the Jews of Lithuania should be allowed, as formerly, to freely carry on trade with Russia. But Ivan absolutely refused this condition, on the ground that he did not wish to see any Jews in his realm. "We do not want these men," he said, "who have brought us poison for our bodies and souls; they have sold deadly herbs among us, and blasphemed our Lord and Saviour." As a matter of fact a Judaizing sect had been founded some seventy years before by a Jew called Zacharias, to which sect even some of the priests belonged, and a metropolitan named Zosima. This proselytizing sect continued to exist till the beginning of the sixteenth century, but its adherents were severely persecuted when discovered. On this account Jews were not allowed in Russia.

In consequence of the Reformation, which had affected Poland, a purer taste and a love of science and literature had developed there. Polish nobles fond of travelling brought back from Germany an interest in these matters and sent their sons to study at the reformed universities of Wittenberg and Geneva. Schools arose in Poland where Jewish boys and youths were instructed together with Christians. The Polish Jews, it is true, did not trouble themselves much about learning, but they were by no means quite so devoid of it as their German brethren.

Aristotle, that philosophical authority so familiar to the Hebrew world, and so closely akin to the Hebrew spirit, also found admirers among the Polish Jews. Even Maimuni's philosophic and religious writings found some, though not many, readers. Astrology and medicine, two favourite sciences of the Jews from time immemorial, were also studied by those who dwelt in Poland. Generally speaking there did not exist among the Polish Jews that isolation and decay which was the lot of the Jewish inhabitants of Germany. Here, indeed, the study of the Talmud had received an impetus, greater almost than in France in the times of the Tossafist schools. Of all the Jews in Europe and Asia those in Poland were the last to become familiar with the Talmud, and therefore they cherished it with an extravagant affection as though desirous of making up for lost time. It appeared as if the deep secrets of the Talmud were only to be rightly understood and completely unravelled and appreciated in Poland. Comprehensive erudition and marvellous insight were united in a surprising degree among the Polish students of this book, and everyone whom nature had not deprived of all talent betook himself to the study. The dead letter received new life and form from the eager inspiration of the Jewish sons of Poland; in this land it exerted an influence of great force, striking sparks of intellectual fire, and creating a ceaseless flow of thought. The Talmudical schools in Poland therefore became henceforward the most celebrated throughout the whole of European Judaism. All who sought sound learning betook themselves thither. To have been educated in a college of the Polish Jews was of itself a sufficient recommendation; and all who did not possess this advantage were considered as inferiors.

The fame of the Rabbinical schools of Poland

was due to three men: Shalom Shachna, Solomon Lurya, and Moses Isserles. Solomon Lurya (born in Posen about 1510 and died about 1573) came from a German family which had emigrated. Had he been born in a better and more intellectual epoch he would have been one of the makers of Judaism, perhaps another Maimuni. But being the son of a decaying age, he became only a profound and thorough Talmud scholar, in the higher sense of the word. Solomon Lurya did not remain satisfied with traditional data, but examined every single point, weighing it in the golden balance of critical exactitude. To the thorough and critical investigation of the great field of the Talmud his whole mental activity was devoted, and he possessed the greatest natural qualifications for such critical work. With his bold spirit of inquiry, ruthlessly subjecting everything to the severest examination, Lurya in any other age, would have gone beyond even the Talmud, if its contradictions had made themselves glaringly apparent to him. But by this son of an age of faith, the whole book was regarded as an actual continuation of the revelation made at Sinai, an unassailable authority, which only needed to be properly understood, or which wanted perhaps a little rectification here and there, but as a whole containing the truth. At the same time Lurya himself was a strongly marked character, having all the acerbity and angularity commonly associated therewith. Injustice, venality and hypocrisy, were so hateful to him, that he broke out into what was sometimes an imprudent excess of zealous indignation against them. By reason of his independence and distinct individuality, which he wished to put in force everywhere, Solomon Lurya used often to offend and hurt the vanity of not a few persons. He lashed in bitter terms those Talmudical scholars whose actions did not correspond to their teaching,

and who only betook themselves to the study of the Rabbinical literature for the sake of discussion, or to gain a reputation. Hence he made many enemies, and was in his own time more feared than loved. In polemical discussion he was reckless and unsparing, and very naturally brought upon himself retaliation which only embittered him the more. Then he complained of persecution, and even of the ingratitude of his disciples who had turned against him, and looked at everything in a gloomy light. Soon he attacked the contemporary students of the Talmud, because, he said, the ignorant were so many and the possessors of knowledge so few, while their arrogance continually increased and no one was content to take the position that properly belonged to him. No sooner was one of them ordained than he took upon himself the airs of a master, collected a troop of disciples around him for money, as people of rank would hire a body-guard. There were, he complained, "grey-headed Rabbis, with very little knowledge of the Talmud, who behaved imperiously to congregations and to people of real knowledge, excommunicated and re-admitted members, ordained disciples—all for their own selfish purposes." Solomon Lurya extended the sarcastic bitterness of his scorn to the German experts in the Talmud, "who, in the case of people of wealth and authority showed an extensive indulgence towards the transgression of Rabbinical precepts, while they spread evil reports about men of moderate means and strangers who neglected only one custom, such as going with uncovered head."

However, things were not so bad in Jewish society as they were depicted by Lurya's bitter humour; and this is proved in the most conclusive manner by the recognition that this morose fault-finder himself received. Talmudical students, both young and old, even in his lifetime were full

of admiration for his achievements. While still betwixt youth and middle age, he undertook his principal work of elucidating and sifting Talmudic discussions, so as to settle on a firm basis, questions of religious practice arising out of them; and he continued this work up to the end of his life, without however entirely completing it. It is true Solomon Lurya performed his task with more thoroughness, clearness and depth, than his contemporaries or predecessors. But if he hoped, as it appears he did, to put an end to all variety and confusion of opinion, he made the same mistake as Maimuni and others. He only contributed to further entanglement of the knot. His numerous other writings bear the same impress of thoroughness and critical insight, but he could not heal the wound any more than others who had made the attempt; it lay too deep.

As a consequence of his critical faculty, Lurya laid stress upon what his Polish and German fellow-students altogether neglected as being too trifling—namely, on grammatical correctness and precision in the distinction of the forms of speech. On the other hand he was a declared enemy of scholastic philosophy. It appeared to him to be dangerous and fatal to faith.

Another leading Rabbi in Poland was Moses ben Israel Isserles, of Cracow (born in 1520 and died in the month Iyar, 1572). The son of a greatly respected father, who had held the office of president of the community, he distinguished himself more by his precocity and comprehensive learning than by any striking mental individuality. Inheriting so much property from his family that he dedicated one of his houses as a synagogue, Isserles was able to follow the bent of his genius with ease and comfort, devote himself to the Talmud, and make himself familiar with its mazes. He soon gained such a reputation that, while still almost a youth,

he was nominated Rabbinical judge in Cracow. At thirty years of age he had surveyed the whole field of Talmudic and Rabbinical literature as thoroughly as Joseph Karo, a man double his age.

Isserles also felt the need of collecting and giving finality to the widely scattered materials comprising Rabbinical Judaism. But since Joseph Karo had forestalled him in this idea by the compilation of his Code, it only remained for him to rectify and comment upon it. For he regretted the omission of several elements in that work, especially the neglect of German Rabbinical authorities and customs. This practical continuation of Karo's Code, or "Table," he called the "Mappa" or "Table-cloth." As the Jews in Germany had always been more scrupulous in their observances than those elsewhere, the additions and supplementations made by Isserles turned out to be burdensome. His decisions, however, immediately received recognition, and to the present day form the religious standard, the official or orthodox Judaism, of the German and Polish communities and those allied to them. It cannot quite be said that he contributed still more, so to speak, to their ossification, for he did not invent and introduce these burdens, but only established and codified them while following the universal tendency. If Isserles had not brought them into the religious code, some one else would have done so.

Isserles had also an active taste for other subjects besides the Talmud, especially for astronomy. He produced a commentary to Frohbach's astronomical work, the "Theorica." He likewise had an inclination for philosophy, and pursued the subject rather deeply, though only through the medium of Hebrew works. Maimuni's "Guide" was his guide too. On this account he had to submit to a sharp reproof from the proud Solomon Lurya. Isserles also had some taste for history,

which led him to induce one of his disciples to occupy himself seriously with it. David Gans (born in Westphalia in 1541, and died in Prague 1613) had come to Cracow when a youth in order to study in the Rabbinical Academy there; but his natural taste for scientific subjects, history, geography, mathematics and astronomy was involuntarily aroused by Isserles, who had brought him up and guided his studies. Gans betook himself to these subjects, and made the acquaintance of two great leaders in mathematics and astronomy, Kepler and Tycho de Brahe. He wrote several works on these subjects, of course in Hebrew. His Chronicle (*Zemach David*), consisting of annals of Jewish and general history, is also celebrated. It was a very great thing for a German Jew to have devoted himself to studies somewhat outside of the ordinary track. But yet one cannot call David's historical performances important. He introduced among the Jews the dry, bare form of historical narrative formerly employed by the monks, but which had at that time already given place to a more artistic method. However, unimportant as David's Chronicle is, it yet possesses some merit, because it reminded those who were wrapped up in the study of the Talmud that they had been left far behind by the stream of history. The want of appreciation of history displayed by the German Jews is noticeable in the brief inscription placed on Gans' tomb, while there were no limits to the eulogies poured forth in glorifying the memory of some obscure Rabbinical dignitary. The study of the Talmud, even if prosecuted merely as an effort of memory, won greater fame in that age than devotion to any branch of science, however profoundly grasped.

These three great Rabbinical lights, first both in rank and in priority of time, Shachna, Solomon

Lurya and Isserles, laid the foundation of an extraordinary advance in the Talmudical schools of the Polish Jews. Any complicated question which aroused the interest of the people was submitted to them, especially to Isserles, for final decision, from Germany, Moravia, Bohemia, and even from Italy and Turkey. The revolting vulgarities of the community at Prague, against which the local College of Rabbis was powerless, were brought before the Rabbis of Poland, and were attacked vigorously by them. Passionate disputes in Frankfort-on-the-Maine, which threatened to produce a persecution or expulsion, were settled and a reconciliation effected from Poland. Thus this Rabbinical triumvirate founded a kind of supremacy in Poland over the Jews of Europe which was acknowledged on all sides, and the Polish Rabbis maintained their position as leaders up to the end of the eighteenth century.

The triumvirate, whose numerous disciples rivalled each other in the study of the Talmud, gradually caused nearly all Polish Jews to become familiar with that book, and eligible for the Rabbinical office. Even in small communities of only fifty members there were at least twenty Talmudical scholars, who in their turn instructed at least thirty pupils. Everywhere there arose schools with Rabbis at their head as teachers, whose chief duty was to deliver lectures, while everything else was of secondary importance. Young men crowded to these establishments, where they could live free from care, their maintenance being defrayed out of the treasury of the community, or by wealthy private individuals. Children were put to the study of the Talmud at a tender age, certainly to the detriment of the natural development of their minds. The highest honour consisted in conducting a Rabbinical school, and their ambition was en-

couraged to strive for this object. Supervisors were nominated to watch over the industry of the students (Bachurim) and the children. Gradually a kind of syllabus was introduced for the lectures on the Talmud in the summer and winter terms, with alternating themes, and thus it has remained up to recent times.

At the end of the term, the teachers and their numerous pupils departed to the great Polish fairs, in the summer to Zaslav and Jaroslaw, and in winter to Lemberg and Lublin. Thus several thousand students of the Talmud met together, and there ensued a lively interchange of remarks and subtle disputations upon the subject-matter of Rabbinical and Talmudic study. Public disputations were held, in which anyone might take part. The keener intellects on these journeys received wealthy brides as a reward for their mental exertions! Rich parents took pride in having sons-in-law educated in Talmudic schools, and sought for them at the fairs. The Polish Jews, by reason of this fervent zeal, acquired a Talmudic deportment, so to speak, which showed itself in every movement and every utterance by an unpleasant shrugging of the shoulders and a peculiar movement of the thumbs. Every conversation, whether of a perfectly indifferent nature or even upon matters of business, resembled a disputation upon the Talmud. Talmudical words, designations, phrases, and allusions passed into popular speech, and were understood even by women and children.

But this excessive study of the Talmud in Poland was of no real advantage to Judaism. It was not carried on in order to gain a proper understanding of the book, but merely to find something unique, rare, witty, striking, and to tickle the intellectual palate. In these meetings of so many thousands of students of the Talmud, masters and disciples, teachers and scholars, at the great fairs, every individual exerted

himself to discover something new, startling and casuistical, bringing it forward only in order to surpass all others, without caring whether it stood the test of proof or was only relatively true, but merely with the purpose of gaining a reputation for sharp-wittedness. The chief endeavour of the Talmudical students of Poland was directed to bringing to light something new in Talmudic criticism, or in inventing something (Chiddush). The lectures of the heads of schools, and indeed of all Rabbis, had only this object in view—to set up something hitherto unsurpassed, to weave a net of sophistical Talmudical propositions, and to go still further in the process of incomprehensible hair-splitting (Chillukim). Hence the whole tendency of Jewish thought in Poland was turned in a wrong direction. The language of the Jews in particular suffered from this cause, degenerating into a ridiculous jargon, a mixture of German, Polish and Talmudical elements, becoming an unpleasant stammering, rendered still more repulsive by forced attempts at wit. This corrupt speech, despising all forms, could only be understood by Jews, who were natives of the country. Together with their language the Polish Jews lost that which really constitutes a man, and were thus exposed to the scorn and contempt of non-Jewish society. The Bible had already fallen gradually into the background in the course of development since the time of Maimuni, and now in Poland all knowledge of it was utterly lost. If anyone occupied himself with it, it was merely in order to derive the materials for wit, or false wit, from its pages.

The circumstances of the time were such that the Jews of Poland were able, to a certain extent, to form an independent State, within the Polish State. Several kings in succession were so far favourable to them that they accorded them extensive protective privileges, and, as far as their power ex-

tended, saw that these rights were respected. After the death of the last king of the Jagellon dynasty, Sigismund Augustus (1572), the elective monarchy began to do justice to the Jews. Each newly-elected king needed money before everything, and this could only be supplied by the Jews, or he wanted to form a party among the nobles, and hence this generally submissive order obtained a preponderating influence as compared with those who dwelt amongst the narrow-minded German middle class, which had always been hostile to the Jews.

After an interregnum occupied by election negotiations and intrigues of thirteen months' duration, the crafty Prince of Transylvania, Stephan Bathori gained the Polish throne, not without the co-operation of the Jewish agent Solomon Ashkenazi, for Turkey had demanded his election. Not long after his accession he sent kind messages to the Jews, protected those in Lithuania against false and calumnious accusation of the murder of Christian children, and uttered his conviction that the Jews conscientiously obeyed the Hebrew doctrine of not shedding human blood. His reign of nearly twelve years (1575—1578) forms a friendly interlude in the history of the Jews in Poland. Stephan Bathori, moreover, did not allow the privileges to remain a dead letter, but preserved them in full force. He allowed the Jews (in 1576) to carry on all kinds of trade without restriction, even to buy and sell on Christian Saints' days, decided that the murder of a Jew must be punished by death, the same as the murder of a Christian, and made the city magistracies responsible for riots and injuries caused by Christian mobs in synagogues, churchyards, and at Jewish funerals. The promoters of tumultuous attacks upon Jews, which occurred chiefly in the German city of Posen, were to be fined ten thousand Polish marks, and the magistrate who had not done his duty in protecting the Jews

was to be fined a similar sum. Bathori's reign was not, however, free from attacks on the Jews. Where was there at that time in Christian Europe a single country in which the enemies of the Jews did not assail them? A Polish poet, Klonowicz, poured forth his scorn for their trade, usury and arrogance, in Latin verses; the rulers, he said, robbed the Jews, only to be robbed by them again in turn.

In the long reign of Sigismund III., the Swedish prince (1587—1632), whose election gave a pretext for internal dissensions and civil wars, the Polish Jews fared better than could have been expected from a man who was a pupil of the Jesuits and a zealous Catholic. Although he caused the disaffected Poles to be severely persecuted, the Jews under his government were by no means unhappy. At the Parliament in Warsaw (1592) he confirmed those ancient privileges of Casimir which were considered to be in their favour. However, Sigismund III. created one judicial decision very disadvantageous to the Jews, and which disclosed the ecclesiastical bent of his mind. He ordained that the permission of the clergy had to be gained before building new synagogues, a regulation which of course, rendered the practice of the Jewish religion dependent on a Church eager for persecution.

Under this king the Jews in Poland introduced, about 1586-92, an institution which as yet had not existed in that particular form in Jewish history. It gave the Polish communities extraordinary unity, firmness and strength, and hence secured respect both from those comprised in it and from outsiders. Hitherto it had naturally arisen that, at the meeting of Rabbis and heads of schools with their followers at the great fairs, important questions had been discussed, law cases settled, and general consultations had taken place. The utility of such meetings may have become clearly apparent, and

have given rise to the idea of arranging regular conferences of the heads of communities, in order to draw up decisions of a final nature binding on all alike. Both leaders and communities must at that time have been actuated by a healthy spirit in agreeing to common action. The communities of the principal districts of Little Poland, Greater Poland and Russia were the first to unite in instituting conferences (Vaad) at regular intervals, which were to take place at the great fairs of Lublin and Jaroslaw. The communities sent delegates, learned men of proved excellence, who had a seat and a vote in the Synod. They chose a President, who directed the discussion of questions brought forward, and drew up a report of the session. Disputes in the communities, questions of taxation, religious and social regulations, the averting of threatening dangers, and help to brethren in distress, were the main points treated by the Synods, and they were settled as binding on all. The Synods also exercised a literary censorship by granting permission for certain books to be printed and sold, but forbade this in the case of others which seemed to them harmful. Apparently the Lithuanian Jews were represented at a latter period, and henceforth the Synods were called the Synods of the Four Countries (Vaad Arba Arazot). These conferences had a very beneficial effect; they prevented deeply-rooted dissensions, averted or punished acts of injustice, kept alive a feeling of union amongst the communities, directing them towards common action, and thereby counteracted the narrowness and selfishness of merely local interests that so greatly encouraged the dismemberment and isolation of communities, as it existed for example in Germany. On this account the Synod of Polish Jews was respected even abroad; and distant German communities or private individuals who had any com-

plaint to make, applied to these supreme assemblies, certain to obtain relief from their burdens. It is to the glory of men who for nearly two hundred years presided over the Synods that their names, worthy of the remembrance of posterity, remained in obscurity, as though they had conscientiously suppressed their individual importance before that of the community at large. Still less was known of the originators of this institution, who succeeded in the difficult task of overcoming the anarchic tendency of the people, both as Jews and Poles, and of inducing them to subordinate themselves to one great and common end. It can only be a conjecture that Mordecai Jafa, a Rabbi of Bohemia (born about 1532 and died 1612), who made many journeys and suffered much sorrow, was the organiser of these regular conferences. He had been compelled, from his youth, to assume the wanderer's staff. In this way he came to Venice; here he occupied himself in drawing up a religious code more convenient than that of Joseph Karo. Apparently the search made by the Inquisition for copies of the Talmud rendered his stay in Venice inadvisable, and he again betook himself to Poland. There finally he officiated as a Rabbi first in Grodno, and afterwards in Lublin, from about 1575 till the spring of 1592. In Lublin, as one of the centres for the great fairs, many thousands of Jews used to meet, and there, too, undecided law-suits and disputes had to be settled. Mordecai Jafa may very possibly have gained from this the idea of transforming these chance Synods into regular conferences and of drawing up rules for them. His authority was sufficient to gain acceptance for his proposals, and also satisfied an urgent need. When he left Lublin in his old age to take up the office of Rabbi at Posen, the presidency of the Synod seems to have been occupied by Joshua Falk Cohen, the head of a

school at Lemberg (1592—1616), whose great scholastic establishment was maintained by his rich and respected father-in-law. The frequent meetings of the Reformers in Poland, the Lutherans and Unitarians, with their respective sects, seem to have served as a model for the Jewish assemblies. Only the latter did not discuss hair-splitting dogmas, like the others, but decided practical questions of daily life.

At this time Poland and Lithuania, considered from afar, presented the spectacle of a land honey-combed with religious divisions, from which a new form of Christianity was about to arise. In Germany the reforming movement and the opposition to it had already subsided; the Titans who stormed the gates of heaven had settled down into ordinary parsons; while the new Church in its turn had to face a process of ossification, and after a short season of youthful ardour fell into the feebleness of old age. But in Polish countries the waves of religious and sectarian separation were only now rising up and threatening a general inundation. The German colonies in Poland had transplanted the Reformation with them, and the Polish nobility thought it a becoming fashion to pay homage to this anti-Papal innovation. Christianity in Poland and Lithuania was even yet too young to be firmly rooted; and so the Reformation, finding little opposition, gained rapid admittance among the nobles and bourgeoisie almost to its own discomfiture. The king, Sigismund Augustus, had allowed the movement free play; indeed, under the influence of the Radziwills of Lithuania, who stood close to his throne, he almost renounced Papacy altogether. Thus Poland became a free State in the widest sense, as well as an arena for the new teaching of the Augustine monk from Wittenberg. Even those thinkers or fanatics in Italy, Switzerland or Germany, who wished to

push the religious movement, but who were persecuted either by the Catholics or Reformers, found kindly welcome and protection under the Polish nobility, who were quite independent in their own districts.

Thus arose a sect in Poland which, had it continued, might have given a fatal blow to Christianity in general. The ashes of Servetus of Aragon, burned at the stake in Geneva, the author of a treatise "On the errors of the Trinity," seem to have sown the seed for fresh dissensions in the Church. A number of his disciples, Socinus, Blandrata and Paruta, Italians of bold intellect, who undermined the foundations of Christianity and were outlawed by Catholics and Reformers alike, passed over the Polish frontier, and were allowed not only to live there freely, but also to speak freely. The attacks of the Socinians or Pinczovinians (as these sects which flourished in Poland were called) were directed mainly against the Trinity as being a form of Polytheism. Hence they received the name of Unitarians or also anti-Trinitarians. There arose from this a swarm of sects who met at synodic conventions in order to find grounds of union, but who separated into still further divisions and dissensions.

Among the Unitarians, or disbelievers in the Trinity, were some who partially approached Judaism, and who rejected the veneration of Jesus as a divine Person. They were scoffed at by their various opponents as "Half-Jews" (*semi-judaizantes*). To the strictest sect of Unitarians in Poland belonged Simon Budny, of Masovia, a Calvinist priest, who founded a sect of his own, the Budhians. He died in 1584. He possessed more learning than the other founders of sects, and also had a slight knowledge of Hebrew, which he had learned from some Jews. Simon Budny made himself famous by his simple translation of

the Old and New Testament into Polish (published at Zaslaw, 1572). His intercourse with Jews is shown by his respect for the Talmud, formerly universally despised.

Although the movement of religious reform in Poland did not, in spite of the frequent Synods, disputations and protests, penetrate very deeply, it yet was not without its effect upon the Jews. They willingly entered into discussions with the leaders or adherents of the various sects, if not to convert them to Judaism, yet to show their own superiority in Biblical knowledge. Conversations upon religion held between Jews and "Dissenters" (as the Poles who had seceded from Roman Catholicism were called) were of frequent occurrence. A Unitarian, Martin Czechowic (born about 1530 and died 1613), from Greater Poland, a man of confused intellect who had passed through all the phases of the religious movements of the day, and who finally became a schismatic, renounced the baptism of infants and maintained that a Christian could not undertake any office of State. This Martin Czechowic had written a work to refute the objections of the Jews to the Messianic claims of Jesus, and had fought against the enduring unity of Judaism with old and rusty weapons. A Rabbanite Jew, Jacob of Belzyce, in Lublin (1581), wrote a refutation which was so effective that Czechowic found himself compelled to justify his thesis in a rejoinder.

Isaac ben Abraham Troki, of Trock, near Wilna (born 1533 and died 1594), a Karaite, engaged still more actively than Jacob of Belzyce in disputations with the adherents of Polish and Lithuanian sects. He had access to nobles, princes of the Church, and other Christian circles, was deeply acquainted with the Bible, well read in the New Testament, and in the different polemical religious writings of his day, and he was thus

enabled to produce thoroughly accurate statements. Shortly before his death (1593) Isaac Troki collected the results of his religious conversations in a work that was subsequently to serve as the arsenal for destructive weapons against Christianity. He entitled his work "The Strengthening of Faith," in which he not merely answered the numerous attacks made upon Judaism by Christians, but also carried the war into the camp of Christianity. With great skill, and thorough knowledge of his subjects, he brought into prominence the contradictions and untenable assertions apparent in the Gospels and other original Christian documents. It is the only book of a Karaite author that can be called worth reading. It certainly did not contain anything specially new; all that is brought forward for the defence of Judaism and against Christianity had already been far better said by Spanish authors of a previous period, especially by the talented Profiat Duran. And yet Troki's work had more success, for books too have a fate of their own. This book was translated into Spanish, Latin, German and French, and gained still greater fame from the attacks made upon it by Christians. One of the dukes of Orleans undertook to refute the onslaught of this Polish Jew against Christianity. And when Reason, awakened and strengthened, set itself to the task of applying the lever to shake the foundations of Christianity and to demolish the whole superstructure, it was to this store chamber that she turned for her implements.

CHAPTER XIX.

SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN HOLLAND.—FEEBLE ATTEMPTS AT ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Revival of Catholicism—Decay in European Culture—Ill-treatment of the Jews in Berlin—Emperor Rudolph II. of Austria—Diminution in the numbers of the Italian Jews—Pope Gregory XIII.—Confiscation of copies of the Talmud—Vigorous attempts at the Conversion of the Jews—Pope Sextus V.—The Jewish Physician, David de Pomis—Resumption of Persecution by Clement VIII.—Expulsion from various Italian States—The Censors and the Talmud—The Jews of Ferrara—Settlement of the Jews in Holland—Samuel Pallache—Jacob Tirado and the Marranos in Amsterdam—Tolerant treatment—The poet, David Jesurun—Moses Uri—Hebrew Printing in Amsterdam.

1593—1618 C.E.

THE free spirit of the nations of Europe, which at the beginning of the century had taken so bold a flight, and had broken the ancient bonds in which the Church had for long held minds captive, and cast the blight of doubt on the hitherto sacred authority of the wearer of the Roman purple—this spirit, which promised to bring with it the regeneration of civilised humanity and political freedom, seemed in the second half of the century to be again utterly cast down. The Papacy, or Catholicism, had recovered from its first feeling of terror and again collected itself. By the extraordinary Council of Trent it forged new chains to which the nations who had remained faithful, willingly submitted. The Order of the Jesuits, those restless and indefatigable champions, who not only deprived their opponents of weapons, but even drew them over to their own ranks, had already reconquered much lost ground by their

wide-spread plots, and had conceived new measures in order to win back what they had lost with double interest. Italy, a great part of Southern Germany and the Austrian countries, France—after long civil wars and convulsions, after the blood-stained eve of St. Bartholomew, and the murder of two kings—as also to a great extent Poland and Lithuania, had all once more become Catholic; and as fanatically Catholic, too, as Spain and Portugal, those blazing hells of the Inquisition. In Lutheran and reformed Germany another Papacy had gained the mastery, a Papacy of dry formulas of belief, and slavery to the letter of the law. The Byzantine quarrel about shadowy dogmas and meaningless words divided the evangelical communities into as many sects and subsidiary sects as there were points of discussion, and had a harmful influence upon political development. Classical philology, which had at first produced such a liberating and fruitful effect, was neglected, owing to the excessive belief in the Bible by the one party and the sway of authority over the other, and had degenerated into fanciful dilettantism or learned lumber. The study of the Hebrew language, which for a time had kindled great enthusiasm, was similarly debased, or only carried on superficially for the purposes of ecclesiastical wrangling. The knowledge of Hebrew had always been considered, or at any rate was now thought, in orthodox Catholic society, to be actual heresy. And the same was now the case with Rabbinical literature. The learned Spanish theologian, Arias Montano, published the first complete polyglot Bible in Antwerp at the expense of Philip II. He also compiled grammars and dictionaries of the Hebrew and cognate languages, in which regard was had to the older Jewish expositors. This man, the favourite of Philip II., who had himself drawn up a list of heretical books, was accused by the Jesuits and the

Inquisition of favouring heresy, was suspected of secret conversion to Judaism, and was stigmatized as a Rabbi. Thus Europe seemed to be actually making a retrograde movement, only with this distinction—that what had formerly been a cheery, naïve credulity had now become a sinister and aggressive fanaticism.

The refined ecclesiasticism resulting in the tension which subsequently relieved itself in the mutual annihilation of the Thirty Years' War, made the sojourn of the Jews both in Catholic and Protestant countries a continual torture. Luther's followers in Germany forgot what Luther had so earnestly uttered in their favour, only remembering the hateful things of which he had in his bitterness accused them. Hence the Jews of Berlin and the province of Brandenburg had the odious alternative put before them of being baptised or expelled. A Jewish financier, the physician Lippold, the favourite of the Electoral Prince, Joachim II., and his right hand in his financial extravagances, on being examined and tortured on the rack by Joachim's successor, John George, admitted that he had poisoned his benefactor, although he afterwards recanted the confession. The Jews were also driven out of Brunswick by Duke Henry Julius. Nor had the Catholic nations and princes any cause to reproach their Protestant opponents either with toleration or humanity in regard to the Jews.

It was in some respects a fortunate chance for the Jews of Germany and Austria that the reigning emperor, Rudolph II., although a pupil of the Jesuits, educated in a country where the fires of the stake were always smoking, and a deadly enemy of the Protestants, was not greatly prejudiced against the Jews. As a consequence of his weakness and vacillation he was not able to check the persecutions directed against them, but at least he did not encourage them. He issued an edict to one

bishop (the Bishop of Wurzburg) that the Jews should not be deprived of their privileges, and also to another bishop (of Passau) that they should not be tortured by means of the rack. But in order that he might not be decried by his contemporaries or by posterity as a benefactor of the Jews, he not only maintained the already heavy taxation of the Jews in his Crown land in Bohemia, but from time to time increased it. He also ordered the Jews to be expelled from the Grand Duchy of Austria within six months.

In this position, robbed by Catholics and Lutherans alike, trampled down or driven into misery, barely protected by the emperor, but taxed all the same under the pretence of enjoying this protection, the ruin and degradation of the German Jews reached ever lower depths. They were so sorely troubled by the cares of the moment that they neglected the study of the Talmud which had once furnished their spiritual food.

The Jews of Italy fared even worse at this time, and they too sank into misery and decay. Italy was the principal seat of the malicious and inexorable ecclesiastical reaction, which was animated with no other thought but to annihilate the opponents of Catholicism from the face of the earth. The torch of civil war was hurled from the Vatican into Germany, France and the Netherlands. And as the Jews from the time of Paul IV. and Pius V. had been placed upon the list of heretics, or foes of the Church, their lot was not to be envied. With the loss of their independence their numbers also decreased. There were no Jews living in South Italy. In Northern Italy the largest communities, those of Venice and Rome, only numbered between 1,000 or 2,000 souls; the community in Mantua was only 1,844; and in the whole of the district occupied by Cremona, Lodi, Pavia, Alessandria and Casalmaggiore there dwelt only 889.

Jews. Pius V., by nature a sinister ecclesiastic and delighting in persecution, who treated the Jews as the cursed children of Ham, was succeeded by Gregory XIII. (1572-1585), who had been skilfully trained to fanaticism by the Jesuits and the Theatine monks. As regarded the Jews, Gregory was a most consistent follower of the cruelty of his predecessor. There were, in spite of repeated warnings, still many Christians in Italy, who, in their blindness, preferred to be attended by Jewish doctors of proved excellence, such as David de Pomis, or Elias Montalto, than by Christian charlatans. This, Gregory was desirous of prohibiting. He renewed the old canonical law that Christian sufferers were not to be treated by Jewish physicians; and in doing so he not merely visited Christians who transgressed this command with severe penalties, but also punished the Jewish physicians if they endeavoured to prolong the life of a Christian patient, or even alleviate his sufferings. This time his severity succeeded in its object. Another edict of Gregory's referred not only to one profession, but to the Jewish race in general. It placed them under the Argus eye of the Inquisition. If any of them maintained or taught what was heretical, *i.e.*, obnoxious to the Church; if he held intercourse with a heretic or an apostate, helped him or showed him sympathy, he was to be summoned by the Inquisition, and according to its verdict was to be condemned to confiscation of his property, the punishment of the galleys, or even sentenced to death. If therefore a Jewish refugee from Spain or Portugal was caught in Italy, and it was proved that a brother Jew had given him food or shelter, both might expect to be seized by the inexorable arm of the Grand Inquisition of Italy. The anger of Pope Gregory XIII. was poured forth even

against the Talmud. The Jews were once more admonished to deliver up the Talmud and other books as being suspicious works, hostile to the Church. The Inquisitors and other spiritual authorities were appointed to institute searches for these books everywhere. Anyone who should subsequently be found in possession of them, even after a declaration that the offending passages had been expunged, was rendered liable to a severe punishment. Pope Gregory XIII.'s most zealous effort was directed to the conversion of the Jews. This Pope, who most heartily encouraged the Jesuits and their proselytising school of thought, endowed a propagandist seminary of all nations—the curriculum included twenty-five languages—and founded the "Collegium Germanicum," issued a decree that on Sundays and holy days Christian preachers should deliver discourses upon Christian doctrine in the synagogues, if possible in Hebrew, and that the Jews, including at least a third of the community of both sexes, and all persons over twelve years of age, must attend these sermons. The Catholic princes were exhorted to support this vigorous attempt at conversion. Thus an ordinance of a half-mad, schismatic Pope, Benedict XIII., issued in a moment of passionate excitement, was sanctioned and even exaggerated in cold blood by the head of the united Catholic Church, thereby imposing a religious compulsion not very different from the act of Antiochus Epiphanes in dedicating the Temple of the one true God, to Jupiter. This other feature, too, is characteristic of the views then prevailing, namely, the fact that the Jews were to provide salaries for the preachers in return for the violence done to their consciences! Like his predecessor, Pius V., Gregory spared no means to win over the Jews. Many allowed themselves to be converted either from fear or for their own advantage; and Gregory's edicts did not

remain merely a dead letter, but were carried out with all strictness and severity. The consequence was that many Jews left Rome.

The condition of the Jews in Rome, however, was visibly altered under Gregory's successor, Sextus V. (1585-1596), who rose from the position of a swine-herd to the office of the Shepherd of Catholic Christendom, and whose dauntless energy in ecclesiastical government stamped him as an original and strong type of character. He allowed Jews to be around him, and harboured Lopez, a Jewish refugee from Portugal, who made various suggestions as to the improvement of the ecclesiastical finances. But he went still further, and issued a Bull (on the 22nd October, 1586), which did away with almost all the restrictions made by his predecessors. Sextus not merely granted the Jews permission to dwell in all the cities of the Papal States, but also allowed them to trade with Christians and employ them as assistants in business. He protected their religious freedom by special provisions, and extended to them an amnesty for all past offences, *i.e.*, for condemnations in consequence of possessing religious books. Moreover, he forbade the Knights of Malta, when travelling by sea from Europe to the Levant, or *vice versâ*, to make slaves of Jews, a practice to which these consecrated champions of God had hitherto been addicted. Pope Sextus was a man who took care to secure obedience to his command when it became law, and so the Jews who had been previously expelled now returned to the Papal dominions. Once more the Jewish community at Rome numbered two hundred members. Finally he removed the prohibition which prevented Jewish physicians from attending Christian patients. The compulsory services instituted by his predecessor were the only ordinances that Sextus V. allowed to remain.

This permission, so important at that time, for Jewish physicians to have access to Christian patients was apparently gained for himself and his colleagues, by the then celebrated doctor, David de Pomis (born 1525 and died 1588). With medical knowledge he combined linguistic acquirements, and familiarity with Hebrew and classical literature, writing both Hebrew and Latin with elegance. In the course of his life he felt keenly the changes of policy in the Papacy. He had lost all his property through the hostile decrees of Paul IV. He was kindly treated by Pius IV., and allowed as an exception to practise among Christians in consequence of a splendid Latin discourse delivered before the Pope and the College of Cardinals. But he was again subjected to irritating restrictions by Pius V., and had to employ his skill in the service of petty and capricious nobles. In order to dispel the unconquerable prejudices against Jews, and particularly against Jewish physicians, De Pomis wrote a Latin work, entitled "The Hebrew Physician," which affords a favourable testimony to his noble mind and extensive culture. With considerable eloquence De Pomis maintained that the Jew was bound by his religion to love the Christian as his brother, and that the Jewish doctor, far from wishing to do harm to his Christian patient, was wont to treat him with the utmost care and solicitude. He enumerated various Hebrew physicians who had attended princes of the Church, Cardinals and Popes, had restored them to health, and had received distinctions not only from them, but from whole cities. In conclusion, De Pomis adduced some proverbs from the Talmud in a Latin translation, in order to show that this much-calumniated book was not so harmful and corrupt as the enemies of the Jews asserted. This apology for Judaism and Jewish physicians, dedicated to Prince Francisco

Maria of Urbino, the elegant Latin style of which was highly praised by an experienced critic of the time, appears to have made an impression upon Pope Sextus. De Pomis must certainly have been intimate with him, as he was allowed to dedicate to him his second important literary work, a dictionary of the Talmud in three languages.

The Pope severely punished a Christian Shylock because he claimed as the result of a wager a pound of flesh from a Roman Jew. This Christian named Seche had wagered with a Jew named Ceneda that St. Domingo would be conquered, and on winning his bet he claimed the penalty. Sextus, on hearing of this, condemned him to death, but afterwards mitigated the punishment to banishment, and allotted the same fate to Ceneda for wagering his body, which was the property of his sovereign.

The favourable attitude of Sextus towards the Jews encouraged them in the hope—which to them was a matter of conscience and life itself—that the prohibition directed against the Talmud and the Hebrew scriptures would be removed for ever. Under the last two Popes no copies of the Talmud had been allowed to appear without causing the possessor to incur the dangers of the watchful Inquisition. Nor was the possession of other perfectly harmless Hebrew works without risk, for as the Inquisitors and clerical authorities did not in the least understand them, they condemned all without exception as inimical to the Church, a category which afforded ample room for denunciation. It depended, as a last resource, upon the decision of baptised Jews acquainted with Rabbinical literature, as to whether the possessor of a Hebrew book should be condemned to lose his property or be sent to the galleys. In order to escape these annoyances the communities of Mantua, Ferrara, and Milan

districts had addressed a request to Sextus V. to allow the Jews to possess copies of the Talmud and other books, provided these works were previously expurgated of the passages objectionable to Christianity. They referred to the decision of Pope Pius IV. that the Talmud could not be entirely condemned, but that it contained passages worthy of censure, and which were to be struck out by the censor's marks. A Jewish delegate, Bezalel Masserano, had gone to Rome, provided with 2,000 scudi, in order to lay the request of the Jews at the feet of his Holiness. This request was granted in the Bull of the 22nd October, 1586. Sextus allowed the reprinting of the Talmud and other writings, though only after previous censorship. For this purpose two commissions were appointed, in which baptised Jews were naturally included as being specially acquainted with the subject. The Italian Jews already began to rejoice in being allowed to possess even a mutilated Talmud. But scarcely had the Commission arranged the conditions of the censorship (August 7th, 1590), when the wise Pope died, and the undertaking which had just been begun of reprinting the Talmud, although with these mutilations, was at once discontinued.

The regard paid by Sextus V. to the Jews arose not from any sentiment of justice, but from his passionate desire to amass treasure. "This Pope bled Christians from the throat," says his biographer, "but he drew the blood of the Jews from all their limbs." They often found themselves compelled to pay immense sums to the Papal treasury.

With Clement VIII., however (1592—1605), the system of intolerance practised by Paul IV., Pius V., and Gregory XIII., came once more into vogue. He again repeated the edict of expulsion against the Jews in the Papal States (25th February,

1593), and only allowed them to dwell in Rome, Ancona and Avignon. If a Jew were caught in any other Papal city, he had to expiate his offence by the loss of his property or the penalty of the galleys. Clement re-imposed the old restrictions upon the Jews in the three cities mentioned, and forbade them either to read or to possess the Talmud and other Rabbinical writings. The Jews who were expelled from the Papal States seem to have been received by Ferdinand, Duke of Tuscany, who assigned Pisa to them as a dwelling-place (July, 1593). He also allowed them to possess books of every kind and of all languages, including the Talmud, but the copies had first to be expurgated according to the regulations of the Commission instituted by Sextus V. So great was the fanaticism of the Apostolic Throne that even noble princes like Ferdinand de Medici of Tuscany, and Vincenzo Gonzago of Mantua, did not venture to relax it. Even in places where as a favour the Jews were allowed to possess expurgated books they were exposed to all kinds of annoyances and extortions. They had to pay various sums for the mutilation of these writings to the censors, who were mostly baptised Jews. Nor were they then assured that their books would not again be confiscated, and the owners punished, merely because some obnoxious word or other still remained unobliterated. Woe to those who rubbed out one of the censors' marks! The Jews themselves to avoid being exposed to vexation laid hands upon their sacred literature, and expunged not only everything that referred to idolatry, but also everything that glorified the Jewish race, or made mention of the Messiah and his future advent. As Italy at that time was the chief market for printed Hebrew works, the Jews in other countries received only mutilated copies, from which open or covert

protests against Christianity and Catholicism were completely obliterated.

Expulsion of the Jews from all Italian cities was the order of the day in the reign of this Pope. Thus the Jews were expelled (in the spring of 1597) from the Milan district, *i.e.*, from the cities of Cremona, Pavia, Lodi, and others, to the number of about a thousand souls. They were forced to beg for shelter in Mantua, Modena, Reggio, Verona and Padua. During their migrations they were robbed by heartless Christians. The sword of the Church also hovered for a time over the Jews in Ferrara, a town that had always been a safe refuge for them, and even for the new-Christians from Spain. The ducal race of De Este, whose representatives vied with the Medici in magnanimity and culture, had died out. The Jews of Ferrara felt themselves so much involved with the fortunes of this princely house, that they offered public prayers in the synagogue on the occasion of the severe illness of the wise Princess Leonore, whom two great poets have immortalized by placing her in the glorified heaven of poetry. She herself was a benefactress of the Jews, and frequently protected them. But now the last representative of the race, Alfonso II., had died without heirs (1597), and, in opposition to his last wishes, Ferrara was incorporated into the Papal States by Clement VIII. The Jewish community, consisting chiefly of Spanish refugees, who had previously found their way thither, were prepared to endure banishment, as they could expect no mercy from this Pope. They only asked Aldobrandini, the Pope's relative who had taken possession of Ferrara, to grant them a respite in order to make preparations for departure. But as Aldobrandini saw that a great portion of the trade of the town was in the hands of the Jews, he had sufficient foresight not to injure it, and

therefore he granted them permission to remain for five years, and had this decree carried out in spite of the fanatical wishes of Clement VIII., who hoped to banish them entirely. No fugitive new-Christian, however, was now allowed to stop in Ferrara without falling into the clutches of the bloody Inquisition. Thus the last refuge in Italy for this class of Jews was destroyed, and there was no longer any place of safety for them in all Christendom.

It seemed to be an act of Providence that the Jewish race, which, at the end of the sixteenth century, had no longer a footing, properly speaking, in Europe or Asia, under Christianity or Islam, should have taken firm root in the empire of their obstinate foe, Philip II., of Spain, and should have been able from that circumstance to gain a position of equality. And, indeed, as a result of cause and effect, it was the bloody Inquisition itself which helped to gain them freedom. Holland, a land wrung from the sea, became for the hunted victims of a horrible and refined fanaticism, a resting-place where they could settle down, and develop their national characteristics. But what changes and vicissitudes they had first to undergo before this almost undreamed of possibility could become reality! The north-west corner of Europe had hitherto been inhabited by only a few Jews. They suffered, as did their brethren, under the extravagances of excited fanaticism, were hunted down and massacred at the time of the Crusades and the Black Death, bearing all in silent obscurity and patience. When the country was united to Spain, under the name of the Netherlands, beneath the far-reaching sceptre of Charles V., the Spanish principle of hostility to the Jews was transferred also to those in that country. The emperor issued command after command that the Jews in the cities of the Netherlands, small though their numbers were,

should be expelled. Every citizen was required to make known to the royal officers the presence of any Jews contrary to law. In consequence of the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal, several Jewish families had betaken themselves, with all their wealth, industry, and skill, to the flourishing cities of the Netherlands, Brussels, Antwerp or Ghent, in order to be able to live there comfortably without incurring danger on account of their religion. The severe edict of Charles V., and his repeated command not to allow their presence, extended even to them. The magistrates duly fulfilled the commands of their ruler in this matter, because they feared the presence of new-Christians would cause the Inquisition to be introduced—an evil which seemed to their anxious hearts to forebode a great danger for themselves.

However, the people of the Netherlands could not escape the Inquisition. Although an appendage of Spain, were they not surrounded by Lutheran heretics, and did not these dwell in their very midst? So this institution was to be introduced among them also. This was one of the main causes of the Revolt of the Netherlands, and of that long-continued war, so small in its beginnings, and so great in its results, that rendered powerless the might of Spain, and raised the tiny land of Holland to a power of the first rank. It seemed as if from every head that Alva decapitated in the Netherlands, hundreds of others sprang up like the Hydra of old. It was a matter of course that amidst this sanguinary struggle which transformed the whole land into an arena of battle, there was no place for the Jews. Alva, upon the advice of Arnheim and Zütphen, had issued an edict that if Jews were found there, they were to be kept in custody until such time as he should pass judgment upon them. It was well known what this meant when coming from his mouth.

The Portuguese Marranos, or new-Christians, who could not forget their Jewish descent, even in the third generation, and did not wish to repudiate it, had turned their eyes towards the Free States now stirring for freedom, while at the same time the Inquisition was raging more furiously than ever, and dragging them to the dungeon or the stake. Since the first symptom of the decline of Spain's fortunes, since the collapse of the invincible Armada, by means of which Philip II. had thought to carry the chains of actual and spiritual bondage not only into England, but, if possible, to the ends of the earth, there arose in the hearts of the pseudo-Christians who lived under the iron rule of this tyrant a still more eager desire for freedom. As Italy had been closed to them by the persecuting policy of the reactionary Popes, their only hope of refuge remained in the Netherlands.

An eminent Jew, Samuel Pallache, who had been sent by the King of Morocco as his consul to the Netherlands (about 1591) proposed to the magistrate of Middelburg, in the Province of Zeeland, that he should receive the Portuguese Marranos, and allow them religious freedom. In return they would develop the city into a flourishing commercial centre by means of their wealth. The wise city fathers would willingly have agreed to this plan, but the war for religion and freedom, so passionately waged against the two-fold despotism of Spain, had made even the reformed preachers fanatical and intolerant. They were therefore opposed to the admission of the Jews into Zeeland.

But the Portuguese new-Christians did not abandon the idea of seeking security in those provinces of the Netherlands already freed from the Spanish yoke. They felt themselves drawn towards this Republic of citizens by mighty bonds; they shared with them the fierce hatred against Spain with

its thirst for human sacrifices, and against its fanatical king, Philip II. The great Protector, William of Orange, the soul of the struggle for independence, had uttered a wish for mutual toleration and friendly intercourse between different religious parties, creeds and sects. Although this first germ of genuine humanity at first fell to the ground, the Marranos still clung to it, as affording the hope of release from their daily torments. A courageous Marrano woman, Mayor Rodrigues, appears to have formed the plan of seeking a refuge for her family in Holland. She, with her husband, Gaspar Lopes Homem, and her two sons and two daughters, as well as several other members of this rich and respected family were devotedly attached to Judaism, and were weary of the pretence of adopting Christian customs, a pretence which, after all, was powerless to protect them from the horrors of the Inquisition. When a ship sailed from Portugal with a load of fugitive Marranos, under the leadership of one Jacob Tirado, Mayor Rodrigues entrusted to this vessel her charming and beautiful daughter, Maria Nuñez, and also her son. The mother appears to have relied upon the magic of her daughter's charms; the extraordinary beauty of Maria Nuñez was to serve as an ægis to these wanderers, surrounded by dangers on all sides, and might secure to them a place of refuge. As a matter of fact, her beauty was successful in averting the first danger that threatened the party of refugees, consisting of ten persons, men, women and children. They were captured by an English ship that was making raids upon vessels sailing under the Spanish and Portuguese flags, and were taken to England. Maria Nuñez, however, had so bewitched the captain, an English duke, that he offered her his hand, thinking that she belonged to the rank of the Portuguese grandees; but she refused this honourable offer, because she wished to live as a Jewess.

The beauty of the fair Portuguese prisoner made such a sensation in London, that the virgin queen, Elizabeth, was herself curious to make the acquaintance of this celebrated beauty, who was inaccessible even to the love of a duke. She invited her to an audience, and drove with her in an open carriage through the streets of the capital. Apparently owing to the mediation of Maria Nunes the fugitive Jews were allowed to leave England unharmed, and to set sail for Holland. After enduring a most stormy voyage they were able to make for the harbour of Emden, at that time inhabited by some German Jews, as were indeed many parts of East Friesland.

As soon as the Marranos became aware of the presence of their brethren in this city, from seeing Hebrew letters and other signs, Jacob Tirado, the most eminent among them, repaired to Moses Uri Halevi, who had the reputation of being a learned man, and on whose house Hebrew characters had been noticed. He there made himself known, expressing the intention of himself and his companions to give up their pseudo-Christianity, and to be received fully and, if possible immediately, into Judaism. But Moses Uri had scruples about taking such a decisive course, which would have the appearance of converting apparent Christians to Judaism, especially in a small town, where nothing could long remain hidden. He therefore advised the fugitives to betake themselves to Amsterdam, where greater toleration was enjoyed, and promised to come to them with his whole family, to remain with them, and instruct them in Jewish doctrines. Accordingly the Marranos, led by Tirado, arrived at Amsterdam (April 22nd, 1593), sought for an abode which would allow of their remaining together, and were received back into Judaism as soon as Moses Uri and his family came to them.

Jacob Tirado, although already of advanced age, set them an example of courage. Moses Uri and his son then arranged a house of prayer for the Marranos, and officiated in it as conductors of the services. In this matter great zeal was shown, not only by Jacob Tirado, but also by Samuel Pallache, the consul, and a Marrano poet, Jacob Israel Belmonte, who had migrated from Madeira, and who depicted the tortures of the Inquisition, in verse, giving his poem the appropriate title of "Job." The youthful community was strengthened, both in numbers and standing, by fresh arrivals. An English fleet, which, under the Earl of Essex, surprised the fortress of Cadiz, and inflicted serious injuries upon the Spaniards (in the summer of 1596) conveyed several Marranos to Holland, amongst them a man of great originality, who was not without importance for posterity: Alonso de Herrera was descended from Jewish and ancient Spanish families. His ancestor was the great Gonsalvo de Cordova, who conquered Naples for Spain. He himself was the Spanish Resident in Cadiz, and on the capture of this city was taken prisoner by the English. On being liberated he went to Amsterdam, became a Jew, and adopted the name of Abraham de Herrera (wrongly called Irira).

However, the Marranos in Amsterdam did not find the practice of their religion altogether easy. When this first Portuguese community was secretly celebrating the Fast of Atonement on the fourth occasion (October, 1596), the Christians who were their neighbours were surprised at the secret meeting of disguised figures in one and the same house; they suspected treacherous assemblies of Catholic conspirators, and denounced them to the magistrates. Whilst the Jews were engaged in prayer, armed men suddenly rushed into the house, and spread terror amongst the assembled worshippers. As most of them, mindful of the former cruelties of

the Inquisition, and fearing a similar fate in Amsterdam, tried to save themselves by flight, the suspicions of the Amsterdam officials were increased. The latter searched for crucifixes and wafers, and led Moses Uri and his son, the leaders of the services, to prison. However, Jacob Tirado, who was able to make himself understood in the Latin language, succeeded in persuading the authorities that the assembly was not one of Papists, but of Jews who had fled from the Moloch of the Inquisition. Moreover, that they had brought much wealth with them, and finally that they could induce many co-religionists to come from Spain and Portugal with their riches, and thus give an impulse to the trade of Amsterdam. Tirado's speech made a great impression. The prisoners were released, and the terrified Portuguese Jews were able to conclude the service of the Fast of Atonement on the very same day. Now that their religion was made known, they ventured upon the step of petitioning the magistrate to allow them to build a synagogue in which to hold their religious services. After much consideration the request was granted. Jacob Tirado bought a site, and built thereon the first Jewish temple in the North of Europe, called the "House of Jacob" (Beth Jacob) in 1598. It was consecrated amid the enthusiasm of the whole community.

The favourable news about the Marrano colonists which was carried secretly to Spain and Portugal, afforded additional inducement to emigration. Mayor Rodrigues Homem, the first promoter of this course, also found an opportunity of escaping from Portugal and joining her beautiful daughter Maria Nunes (about 1598). She brought her younger son and daughter with her; her husband had probably died before this time. Simultaneously the members of another eminent family from Portugal arrived in Holland, though they almost seemed to have

succumbed to the flames of the Inquisition. This family was that of Franco Mendes, and included the parents with two sons, Francisco Mendes Medeiros, a cultured literary man, who took the Hebrew name of Isaac, and Christoval Mendes Franco, who was rich and benevolent, and who called himself Mordecai. Both of these played important parts in the Amsterdam community, but subsequently caused a division.

Philip II. lived to see the two races whom he had most savagely hated and persecuted, the Netherlanders and the Jews, raise their hands to destroy in some measure what he had created, for Holland derived some advantage from the Jewish settlers from Portugal. Previously it had been one of the poorest States, and the bitter and destructive wars had made the land still poorer. Thus the capital brought by the Marranos to Amsterdam was very acceptable, and benefited the whole country. The Dutch were now enabled to lay the foundations of their own prosperity, by taking the Indian trade out of the hands of the Portuguese, who had been connected with Spain in an unprofitable alliance. The capital of the fugitive Jews made it possible to found great transmarine companies, and to fit out trading expeditions, in which they participated. The alliances, too, which the Portuguese Jews made with their secret co-religionists in the Portuguese possessions of the Indies, assisted the undertakings of the Dutch merchants.

Philip II. died in September, 1598, a terrible warning to obstinate and unscrupulous despots. His body was covered with abscesses and vermin, which made him such an object of horror that his trembling servants could only approach with disgust. The great Empire which he had bequeathed to his feeble son Philip III. was likewise diseased. It was succumbing to its infirmities, and no longer

possessed influence in the councils of Europe. The reins of government were loosened, and thus the new-Christians found it still easier to escape the clutches of the Inquisition. They now had a goal to which to direct their steps. An extraordinary occurrence in Lisbon had also excited the most lukewarm apostate Jews to return to Judaism. A Franciscan monk, Diogo de la Asumção, of an ancient Christian family, had become convinced of the truth of Judaism and the falsity of Christianity by reading the Bible—for even Bible reading has its dangers—and had openly expressed his convictions to the other monks of his order. For what purpose had the Inquisition been instituted if it were to let such crimes go unpunished? Diogo was thrown into a dungeon; but it was not necessary to extort any confession, for he openly and without reservation, admitted his offence, and his love for Judaism. The tribunal could only put him to the rack in order to induce him to denounce his accomplices, he having asserted that several of his fellow monks shared his convictions. Upon this, certain learned theologians were deputed to dissuade the apostate Franciscan from his belief and remove so dark a stain from the order and from Christendom in general, but it was in vain. Diogo remained true to his belief in the truth of Judaism. After he had spent about two years in the dungeons of the Inquisition, he was finally burnt alive at a solemn Auto-da-fé in Lisbon, in the presence of the Regent (August, 1603).

The fact that one who was a Christian by birth, and a monk to boot, had suffered for the sake of Judaism, and had died steadfast in faith, made a powerful impression upon the apostate Portuguese Jews, and caused them to return formally to the faith of their fathers. The Inquisition, meanwhile, had lost its terrors for them. They

reverted to Judaism without heeding whether or not they were rushing upon death. David Jesurun, a young poet, who had been a follower of the Muses from his childhood, and was called by his acquaintances, on this account, "the little poet," celebrated in a fiery Portuguese sonnet, the burning of the martyred Diogo de la Asumção :

"Thou wast the gold, buried in the dark vaults of the tribunal
of blood:
And even as gold is purified from dross by flames,
So too by flames would'st thou be purified.
Thou wast as the phoenix, renewing his life,
Disdaining to remain the slave of death.
Thou wast consumed in the fire,
Only to rise again from thine ashes,
A sacrifice for the whole people
Offered to God in the flames.
In heaven dost thou laugh at those who tortured thee
And no more art called Brother Diogo,
But Golden Phoenix, Angel, Sacrifice."

This eager young poet was fortunate enough to escape the Inquisition, and hastened to Amsterdam. He composed a powerful poem in Spanish on seeing this city, which seemed to him a new Jerusalem. Another young Marrano poet also reverted to Judaism, solely owing to the tragic death of Diogo the Franciscan. Paul de Pina, a man of some poetic talent, felt a tendency to religious enthusiasm, and was on the point of becoming a monk. This step caused great sorrow to his relative, Diego Gomez Lobato, who was at least faithful to Judaism, and who wished to hinder him from apostasy. When he was about to make a journey to Italy, Diego therefore gave him a letter addressed to the then celebrated Jewish physician Elias Montalto, formerly known when professing Christianity as Felix Montalto. The letter was as follows: "Our cousin Paul de Pina is going to Rome to become a monk. You will do me the favour of dissuading him from this step."

If this letter had fallen into the hands of the

Roman or Portuguese Inquisition, it would have cost both the writer and his correspondent their lives. Elias Montalto endeavoured to dissuade young de Pina from his purpose, and to win him back to the religion of his fathers. He appears only to have succeeded in so far that de Pina abandoned his journey to Rome, went off to Brazil, and then returned to Lisbon. It was the martyrdom of Diogo de la Asumção that appears to have finally decided him against Christianity. He hastened to Amsterdam with the sad news (1604), became an eager convert to Judaism, and adopted the Hebrew name of Rohel Jesurun. He became one of the most enthusiastic of Jews, and an ornament to the Amsterdam community.

The loyalty to Judaism manifested by the Portuguese Marranos regardless of consequences, naturally swelled the numbers of the victims of the Inquisition. Not long afterwards, one hundred and fifty of them were thrown into gloomy dungeons, tortured and forced to confess. Even the Regent of Portugal hesitated to burn so large a number. Moreover, the new-Christian capitalists had a certain amount of power over the Spanish Court, to which, since the union of the two kingdoms, Portugal now belonged. The Court owed them large sums which it could not pay in consequence of the increasing poverty of both countries. These Marranos offered to release Philip III. from all his debts, and give in addition a present of 1,200,000 cruzados (£120,000), if the imprisoned Jews were pardoned. They also spent 150,000 cruzados in order to persuade the Councillors to make the king grant this favour. Hence the Court manifested an inclination to mercy, and applied to Pope Clement VIII. to empower the Inquisition to deal mildly with the sinners on this occasion. The Pope remembered, or was reminded, that his predecessors, Clement VII. and Paul III., had granted absolution

to the Portuguese Marranos. He did the same, and issued a Bull giving pardon to the imprisoned Jews (August 23rd, 1604). The Inquisition therefore had to be contented with the hypocritical repentance of its prisoners. Several hundred of them were led, clad in the garb of penitents, to the Auto-da-fé at Lisbon (January 10th, 1605), not, however, to mount the stake, but to make a public confession of their guilt, and be condemned to deprivation of all civic rights. All, or a large proportion, of those who had been set free, repaired to their new place of refuge. Among them was Joseph Ben Israel, who had thrice suffered torture, and escaped with shattered health, and the loss of his property. He took with him his son Manasséh—or whatever his name may have been as a pseudo-Christian—who was then a child, but was subsequently destined to fill a glorious rôle in Jewish history.

Moses Uri (born 1544, and died 1620) at different times received into the Hebrew faith two hundred and forty-eight men, so greatly did the numbers of the community at Amsterdam increase. They sent for a Rabbi of Sephardic descent from Salonica, by name Joseph Pardo, who well understood the character of the semi-Catholic members of the community. He put into their hands a book written in Spanish, which was rather Christian than Jewish in its tone. The synagogue Beth-Jacob, built by Tirado, no longer sufficed for the accommodation of its worshippers, and a new one had to be built in 1608, called "Neve Shalom." It was founded by Isaac Francisco Mendes Medeiros and his relatives. And, just as the discoverers of some new country continue to regard every step they take in it, every new path they strike out, and every person who has been prominent in the enterprise, as important and worthy of remembrance,* so, too, the young Am-

sterdam community gladly remembered with special distinction everything that had occurred in their midst at the commencement of their career.

The arrival of Isaac Uziel (who died in 1620) was a piece of good fortune for this unique community. He was a Rabbi who apparently also belonged to a family of refugees, and therefore thoroughly sympathised with his companions in misfortune at Amsterdam. He was a poet, grammarian and mathematician, but, above all, a preacher of rare power and influence over his hearers. He was the first who dared, with his mighty voice, to arouse those of his congregation whose consciences had been lulled to sleep by the adoption of Catholic customs, so that they might not believe that they had purchased an indulgence or remission for their sins, follies and vices, by religious observances thoughtlessly practised. Isaac Uziel did not spare even the most respected and powerful in the community, although he thereby drew upon himself their hatred, which went so far as to cause a dissension; on the other hand he also gained devoted followers, who celebrated him in spirited verse.

In this manner religious union was encouraged and faith strengthened among the Portuguese fugitives who had so degenerated in religious matters. But as yet no attention had been paid to the burial of their dead. They were compelled to bury them far away from the city, at Groede, in North Holland. By the endeavours of the leading members of the community, they succeeded in obtaining a burial ground, not too far from Amsterdam, in Oudenkerk, near Muiderberg (in April, 1614), at which they rejoiced greatly. The first person who was buried there was Manuel Pimentel. His Jewish name was Isaac Abenacar, and he had been a favourite play-mate of the French King Henry IV., and was called by him "The King of Players." Two years later the

body of an eminent and noble man, Elias Felice Montalto, was brought from far off to be buried in this peaceful spot. He had formerly professed Christianity, but afterwards became a faithful Jew, was a clever doctor and elegant author, and lived in Livorno, Venice, and finally in Paris as private physician to Queen Maria de Medici. He died in Tours while on a journey with the French Court, on February 16th, 1616. The queen caused his body to be embalmed and taken to the cemetery at Ouderkerk, accompanied by his son, his uncle, and his pupil, Saul Morteira. However, the Jews of Amsterdam were for a long time compelled to pay a tax for every corpse to the churches past which the body was carried. Generally speaking, they were not at first officially tolerated, but their presence was only connived at. They were distrusted as being Catholic spies in the service of Spain, disguised as Jews, but plotters of treason. Even when the authorities and the population in general had become convinced of their genuine hatred of Spain and Portugal, they were still far from being recognised and tolerated as a religious body in sympathy with their Protestant neighbours. For a short time the synagogues were closed and public worship prohibited. Jewish refugees from the Spanish peninsula on arriving in Havre were still thrown into prison. This intolerance in the country destined to be the first where religious freedom was to raise its temple, was accentuated by the passionate conflict between two parties of Reformers — the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants. The former were more gentle in their exposition and practical application of Christianity than their opponents, the gloomy Calvinists and Dutch Independents. In Amsterdam the latter party predominated, and persecuted their opponents, who were considered secret and treacherous adherents of

Spain. Although the Remonstrants had good cause to try to effect universal toleration for all sects, it was they who came forward as the accusers of the Jews. They complained to the chief magistrate of Amsterdam that all kinds of sects were tolerated in the capital of Holland, even Jews, whilst they were the sole exception.

The governor, Prince Maurice of Orange, was certainly favourable to the Jews, but he could do nothing against the spirit of intolerance, and the independence of single cities and States. Consequently, even in Holland, the question of the Jews came up for discussion, and a Commission was appointed for its settlement. Finally it was decided (March 15th, 1615) that every city, as in the case of Amsterdam, could issue a special regulation of its own about the Jews, either to allow them to meet, or to expel them; but in those cities where they were admitted, they were not to be forced to wear a badge. Upon repeated complaints being made by the Remonstrators, the Burgomaster Reinier Pauw laid before the Council (October 15th, 1619) the question as to what should be done in the case of the numerous fugitive Portuguese Jews who had actually intermarried with the daughters of the land, thereby causing a great scandal and annoyance. Hereupon it was decided (November 8th) that intercourse between Jews and Christian women, even girls of low reputation, was to be strictly forbidden. On the other hand, permission was granted to the Jews freely to acknowledge their religion.

Meanwhile, as Amsterdam was not at that time so wealthy as it afterwards became, the capital could not do without the Jews, who had transferred to it both their riches and knowledge of the commercial world. The old-established prejudices against them disappeared more and more upon a closer acquaintance. The Jews from Portugal,

with their cultured language, demeanour and manners, gave no colour to the notion that they belonged to a despised caste; on the contrary, they took the position of people of rank, with whom it was an honour for many a Christian burgher to be acquainted. They were in consequence treated with a certain amount of consideration; their number soon increased to four hundred families, and they possessed three hundred houses in the city.

Before long, a Hebrew printing press was set up in Amsterdam, nor did its directors fear the Argus eye of the censorship. The prosperity of Amsterdam, caused by the influx of the Portuguese Jews, excited the envy of many Christian princes, and they invited the Jews into their dominions. Christian IV., King of Denmark, addressed a letter to the Jewish Council of Amsterdam (November 25th, 1622), asking them to encourage some of their members to settle in his State. He promised them freedom of worship, and other favourable privileges also. The Duke of Savoy invited Portuguese Jews to come to Nice, and the Duke of Modena offered them the right of residence in Reggio, both granting them extensive privileges. Thus in the midst of the gloomy persecution of Christendom, whose two religious factions drew the sword against each other in the Thirty Years' War, the Jews found, as it were, pleasant little oases from which they could recover their lost liberty, and gradually raise themselves from their heavy bondage.

CHAPTER XX.

THE DUTCH JERUSALEM AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

The Amsterdam Jewish Community—Its Wealth, Culture and Honoured Position—Zacuto Lusitano—Internal Dissensions—The Talmud Torah School—Saul Morteira, Isaac Aboab and Manasseh ben Israel—The Portuguese Congregation in Hamburg—The First Synagogue there—Lutheran Intolerance—John Miller—Jewish Colony in Brazil—The Chief Communities in Germany—Persecution in Frankfort—Dr. Chemnitz—The Vienna Congregation—Lipman Heller—Ferdinand II.'s Zeal for the Conversion of the Jews—Influence of the Thirty Years' War on the Fortunes of the Jews.

1618—1648 C.E.

THE life of the Jewish race during its dispersion for nearly two thousand years may be fitly compared to that of a polyp. Though often wounded and cut to pieces, the parts severed from the whole did not die, but began an independent existence, were organically developed, and formed new stems. Driven from their original Palestinian home, the scattered members of this peculiar national organism assembled on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and in the palm district of Arabia. Doomed to ruin there, they emigrated to Spain with the Arabs, the most cultured people of the Middle Ages, and became the teachers of Europe, then plunged in barbarism. Expelled thence, weakened in heart and numbers, they proceeded eastwards, and, as even there they found no resting-place, they settled in the north, always following advancing civilization. The admission of the Jews to Holland was the first quivering dawn of a bright day, after dense gloom. Amsterdam, the northern Venice, had, in

the beginning of the seventeenth century, become a new centre for the Jews; they rightly named it their new and great Jerusalem. This city became in time an ark of refuge for the Jewish race in the new deluge. With every trial conducted by the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal on account of the Judaizing practices of the Marranos, with every burning pile set ablaze for convicted or suspected persons, the numbers of the Amsterdam community increased, as if the fanatics aimed at depopulating and impoverishing the Catholic countries in order to render the heretical States of the Netherlands populous and wealthy. More than four hundred Portuguese members of the Amsterdam community already possessed three hundred stately houses and palaces in this city, which was raised by them to a flourishing seat of commerce. Their capital enabled them to carry on trade, for the most part, on a large scale, and they were interested in the East and West India Companies, or conducted banking businesses. But to usury, which made the Jews of other countries so hated, they were sworn foes. The synagogue dues which they imposed upon themselves give an approximate idea of the extent of their capital and trade. For every pound of goods exported or imported by them they were accustomed to pay a *doit* as a due, and these dues amounted to nearly 12,000 francs a year. These sums were exclusive of the receipts of those interested in trading companies.

But not on account of their wealth alone did they occupy a distinguished position in the new Batavian seat of commerce. The immigrant Marranos belonged for the most part to the educated class; in Spain or Portugal, their unnatural mother country, they had occupied positions as physicians, lawyers, government officials, officers, or clergymen, and were hence familiar with the Latin language and literature no less than with *belles lettres*, and

accustomed to the usages of society. In the Netherlands, then the most civilized part of Europe, humanistic culture was in itself a special recommendation. Hence in Holland cultivated Jews had intercourse with educated Christians on terms of equality, and obliterated the prejudices against the Jewish race. Some of them obtained a European reputation, and were connected with personages of high rank. Abraham Zacuto Lusitano (born 1576, died 1642), great grandson of Zacuto the historian and astronomer, was one of the most celebrated physicians of his time. He corresponded with Frederick, Prince of the Palatinate, and his learned wife, who occupied the throne of Bohemia for a brief space and unfortunately was the cause of the Thirty Years' War. Zacuto's praise was sounded in poetry and prose by Christian as well as by Jewish professional brethren. The Stadtholder of the Netherlands, the first princes of the house of Orange-Nassau, Maurice, Henry and William III., were, like the founder of their race, William I., well disposed towards the Jews, and treated them as citizens, with full rights. Even the Spanish and Portuguese kings, who punished the Marranos in their own countries, condescended to show respect to the descendants of their hunted victims, to confer appointments upon them, and to entrust them with consular functions for their States.

The attachment of the Amsterdam Jews to their re-adopted religion, purchased as it had been with so many dangers, was deeply felt and was renewed at every accession of fresh fugitives, and every report of the martyrdom of their brethren on the burning pile of the Inquisition. This devotedness was reflected in their conduct, and embodied in verses which were composed in the language of their persecutors.

Paul de Pina or Rëuel Jesurun, the poet, who was

once on the point of becoming a monk, composed for a sacred festival alternate songs in Portuguese, which were performed by seven youths to do honour to the first synagogue (Bet-Jacob) in 1624. The mountains of the Holy Land, Sinai, Hor, Nebo, Gerisim, Carmel and Zetim (the Mount of Olives) were introduced as speakers to celebrate in melodious verses the excellence of the Jewish religion, the Jewish law, and the Jewish people. They praised the thousand merciful ways in which God had led His people from the earliest times to the present. The unity of God, the holiness of the law, and the expectations of the Messianic age of grace, the more deeply felt by the Sephardic Marranos as being newly acquired convictions, which had been very dearly gained, these were the inexhaustible themes of their poetry. But in the background of the splendid picture there always lowered the dreadful dungeon, the priests of Moloch, and the blazing flames of the Inquisition.

In this mood, exalted by the recollection of sufferings and torture endured, the members of the Amsterdam community with full heart and bountiful hand, founded benevolent institutions of every description, orphan asylums, benevolent societies (brotherhoods) and hospitals, such as were not in existence in any of the older communities. They had the means and the right mind for the purpose. Their piety was shown in active kindness and nobility of mind. Still, however exalted their ideal was, they were yet men with passions, and consequently dissensions arose in the young community. Many members, born and brought up in Catholicism, brought with them and retained their Catholic views and customs; they thought they could combine them with Judaism. "Can one carry coals in his bosom without his clothes being burnt?" From childhood the Marranos had heard and seen that

one is allowed to sin, if he is from time to time reconciled with the Church. For that purpose the Catholic priests of all ranks were at hand to effect the reconciliation, and to ward off future punishment from the sinner by ecclesiastical means. In the eyes of most Marranos, the rites and ceremonies of Judaism took the place of the Catholic sacraments, and the Rabbis that of the father confessors. They believed that he who conscientiously followed the Jewish rites, and did other things in addition, might yield to the impulse of his desires without forfeiting his soul's welfare. At any rate, the Rabbis could give him absolution. Hence the Marranos' course of life was far from perfect, especially in point of chastity. The first two Rabbis of the Amsterdam community, Joseph Pardo and Judah Vega, were indulgent to these weaknesses and shortcomings in consideration of the circumstances. But the third, Isaac Uziel, no longer restrained himself, but scourged from the pulpit with inexorable vigour the evil habits of the Jews and semi-Catholics. This severity wounded those who were attacked, but, instead of mending their ways, they were angry with the preacher, and several left the connexion and the synagogue, and combined together to found a new one (the third) in 1618. At the head of the seceders was David Osorio; he may have felt most wounded by Uziel's severe sermons. For the new synagogue (Beth Israel) which the seceders erected, they chose David Pardo, the son of Joseph Pardo, as Rabbi and preacher. He defended the acceptance of this office in the new body, which was founded to some extent in defiance of Isaac Uziel, by alleging that he wished by this means to lessen dissension. However, the tension lasted for twenty years (1618-1639).

Meanwhile German Jews, whom the ravages of the Thirty Years' War had driven out of their

ghettos, sought the asylum of Amsterdam, and were admitted to its shelter. If the Amsterdam Council at first merely connived at the immigration and settlement of the Jews, at a later period it formally furthered their admission, because it perceived the important advantage which they brought to the State. The immigrant German Jews naturally could not unite closely with the Portuguese community, because they differed from them, not only in language, but also in demeanour and manners. A wide cleft divided the Portuguese and Germans of the same race and religion from each other. The former looked down upon the latter with pride as semi-barbarians, and the latter did not regard the former as genuine Jews. As soon as a sufficient number had assembled, the German Jews at once formed a synagogue, with a Rabbi of their own. Their first chief was Moses Weil. The breach within the Portuguese community was painfully felt. Consequently, Jacob Curiel, a distinguished man, who was afterwards Resident Minister of the Portuguese Court in Hamburg, used the greatest exertions to bring about a reconciliation. Not till the union of the three synagogues in one single corporate body in April, 1639, did the Portuguese community, by the harmonious co-operation of her powers, stand forth in all her splendour, and surpass all her elder sisters in the three divisions of the globe. The Amsterdam community resembled the ancient Alexandrian Jewish congregation in many points. Like the latter, it possessed great wealth, cultivation, and a certain distinction of character; but, like it, also suffered from insufficient knowledge of its religious and scientific literature. Nearly all the Marrano members had to commence to learn Hebrew when of advanced age!

On the combination of the three communities into one, for which statutes were passed, the representa-

tives took pains to counteract this ignorance of Hebrew. They founded an institute (Talmud Torah) in which children and youths might have instruction in the scientific branches of Jewish theology. It was, perhaps, the first institution of the kind among the Jews, in which a certain gradation of studies was introduced. It consisted, at first, of seven classes. Beginners could be conducted from the lowest step of the Hebrew alphabet to the highest rung of the Talmud. It was at once an elementary school and a college for higher teaching. Thorough Hebrew philology, elocution, and modern Hebrew poetry were also taught there, which was not usual in other Jewish schools. In the highest departments the first Rabbis or Chachamim, at that time Saul Morteira and Isaac Aboab, gave instruction. These two men formed, with Manasseh ben Israel and David Pardo, the first Rabbinical college. This richly endowed institute became a nursery for the training of Rabbis for the Amsterdam community and its daughters in Europe and America. From it pupils went forth, who laboured in wider spheres; among whom may be mentioned, for the sake of contrast, the confused Kabbalist Moses Zacut and the clear-headed Baruch Spinoza.

It was a misfortune for the Amsterdam community, that its first spiritual guides, who exercised remarkable influence, were only possessed of mediocre talents, and, were in some degree wrong-headed persons. With the vast resources which this first Dutch community had at command, with the manifold branches of instruction to be obtained there, and the devotion of its members to Judaism, its leaders might have brought about remarkable results, if they had possessed a more independent character, a profounder intellect, and had taken a higher flight. But the first Amsterdam Rabbinical college had nothing of all this. David

Pardo appears to have been of very little importance. Saul Levi Morteira (born about 1596, died 1660) was not even a distinguished preacher, for his colleagues, Aboab and Manasseh ben Israel, far outshone him. His sermons, which are the only published records of his literary activity, have indeed a philosophical complexion, but no depth of thought. Morteira followed the broad beaten paths, and only repeated what others had thought and pointed out before him. Even in Rabbinical learning he had no mastery, and was not considered as an authority by contemporary Talmudists. His colleague, Isaac Aboab de Fonseca (born 1606, died 1693) was even less illustrious. He, also, was a Portuguese by descent, and came, it seems, to Amsterdam with his mother, who was fifty years old at his birth. He was trained under Isaac Uziel, and acquired from him pulpit eloquence, if that can be learnt. Aboab became a distinguished and beloved preacher. His style of speaking has been very well described by Antonio Vieira of Lisbon, a wise Jesuit, and possessed of goodwill towards the Jews. When once in Amsterdam, he heard Aboab and Manasseh ben Israel preach, and when asked how he liked them, he replied: "The one (Manasseh) says what he knows, and the other knows what he says." But a well-arranged, impressive, and attractive sermon is not always the fruit of solid knowledge and clear conviction. At any rate, it was not the case with Aboab. In character he was vacillating, submissive to the influence of others, open to flattery, and hence not independent. To this man was given the control of the Amsterdam community for nearly seventy years. Aboab was deluded like the multitude, and, instead of leading them, was led by them.

Far more important was Manasseh ben Israel (born 1604, died 1657), a child of the Amsterdam

community, to which his father had come broken down by the torture of the Inquisition, and robbed of all his property. The young Manasseh, who had a mind eager for learning, was trained under Isaac Uziel, and his knowledge of the Bible and the Talmud, while it did not attain to perfect mastery, yet reached to a high degree of insight. Directed by historical bent to the study of ten languages—including Portuguese, as his mother tongue, and Latin, as the literary language—Manasseh learnt to express himself in speech and writing with more or less perfection in all these languages and in an elevated style. A ready speaker by nature, he also educated himself as a preacher, and displayed all the lights and shadows of that class. He became a prolific writer, and, though he died young, performed incomparably more than his colleagues. In the case of this amiable man, who rendered essential service, the task of a life, to Judaism, we must not take the part of severe critics, nor inquire how large a share enthusiasm and a certain vanity had in his work. But history is a stern judge. What his contemporaries admired in Manasseh was not his profound intellect, nor his overpowering, far-reaching greatness, but, on the contrary, his quiet, yielding, modest behaviour, and his simple nature. He correctly and briefly described himself without under or over estimation: "I enjoy moderate talents, possess a happy facility in being able to describe, with a certain degree of order, the objects that the will presents to the mind." He brought no great and fruitful thoughts into the world, but fostered and cared for the intellectual offspring of others, treating them as if they were his own. He knew rather than thought much. Although he was familiar with profane literature and Christian theology, he yet not only clung firmly to traditional Judaism, as represented by the Rabbinical ideas, but also to the Kabbala, and, like his less-educated colleagues,

regarded every word in the Talmud and Zohar as a profound truth. Like others, Manasseh ben Israel was also subject to delusion, which had a strong influence on him and spurred on his will.

Such was the character of the men who were called to guide and instruct the young, ignorant, catholicising, and tractable Amsterdam community. Great power was in their hand. Important affairs were discussed and decided at public sittings of the members of the elected rulers, and the Rabbis (Maamad). In religious matters the Chachamim alone decided, because the laity did not trust their own judgment. The decisions of the Rabbis were binding on the members. Nobody might oppose them, because the government had a despotic character. The authorities allowed the rulers and college of Rabbis full liberty to inflict spiritual penalties on disobedient members. Of this liberty and this power the leaders made only too extensive use. They had brought with them from Spain a mischievous zeal in maintaining the faith pure, and uprooting heresy. The Amsterdam Rabbis introduced the innovation of bringing religious opinions and convictions before their judgment-seat, of constituting themselves a sort of Inquisitional tribunal, and instituting Auto-da-fés, which, even if bloodless, were still not less painful to the sufferers. The character and organisation of the largest Portuguese community in Europe had a powerful influence on the course of Jewish history. Branch communities were formed, which took for their model, not only the organisation, dignity, devoted piety and benevolence, but also the follies and perversities of their mother. The second community on Dutch soil was gradually formed at Rotterdam. Two brothers equally pious and wealthy, Abraham and David Pinto, laid the foundation of this community, and elected as Chacham and principal of the institute which they founded (Jesiba de los

Pintos), a young man, Josiah Pardo, son of David Pardo, and son-in-law of Morteira, who, however, did not distinguish himself.

In Haarlem, also, the Jews were on the point of obtaining permission to settle. The Humanists and favourers of toleration, like the prince of philologists, Joseph Scaliger, were already rejoicing at this; but, in the end, intolerance prevailed, and nothing came of the movement. Nevertheless, Portuguese communities arose in North Germany beyond the sea, and gradually in other cities of the Netherlands.

In Hamburg an important colony of the Amsterdam community was next formed. But there were difficulties in overcoming German prejudices and German pedantry. Against the advantages arising from the settlement of wealthy and intelligent Jews, which the Amsterdam people quickly comprehended, the Hamburg citizens struggled hand and foot. To the fierce Lutherans it was a horror to have Jews in their midst. A Jewish jeweller named Isaac, from Salzufelen, in Lippe, with twelve of his co-religionists, who were compelled to go in search of a new home, made an attempt to settle in Hamburg. He presented a petition to the Senate to receive them for twelve years, and for that he offered the sum of 9,000 marks, and a yearly tax of 400 marks. The negotiator, Isaac, exhaustively set forth all possible reasons for the reception of the Jews, and declared beforehand that they were willing to submit to any conditions. He proved that not only in Catholic, but also in evangelical countries, Jews were tolerated, whether in the west, at Frankfort and Worms, or in Northern Germany, as in Hanover, Minden, Hildesheim, Göttingen, Norden, Dortmund, Hamm, Lippe and Emden. All was in vain. Hamburg, which then delighted in popish quarrelling about orthodoxy and heresy, refused a home to the Jews.

But it is a curious fact that Hamburg, at the very time when it so strongly opposed the temporary admission of the Jews, already harboured some in its midst without being aware of it. With these, who wore the mask of Portuguese Papists, orthodox Christians had daily intercourse. Marrano fugitives had escaped from the Inquisition, settled in North Germany and the Hanse State, and passed as Portuguese "traders." Hearing that their brethren in Amsterdam, with whom they were in communication, openly professed Judaism and were tolerated, they also lifted their mask, and wished to be recognised as Jews, but continued to have their children baptised. Consequently, the strict Lutheran citizens raised a loud outcry, and sent to the Senate a demand that the wealthy Jews, who had been driven from Portugal and other places, should be got rid of, and not be tolerated. But to this the Senate did not like to accede; they felt a sort of shame at treating these Portuguese of noble demeanour and intelligent character as vagrants or as Jews. To the secret Jews of Hamburg there belonged at that time the beloved and much-sought physician, Rodrigo de Castro (born about 1560 at Lisbon, died 1627 or 1628), who, in the violence of the pestilence, hastened with self-sacrifice to the bedsides of those who were stricken by the plague, and saved the lives of many. De Castro was also a skilful physician for women, and, therefore, won the favour of the weaker sex, so strong in their sympathy or antipathy. Able physicians were then not generally numerous, and still less in North Germany. Other "Portuguese," as the disguised Marranos in Hamburg called themselves, and were called, possessed capital, or, as agents, conducted important business for Spanish or Portuguese houses. In short, it did not seem practicable to the Senate to send these Portuguese away. The Senate therefore at first

put off the citizens with an official denial that there were any Jews among them; but afterwards admitted the presence of a smaller number of them than was correct, about seven Portuguese Jews, "who have fire and smoke here," *i.e.*, households. But the Lutheran clergy in Hamburg behaved most intolerantly, excited people against the Portuguese Jews, and charged the Senate with forgetfulness of their duty. That body, which had only the interests of commerce in view, did not care to dispense with the Jews, but being unwilling to burden their conscience, or rather to incur the reproach of unchristian feeling, turned from the Hamburg clergy—the ministry—to a higher court, the theological faculties of Frankfort-on-the-Oder and Jena. The theological grounds of which the Senate availed itself for the toleration of the Jews seem very ridiculous, and prove the ossification of Lutheranism at that time. The judgment of the Frankfort faculty proceeds upon these grounds, and indulges in the hope that the Portuguese Jews—who for the sake of their convictions had given up life, honours, means, and their beloved home—would be converted to Christianity in Hamburg. The explanations of the Jena faculty look as if a professor of Dominican theology a century before, in the time of Hoogstraten, had written it, and as if the index on the dial of history had stood still. Like the intolerant Papists, the Lutheran theological faculty wished to compel the Jews to listen to Christian preaching.

The Senate, which was sufficiently protected by these two judgments on the ecclesiastical side, in February, 1612, granted to the Portuguese Jews free residence in Hamburg, with such restrictions, however, as were appropriate to the German spirit, or German narrow-mindedness, of that time, with a pedantic scrupulousness avoiding a consistent consideration of both sides of the ques-

tion. They became, properly speaking, protected Jews, who had to pay an annual charge or protection fee of 1,000 marks. They were not allowed to have synagogues, or even private religious service according to Jewish customs, or to practise circumcision, but they might bury their dead in a ground of their own at Altona. There were then in Hamburg 125 adults of Marrano descent, among whom were ten capitalists, two physicians, and three artisans. It was an important article in the agreement that new-comers should also obtain admission "if the high and well-disposed Council found their qualifications of such a nature that it had no objection to take them under its protection." Thus the young, semi-tolerated Hamburg community grew from year to year, and within twenty years several more capitalists were added. The increase of the community through the accession of such settlers, who were admitted openly as Jews and no longer as disguised Portuguese, rendered a fresh agreement between them and the Senate necessary in 1617, which enlarged their privileges in commercial respects, but diminished them in point of citizenship. They could not possess any house or land, but had to dispose of any they might own. An exception was made in favour of the physician, Rodrigo de Castro, in consideration of his faithful services of many years, during his noble career; but even he could not bequeath his house to an heir.

Meanwhile the more the Portuguese Jews, by their capital and business connections, gained weight with commercial men sitting in the Senate, the more did they break through the boundaries drawn round them by narrow-minded legislation. When the bank at Hamburg, to which this city owed its commercial prosperity, was founded (from 1619 to 1623), no less than twelve Jewish capitalists supported it with their funds, and

exerted themselves as the Amsterdam Portuguese had done at the formation of the Dutch companies trading beyond the sea. The Portuguese Jewish settlers alone founded the important trade of Hamburg with Spain and Portugal. Hence they might presume that the Senate, who held the reins of government in their hands, would connive at violations of the articles. They were especially anxious that they might assemble for public worship, and this was directly forbidden. Relying on their indispensability, they quietly erected a synagogue about 1626. It was Elihu Aboab Cardozo who began this venture. They named it Talmud Torah, and appointed Isaac Athias, of Amsterdam, a disciple of Isaac Uziel, as Chacham.

This very simple synagogue, consisting of two large rooms, caused wide dissension, and produced much bitterness. The Emperor Ferdinand II., the terror of the Protestants, who was indignant that the arch-Lutheran city on the Elbe would not allow the Catholics to build a church, sent a threatening letter to the Senate, July 28th, 1627, because a synagogue was openly permitted to the Jews for the sake of trade, while the Roman Catholics were forbidden the exercise of their religion. Nothing more was needed to excite the Lutheran fanatics to arms. If the free exercise of their religion was granted to the Jews, it must also be granted to Catholics, and even to Calvinists, they said. A frightful consequence indeed! When the ministry, or spiritual assembly, which had great power in Hamburg, applied to the Senate on account of the violation of articles in the agreement with the Jews, and that body again conferred with the Jews, they declared that they had no synagogue. Merely a place of meeting to read the Law of Moses, the Psalms, the Prophets, and other books of the Old Testament; at any rate they also prayed

there for the welfare of the city and the government. The Council proceeded no further, because the Jews threatened that, in case they were denied the worship of God, they would leave Hamburg in a body and transfer their capital and business connections to a neighbouring place. That argument prevailed. But the clergy demanded nothing less than that a Christian Rabbi should be appointed to preach Christianity to the Jews in the synagogue or elsewhere. The physicians also viewed with indignation the popularity of their Jewish professional brethren, and sought not only to bring them, but the Jews generally, under suspicion, and stirred up the people against them.

But the community grew in prosperity from year to year, and the Senate gladly received those who came with capital and business connections. Even if the descriptions of John Miller, the arch-foe of the Jews, appear exaggerated, yet an idea may be gathered from them of the wealth of the Portuguese Jews of Hamburg. "They come here adorned with gold and silver, costly pearls and precious stones. At their weddings they eat and drink from silver ware, and drive in such carriages as become only persons of exalted rank, and have, moreover outriders and a large following." The extremely rich Texeira family, settled in Hamburg, lived in princely luxury. The first founder of this banking house, Diego Texeira de Mattos, was called in Hamburg, like Joseph of Naxos in Constantinople, "the rich Jew." He was of Portuguese descent, bore a title of high nobility, and was previously Spanish Resident in Flanders. At sixty years of age he underwent the operation of circumcision, in order to become a Jew in reality. By means of his wealth, and his connections with both the nobility and capitalists, Diego Texeira could play the distinguished gentleman. He drove in a carriage lined with satin, and had liveried servants.

The Portuguese Jews had already two, or even three, synagogues, the second built by Abraham Aboab Falero, and the third by David de Lima. A German community, also, had gradually assembled at Hamburg, and built a house of prayer. And the faithful followers of Luther beheld it calmly, although, when almost on his death-bed he had ordered his followers to treat the Jews as gipsies, and to have the tongues of Rabbis cut out. The Hamburg pastors could not endure it; they pressed the Council and stirred up the citizens to withdraw even this small amount of religious toleration. Among them stood forth an arch-bigot, John Miller, Senior at St. Peter's Church, a Protestant Inquisitor and chief persecutor, an abusive man given to scandal, who animated his reverend brethren from the pulpit and in libellous writings. With such a virulent pastor, who considered himself a pillar of Lutheran orthodoxy, it was a matter of conscience thoroughly to hate and humiliate the Jews. In writing and by word, in the pulpit and in the circle of his disciples, in private conversation and official addresses, his favourite theme was the Jews and their humiliation. Everything in the Jews vexed him; their joys and feastings, the feast of Purim, their mourning on days of humiliation, their dress, their friendship with Christians, and their funerals. In some points the bigot was not wrong, as regarded his censure on the hereditary failing of the Portuguese Marranos in their misconduct with Christian women, and the way in which some of them provoked Christians. A Jewish author (Jacob Jehuda Leon?) had composed a work entitled "*Colloquium Middelburgense*," a dialogue in Latin, between a Rabbi and a Christian on the value or worthlessness of the Christian doctrines, the gospels and ecclesiastical writings, in which the weak points of Christianity were laid bare. Against this Miller composed a defence, or rather a libel, entitled,

Judaism or Jewry, giving a full account of the Jewish people's unbelief, blindness, and obduracy (1644). This was not dictated either by the Holy Ghost or by Christian love. Luther's virulent language against the Jews was an undeniable revelation for the pastor. Out of it spoke Lutheranism pure and unadulterated, which had as little heart as the Popery which it attacked, and which based its existence on dry formulas of belief. Miller's absurdity and uncharitableness belong not to him, but to the conscience of the corrupt Lutheran Church of the time. Three theological faculties, the head Lutheran of Wittenberg, and those of Strasburg and Rostock, had in reply to Miller's inquiry, declared that Jewish physicians should never be admitted to Christian patients. Thus in the face of the seventeenth century, when the Thirty Years' War was teaching toleration with an iron rod, a new edition of the decrees of councils against the Jews was issued by the leaders of Lutheranism worthy of the West-Gothic age. But the age had changed. Christian IV., king of Denmark, Schleswig and Holstein, next to the champion of the Protestants Gustavus Adolphus; to whom Miller dedicated his book, had appointed Benjamin Musaphia, the Jewish physician, as his medical attendant.

Even in Hamburg, Miller's fanatical zeal did not meet with very great success. The citizens gradually got accustomed to the Jews, and learnt to respect them. Some of them were appointed business agents or residents even by high Catholic potentates. The King of Portugal first appointed Duarte Nunes da Costa, and then Jacob Curiel as his agents, and his Catholic majesty Ferdinand III. raised Immanuel Rosales, a Jewish author of Portuguese descent, to the dignity of Count Palatine. The Portuguese Jews, in general more favourably situated than their German brethren, felt so happy

at Hamburg that they called it their "little Jerusalem."

A colony of the Amsterdam mother-community was formed in Brazil, South America, which was discovered and peopled by the Portuguese, and a number settled in the town of Pernambuco. Thither the Portuguese Government had often transported Jewish offenders, *i.e.*, Marranos whom it did not wish to deliver to the burning pile; together with prostitutes and other rabble. These disgraced Marranos assisted the Dutch in conquering Brazil, which became a Dutch colony, and had a Stadtholder of its own in the intelligent John Maurice of Nassau (1624-36). A union was immediately brought about between the Amsterdam and the Brazilian community, which had thrown off the mask of Christianity, and was almost impoverished by the Dutch. The Jews at Recife, near Pernambuco, already called themselves "the holy community" (Kahal Kados), and had a governing body consisting of David Senior Coronel, Abraham de Moncado, Jacob Mucate, and Isaac Cathunho. Several hundred Amsterdam Portuguese, either in consequence of an invitation or of their own accord, sailed to Brazil to form business connections with the colony, and took with them the Chacham Isaac Aboab. He was the first Brazilian Rabbi probably settling at Recife. At Tamarica a community was also formed; which had its own Chacham in Jacob Lagarto, the first Talmudical author in South America. Of course the Brazilian Jews enjoyed perfect equality of rights, for they rendered to the Dutch essential services as advisers and warriors. When the native Portuguese, who bore the yoke of the Dutch impatiently, formed a conspiracy to get rid of the Dutch authorities at a banquet in the capital, and then attack the colony bereft of government, a Jew gave warning and saved the colony from certain destruction. When later, in 1646, an open war

broke out between the Portuguese and the Dutch, and the garrison of Recife, exhausted by famine, was on the point of surrendering unconditionally, the Jews impelled the governor to brave resistance and to continue the contest.

A fanatical war of race and religion between the Portuguese and the Dutch devastated fair Brazil, and a famine ensued. The Jews vied with the Dutch in suffering and bravery. Isaac Aboab, the Chacham of the Brazilian community, paints the sufferings of the war which he himself endured in glowing colours:

Volumes would not suffice to relate our miseries. The enemy spread over field and wood, seeking here for booty and there for life. Many of us died with sword in hand, others from want: they now rest in cold earth. We who survived were exposed to death in every form: those who had been accustomed to luxuries were glad to seize mouldy bread to stay their hunger.

At last the States-General were compelled by European wars to hand over the colony to the Portuguese. The devoted zeal of the Jews for the political welfare of the Dutch was a firm bond between them and the republic, which was never afterwards dissolved. The toleration and equal position of the Jews in the Netherlands were ensured for ever.

Whilst the first ray of a better time glimmered in Holland, the rest of Europe was still full of darkness for the Jews. In Germany especially, the Jew even in the seventeenth century continued to be an outcast creature, for whom there was no sympathy. He was pelted with mud, his beard was singed, and he was treated almost worse than a dog. There were only three or four important communities in Germany: Frankfort-on-the-Maine with about 2,000 souls; Worms with 1,400; Prague with 10,000 at most; and Vienna with 3,000; the rest did not number many. Hamburg was still a young community. In the West German Free States of Frankfort and Worms an almost stronger antipathy to the Jews prevailed than in Hamburg,

having its root rather in the narrow-mindedness of the suburban inhabitants and the obstinacy of the members of guilds than in religious antipathy. Both cities treated the Jews within their walls as their domestic servants, and appealed in all seriousness to a deed of the Emperor Charles IV., declaring that he had purchased them in person and property. When the Portuguese Marrano Jews wishing to remove from the Netherlands to Frankfort, and raise it to a seat of commerce of the first rank, like Amsterdam and Hamburg, asked permission to build a house of prayer there, the council roundly refused. What did the Jewish capitalists do? They turned to the lord of Hanau, and obtained from him very favourable terms.

The bitterness of the people of Frankfort against their Jewish neighbours was crystallised in a legislative code, which was most revolting and absurd. It was entitled "the permissive residence of the Jews," and defined under what conditions or restrictions the Jews might breathe the Frankfort air, or rather the pestilential atmosphere of the Jewish quarter. The city, chiefly Protestant, maintained other canonical restrictions, all introduced by Papists for the purpose of branding the Jews, prohibiting them from having Christian servants or nurses, and requiring them to wear an opprobrious badge. They were treated exactly like criminals. Jews might not go outside their quarter except for necessary business, and might not walk two together in the neighbourhood of the town-hall, especially not at Christian festivals or weddings, or if princes were staying in the city. They were also required to observe silence in their ghetto, to avoid offending Christian ears with any shrill sound, and to see that strange Jews visiting them went to bed in good time. They might not, in general, harbour any strangers without the knowledge of the magistracy, nor even admit a patient into

their hospital. They might not purchase food in the market at the same time as Christians. The extent of their business was jealously restricted, and yet they were obliged to pay more taxes than the Christian inhabitants. As they were obliged to wear special badges on their clothes, so they were required to have on their houses special shields, with strange figures and names, such as "the garlic," "the ass," "the green or white shield," "red shield," "black shield." After these shield figures the inhabitants were named, "The Jew N. of the ass, the Jew N. of the dragon." On the admission of a Jew he was obliged to promise on oath to retain these stupid and heartless denominations. And besides this, even their wretched existence depended only on the favour of the magistrate, for a paragraph stipulated that the council reserved to itself the power of depriving a Jew at any time of the right of residence. In such case the individual or family had to leave the city within a fixed space of time.

As the magistrate was justified in refusing residence to a single Jew, he might banish them all from the city. This was inferred and demanded by the citizens or the guilds who were at variance with the council. They aimed at enlarging their liberties by limiting the aristocratic power of the nobles in the magistracy, and they began with the Jews. The reason was, that the councillors, for the sake of the practical gratitude of the Jews, were indulgent in the administration of the laws issued against them; they would not have been able to exist under the pressure of opprobrium and the "permissive residence." But this indulgence of the magistracy towards the Jews was doubly hateful to the guilds. Hence they strove by all possible means to bring about the expulsion of the Jews from Frankfort. The Jews had indeed obtained assurance of their safety collectively by

charter from the emperor, but the decrees and threats of the emperor were little heeded at that time. At the head of the hostile members of guilds stood the pastry-cook, Vincent Fettmilch, who as well as his workpeople, belonged to the despised Reformers, and sought to sate his fury against the Lutheran authorities by taking vengeance on the Jews. He was a daring man, who kept the councillors in awe, and openly called himself "the new Hâman of the Jews." He was chosen by the citizens as their spokesman and ringleader, and deserved this leadership, for he formed his plans with much circumspection.

On an appointed day (27. Ellul = September, new style, 1614), while the community was assembled in the house of prayer, blow followed blow and thrust upon thrust, mingled with furious shouting, at the doors of the Jewish quarter. Thereupon followed a cry of anguish on the part of the Jews, who rushed hither and thither in despair, and distracted entreaty. Bold youths and men seized weapons to ward off assaults or to die manfully. On both sides fell the wounded and dead, until the superiority of numbers and daring of the Fettmilch party decided the victory. Then followed the plundering, desecration, and destruction of sacred places, in a brutal fury which lasted all through the night to the next day. The Imperial commissioners could do nothing to check this wild proceeding, they were even compelled to put up a notice that the murderous band was not liable to punishment. Most of the Jews who had not been sheltered by philanthropic citizens awaited death in trembling at the burial-ground, crouching together, many of them in shrouds. The rabble purposely left them in uncertainty as to the fate to which they destined them—between life, death, and banishment—so that the Jews regarded it as a mercy of God when the fisherman's gate was

opened to them in the afternoon of August 24th (new style) and they were allowed, 1,380 in number, to depart, but without property of any kind. The advance of humanity, compared with earlier ages, is seen in the circumstance that compassionate Christians gave bread and other provisions to those who departed, utterly destitute, and the smaller towns and villages gave them shelter, though Fettmilch and the foes of the Jews had warned them against receiving the exiles.

It was long before the Frankfort Jews obtained satisfaction for these atrocious injuries. The magistracy was powerless, and the Emperor Matthias scarcely less impotent. Fettmilch's rabble for a whole year so tyrannised over the council, that it could do nothing for the Jews. Some lawyers also took the robbers under their protection, and issued an opinion, that their attacks on the property of the Jews should not be regarded as theft, since they had occurred either in the daytime or by torchlight. Similar events at Worms hastened the end of the Frankfort troubles.

There the bitterness against one of the oldest German communities, arising out of hatred to the Jews and trade jealousy, in so far took a different course, that it was not the guilds, but some members of the magistracy who urged the banishment of the Jews, and the chief enemy of the Jews instead of being a brutal but straightforward workman, was a crafty advocate and perverter of the law. Here, as in Frankfort, the chief motive was opposition to the magistracy, but the members of guilds acted with more resolution and unanimity. The leader, adviser, and director of the committee of citizens was a learned lawyer, Doctor Chemnitz (Chemnitius), who thought that by lawyer's tricks he would be able to effect the banishment of the Jews with greater success and

less danger than the Frankfort people had with brutal violence. At first chicanery and insults of every sort were employed. The committee would not lay violent hands on them, but strove to wear them out. It closed the outlets of the city against them, hindered them from purchasing food, drove their cattle from the meadows, and would not permit milk for Jewish children to be brought to the Jewish quarter.

After some movements in various directions the Worms guilds, by Chemnitz's advice, assembled unarmed in the market place, and sent a deputation to the Jews, ordering them "to retire from the city with bag and baggage" within an hour. The deputation reproached them with having caused the citizens to be suspected by the emperor, with having excited his hatred against them, and deprived them of every means of obtaining justice. The magistrates protested, but without effect, and so nothing remained for the Jews but to depart on the last day but one of Passover (April 20th, new style, 1615). Fanaticism could not, however, refrain from venting its fury on the holy places of the Jews, from devastating the synagogue which had stood for a thousand years, desecrating the burial-ground, and breaking to pieces several hundred tombstones, some of which gave evidence of the high antiquity of the community. The Archbishop of Mayence and Count Louis of Darmstadt granted residence to the exiles in small towns and villages, and thus some of the exiles met their suffering brethren of Frankfort.

But the rejoicing of the foes of the Jews in Worms did not last long. The council, humiliated by the committee of citizens, secretly negotiated with Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate, and about ten days after the expulsion of the Jews he moved infantry, cavalry, and cannon into the town, under the unavailing protest of the committee, and this

soon brought the disorders to an end. Still it was nearly three-quarters of a year before the Worms Jews were re-admitted by order of the Elector-Palatine and the Bishop of Speyer (January 19th, new style, 1616). Two months afterwards the Jews of Frankfort were led back, as in triumph, with the sound of trumpets and blowing of horns by the commissioners of the Electorate of Mayence and Darmstadt (20th Adar = March 10th). Here the rioters were more severely punished than at Worms, because they had caused destruction, plundering, and bloodshed. Vincent Fettmilch, the pastry-cook, the Frankfort Haman, was hanged and quartered, his house razed to the ground, and his family banished. The city was fined 175,919 florins by the emperor as compensation for the plunder committed on the Jews. In memory of this extraordinary deliverance and honourable restoration in the German Empire, the Frankfort community appointed the day of their return (20th Adar) to be observed as a feast-day named Purim-Vincent, the day before being kept as a fast in memory of past sufferings.

The old permissive residence of the Jews both in Worms and Frankfort was abolished by Matthias, who introduced a new regulation in its stead, which was recommended by the commissioners in 1617. But this new arrangement still bore the impress of the Middle Ages. The old restrictions of the Jews as to dress, residence, and movement were retained, and, if possible, made more severe in some respects. The Jews were still considered as outcasts, even by the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and his councillors. "Only when once they were privileged by the emperor should the council protect them, and no longer have the power to banish those who had once obtained permissive residence." Those Frankfort Jews who were re-admitted no longer needed as before to renew their right of residence every three years, and

transmitted the right of free residence to their descendants. On the other hand, the number of Jews was fixed at 500. No more than six families a year could be admitted to permissive residence, and only twelve couples a year could get married. A further restriction was, that the Jews should not be named citizens of Frankfort, but only hereditary protected dependents of the council. In addition to the old protection fee, there was a marriage-tax and an inheritance-tax. The restrictions in the new Jewish ordinance for Worms proved, if possible, still more oppressive.

The banishment of the Jews from two west German cities, and their restoration had, however, a favourable result for the German Jews. It was an advantage to all German communities that the emperor emphatically insisted on, and confirmed by force of arms, the safety of the Jews. The Emperor Ferdinand II., though he was a pupil of the Jesuits and a destroyer of Protestants, put the seal to the protection of the Jews throughout the whole empire, especially in Frankfort and Worms, when the citizens of these places again thought of persecuting them. Hence it came about, that the destructive and cruel Thirty Years' War did not affect the Jews in Germany as severely as might have been expected. They shared, indeed, the sufferings of the German nation, which divided into two camps; drew the sword against its own breast, and made havoc of its own land. The Jews also had their share in the plunderings and ravagings which leaders of armies, such as Mansfeld, Tilly, and Wallenstein, one after the other brought upon flourishing cities.

Many a Jewish community was destroyed in consequence of the fury of war. But the Jews had at least nothing to fear from the internal foe, and, in the seclusion of their ghettos, were perfectly secure from all attacks. The Catholic generals had

orders from the emperor to spare the life and property of the Jews, so that many a Protestant could lodge and save his property in the Jewish quarter. Before Wallenstein made the discovery, that war is supported by war, and that a large army could obtain financial means for itself, the war carried on by Ferdinand II. against the Protestant half of Germany required much money, and the Imperial treasury was always poor. But ready money was chiefly in the iron chests of Jewish capitalists. Hence the financial resources of the Jews had to be spared, if the war was to be carried on successfully. Consequently, the emperor, acting with careful consideration, impressed upon his generals that they should spare the Jews from all the hardships of war, including that of billeting. How dearly this tender treatment cost the communities is not known. The Bohemian Jews paid a considerable sum, and bound themselves to contribute 40,000 gulden a year towards defraying the expenses of the war.

The Court of Vienna invented another means, also, of making the financial resources of the Jews contribute to the war. It appointed Jewish capitalists as Court Jews, granted them most extensive freedom of trade, freed them from the restrictions to which other Jews were subjected, even from wearing the yellow badge, and, in a word afforded them and their families a favourable reception.

The Jewish community of Vienna enjoyed important consideration both during, and perhaps on account of, this war. The centre-point of Catholicism was, through the indifference of Spain, transferred from the Manzanares to the Danube, and from Madrid to Vienna. The Jews who by degrees re-assembled in Vienna, in spite of repeated banishment by the citizens (the emperor having given them permission to remain) thereby came into closer relations with important European affairs. Court

Jews and Jewish physicians repaired to Vienna with their families, *i.e.*, persons depending upon them, or who gave themselves out as such. The Viennese Jews at that time were considered remarkably rich. As they lived scattered in various quarters of the city, they felt the necessity of assembling and having a public place for prayer. They applied to the emperor, and he granted them a site in the lower part, now Leopoldstadt, excused them from the civic magistrates' duty of administering justice, and even liberated them from wearing the badge. At the very time when Protestant Hamburg citizens were jealously on the watch that no synagogue be granted to the Portuguese Jews, the arch-Catholic emperor allowed them to build in his capital a new synagogue with all appurtenances (Dec., 1624). His "liberated," *i.e.*, privileged Jews were not required to receive any quarterings or to contribute to the cost of war. It is true the magistrates raised objections to the favour shown to the Jews, and wished to turn the whole "swarm of Jews" out of the city. Hence the Court councillors who desired to extort money gave the citizens to understand that, for 20,000 florins, they might enjoy the satisfaction of seeing the Jews banished; but, at the same time, they whispered to the Jews, that if they paid this sum beforehand, they might remain in Vienna.

Probably the Jews prevailed. The united and prosperous community looked about for a Rabbinical leader, and fell upon the happy choice of Lipmann Heller, in February, 1625, who was both an amiable and learned man, and at that time Rabbi of Nicolsburg. He was no brilliant personage, but his importance stands out conspicuously from the dark background of the time. He forms an exception to the Rabbis of that age, at least to those in Germany and Poland. He not only occupied himself with Talmudic learning, but

was acquainted with elements of knowledge outside the Rabbinical field of mental vision. For instance, Heller had studied other than Jewish literature, and understood mathematics well. In the Talmudical department he could not compare with contemporary Poles of distinction, with Samuel Edels at Ostrog, Joshua Falk at Lemberg, Joel Serkes at Cracow, and many others. But if he was inferior to them in acuteness, or more properly subtlety, he surpassed them in profundity and lucidity.

Heller (born 1579, died 1654) possessed a mild nature, an attractive presence, and skill in speech, and could therefore frequent Christian circles. Far from possessing a superficial knowledge which could brook no contradiction—a failing attached especially to most representatives of Rabbinical learning in Poland—his modest nature prepossessed every one in his favour, and won him all hearts. He is one of those of whom one cannot help regretting that he lived in such barbarous times; in a better age he might have been able to labour with more success for Judaism. In his thirtieth year, at the same age as Maimuni, he accomplished a gigantic task, and completed a comprehensive commentary on the Mishna (Tossafot Yom-Tob) (1614—1617): This involved a much greater amount of work than his great predecessor, and even Obadiah di Bertinoro, had devoted to it, if we take into account how much the materials which had all to be considered, examined and tested, had increased in the interval.

Having been summoned to Vienna to the post of Rabbi, he laboured usefully for this young community. He drew up the regulations, and was hence, for the short time of his official career there, both esteemed and beloved. With his peaceful disposition he should have remained at Vienna, instead of allowing himself to be attracted

to Prague by the seemingly superior qualities of the community there, where however, as before, vulgarity and baseness, envy and malice, prevailed, and for this circle Heller was most unfit. But he was attracted to the Bohemian capital, where there was incomparably more study of the Talmud, and where he could reckon upon interchange of thought. He had only too soon occasion to regret his acceptance of this office. As acting Rabbi, Heller was president of the commission which had the thankless task of dividing the considerable yearly war tax of 40,000 thalers between the members of the Prague community and the country community. With Heller's upright and pure character, it may be assumed that he went to work with the utmost conscientiousness, and that he did not knowingly overburden anyone. Nevertheless, some members complained of improper allotment, raised a quarrel in the community, and collected a large following, who threatened the commission with accusations. In vain did Heller make his warning voice heard against the prevailing dissension, speaking from the pulpit, sometimes in mild, at others in severe terms. Contumacy combined with envy, and the discontented party accused him and the elders of the commission before the civil authorities of having, from party feeling, spared the rich, and laid the burden of the tax on the shoulders of those with less means, compelling payment of the share imposed upon them by threats of excommunication, imprisonment, and other punishments. Other accusations against Heller must have been of a still more hateful nature. The drift was, that in one of his works he had used offensive expressions against Christianity. To give emphasis to their calumny, they reported to a person standing near the emperor, who prided himself much on his theological knowledge, that Heller had boasted in the hearing of the Prague Stadtholder,

that he had beaten him in a disputation. At the same time the slanderers hinted that the accused Rabbi was in possession of much property, which must fall to the Imperial treasury in case he was found guilty. In order to gratify their revenge or malicious spirit, the informers quite overlooked the fact that by this means they might bring on a persecution, not only of the Prague Jews, but also of all German Jews.

Their slander met with only too ready a hearing. An express command from the emperor reached the Stadtholder of Prague to have the Rabbi Lipmann Heller sent in chains to Vienna. With the military severity which had become customary during the Thirty Years' War, suffering was often imposed upon the innocent. However, Heller was so highly esteemed even by the Christian officials, that the head of the police, who was charged with his custody, behaved with extraordinary indulgence towards him, and he was allowed to travel to Vienna merely on bail. On arriving there he waited on the chancellor, in order to learn further particulars with regard to the accusation brought against him. The chancellor sternly alleged, what led Heller to fear the worst—that he had written against the Christian religion. Thereupon Heller was put in prison, confined with criminal offenders, and a commission of clergy appointed to establish his guilt as a blasphemer against God. The sentence pronounced was, that Heller properly deserved death, but the emperor was willing to exercise mercy and allowed the punishment of death to be commuted to a fine of 12,000 thalers, which was to be paid immediately, and the incriminated writings to be destroyed. The Prague slanderers, to whom the sentence seemed too mild, did not rest till they could place before the emperor the statement that Heller was deprived of the office of Rabbi at Prague, and declared unworthy to receive any office wherever the emperor's

sceptre held sway. At last he was liberated after a confinement of forty days, with the loss of his office and his property, and without any prospect of an appointment elsewhere. The slanderous falsehood against Lipmann Heller was not altogether without consequences to the Jews; serious results were to ensue from it. The bigoted emperor and many clergy who had been led to notice the bearing of the Jews towards Christianity then resorted to the plan appointed by Pope Gregory XIII., of preaching sermons for the conversion of the Jews. The emperor issued a decree in February, 1630, that the Jews should be compelled to listen to conversional sermons every Sunday morning between eight and nine, at least 200 members of both sexes in equal numbers being present, and among these were to be forty young Jews. Every one who had been summoned to hear the preachers should, in case of absence, be fined a thaler, and a higher sum if the offence were repeated. Sleeping and talking during the sermon were punished. The fines were to be used in support of the conversion of the Jews. The conversion of the Jews was a matter that the emperor took to heart, and he hoped much from these compulsory measures. However, this plan was not so easily carried out. The Court councillors, to whom the emperor committed the matter, were not proof against bribery, and followed the Jesuits, who laid less stress on catching Jewish souls than on the oppression of Protestants and increasing their own power.

The annals of the Thirty Years' War do not narrate anything as to the special sufferings of the Jewish race. It seems almost as if the Jews at this time were treated better than the Christians. At least in Mayence the Swedes, who resided there more than four years from the end of 1631 to 1636, behaved more kindly to them. They were not greatly impoverished, for they were able three

years after the departure of the Swedes to build a synagogue at Mayence, and thus form a larger community, a favour which it had not been in their power to enjoy for more than 150 years. The Thirty Years' War ended, as is well known, on the very stage where it had begun, at Prague. The Swedish general besieged the city on the Moldau, and had already captured a part. But the inhabitants resisted bravely, and the Jews were not behind the others in perseverance, if not with arms yet with labour, in the trenches and with extinguishing apparatus. It was a Jew who brought intelligence to the emperor from the besieged city in order to obtain relieving forces. On account of their attachment to the Imperial family the Bohemian Jews obtained from Frederick III, an extension of their rights, which chiefly consisted in the privilege of residing in all royal cities and domains, and in not being expelled without the knowledge of the emperor. It may be assumed that the Jews were not completely ruined by the devastating war. While the Christian population was thoroughly impoverished and had to contend with want—the chief circumstance which induced the rulers to conclude the Westphalian Peace—the Jews had still saved something. The booty of so many cities went through their hands, and even if they were unusually taxed and were forced to pay heavy sums, they still derived some gain. Hence it came about that directly after the close of the Thirty Years' War, when great numbers of their fugitive brethren came from Poland through Germany, they could be supported in a brotherly way by the German communities. The Jews of Poland were then for the first time visited with a long continued, bloody persecution. The cup of suffering was to pass to them also.



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